

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SIXTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION
of
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
NOVEMBER 20 TO 30, INCLUSIVE

1944



RANDELL INC., WASHINGTON, D. C.

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OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION

OF LABOR

1945

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DELEGATES

TO THE

SIXTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated	2	{ 80	Paul Dullzell, 45 West 47th St., New York, N. Y.
		{ 80	George Heller, 2 West 45th St., New York, N. Y.
Air Line Pilots' Association.....	1	27	David L. Behncke, 3145 West 63rd St., Chicago 29, Ill.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and	2	{ 20	Joseph A. Mullaney, 41-32 Benham St., Elmhurst, L. I., N. Y.
		{ 20	C. W. Sickles, 211 Machinists' Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
Automobile Workers of America, International Union, United.....	5	{ 102	Lester Washburn, 231 W. Wisconsin Ave., Room 1013, Milwaukee, 3, Wis.
		{ 102	George Grisham, 231 W. Wisconsin Ave., Room 1013, Milwaukee 3, Wis.
		{ 101	Anthony Doria, 231 W. Wisconsin Ave., Room 1013, Milwaukee 3, Wis.
		{ 101	Peter C. Noll, 506 Southern Ohio Bank Bldg., 518 Main St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		{ 101	Frank Evans, 3030 Euclid Ave., Room 200, Cleveland 15, Ohio.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	4	{ 225	Herman Winter, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill.
		{ 224	Wm. McGuern, 2915 E. Cherry St., Seattle, 22, Wash.
		{ 224	Joseph Schmidt, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill.
		{ 224	Wm. F. Schnitzler, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill.
Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journeymen.....	5	{ 100	William C. Birthright, 1141 N. Delaware, Indianapolis, Ind.
		{ 100	Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward St., Rochester, N. Y.
		{ 100	Anthony Merlino, 615 Central Ave., New Haven, Conn.
		{ 100	Charles T. Crane, Room 407, Labor Temple, 4th and Jefferson Sts., Portland, Oreg.
		{ 100	John B. Robinson, 5524 Miller Ave., Dallas, Tex.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	16	Leo Abernathy, 1476 Broadway, New York 9, N. Y.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of..	3	34	Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Blvd., Chicago 12, Ill.
		33	John Pelkofer, 2328 West Orchard St., Milwaukee 4, Wis.
		33	George Edgerton, R. 212, 1105 Chester Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio. *Marshall W. Martin.
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	8	422	Chas. J. MacGowan, 522 Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		421	William E. Walter, 506 Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		421	J. A. Franklin, 516 Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		421	J. N. Davis, 6411 Washington, Kansas City, Mo.
		421	Wm. J. Buckley, Essex Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa.
		421	J. P. McCollum, 403 Milam Bldg., Houston, Tex.
		421	Harry Nacey, 147 Fourth St., New York, N. Y.
		421	J. F. Schmitt, 73 Collingwood Ave., Columbus, Ohio. *Lee Freeman. *Ed. Rainbow.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	3	97	John D. Haggerty, Room 302, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		96	J. B. Prewitt, Room 300, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		96	Miss Anastasia Becker, 300 St. Louis Ave., Fort Worth 4, Tex.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	3	134	John J. Mara, 246 Summer St., Boston 10, Mass.
		133	Frank W. Anderson, 5734 Belle Plaine Ave., Chicago 34, Ill.
		133	George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minn.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6	109	Wm. J. Bowen, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		109	Harry C. Bates, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		108	Richard J. Gray, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		108	A. J. Cleland, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		108	Thomas O'Donnell, 910 W. Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.
		108	Wm. J. Moran, P. O. Box 677, El Paso, Tex.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United	2	50	Frank Kasten, 1550 W. 95th St., Chicago 43, Ill.
		50	William Tracy, 1550 W. 95th St., Chicago 43, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association	6	176	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
		176	J. H. Lyons, 1615 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
		176	J. A. Evensen, 6104 Berenice Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		176	Jos. F. Boyen, 265 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y.
		176	B. A. Murray, 2239 Pauline St., New Orleans, La.
		176	C. F. Strickland, 434 Kimmeridge Drive, East Point, Ga.

* Marshall W. Martin substituted for George Edgerton, November 24, Fourth Day.

* Lee Freeman substituted for J. N. Davis, November 21, 1944, Second Day.

* Ed. Rainbow substituted for Harry Nacey, November 29, 1944, Seventh Day.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Building Service Employees' International Union	6	117	William L. McFetridge, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		117	William H. Cooper, 212 W. Wisconsin Ave., Room 721, Milwaukee 3, Wis.
		117	Thomas Burke, 509 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago 5, Ill.
		117	Charles C. Levey, 1304 Keenan Building, Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
		116	Gus Van Heck, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		116	George Troy, 26 Court St., Brooklyn 2, N. Y.
			*Peter Connors, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill.
			*Martin Dwyer, 127 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	4	240	Felix H. Knight, 107 W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City 2, Mo.
		240	Irvin Barney, 107 W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City 2, Mo.
		239	Alfred E. McCormick, 88 Hunter Ave., Albany, N. Y.
		239	Henri Vaillancourt, 4261-a Bordeaux St., Montreal, P. Q., Can.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	9	667	Wm. L. Hutcheson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
		667	M. A. Hutcheson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
		667	Frank Duffy, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
		667	George T. Coughlin, 269 Morris Ave., Elizabeth, N. J.
		667	M. J. Sexton, 12 East Erie St., Chicago, Ill.
		667	Charles Johnson, Jr., 111-113 E. 22nd St., M. S. 10, New York, N. Y.
		666	J. O. Mack, 3114 Pasco, Kansas City, Mo.
		666	Roland Adams, 712 W. Palmetto, Florence, S. C.
		666	Earl E. Thomas, 538 Maple Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United.....	4	45	William Schoenberg, 549 W. Randolph St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		45	Toney Gallo, 549 W. Randolph St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		45	Arthur J. Strunk, 3632 Detroit Ave., Toledo 12, Ohio.
		45	Samuel R. Diskan, 5419 W. Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America	2	50	A. P. Bower, 628 Walnut St., Reading, Pa.
		50	Charles E. Rohler, 35 Judson Ave., New Haven 11, Conn.
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of.....	4	43	W. S. Gross, 1 West Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.
		43	Harold E. Greenwald, 1740 E. 12th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
		43	John Zitello, 1740 E. 12th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
		42	M. Minaden, 1740 E. 12th St., Cleveland, Ohio.

* Peter Connors substituted for Gus Van Heck, November 21, 1944, Second Day.

* Martin Dwyer substituted for William McFetridge, November 29, 1944, Seventh Day.

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office	5	80	Leo E. George, 4121 31st St., Mt. Rainier, Md.
		80	William I. Horner, 2316 N. Wakefield St., Arlington, Va.
		80	Alex F. Swickard, 5026 S. Walcott St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		80	William J. McGrath, 12 S. Irving Ave., Scranton, Pa.
		80	Steve Quarles, 1450 St. Andrew St., New Orleans, La.
			*John F. Bowen, New Orleans, La.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	5	409	George M. Harrison, 7th Floor, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks Bldg., Court and Vine Sts., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		409	Jean W. Dubuc, 4123 Eden St., New Orleans, La.
		408	Oliver De Poorter, 2306 Dante Ave., New Orleans, La.
		408	B. J. Helmke, 824 St. Maurice Ave., New Orleans, La.
		408	A. P. Harvey, care 7th Floor, Brotherhood Railway Clerks' Bldg., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail	3	334	C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.
		333	James A. Suffridge, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.
		333	G. A. Sackett, 418 E. 22nd St., Pittsburg, Kans.
Coopers' International Union of North America	2	25	James J. Doyle, Park Square Bldg., Room 958, Boston 16, Mass.
		25	J. L. Robertson, 321 Rhode Island St., Memphis 5, Tenn.
Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union	2	50	Joseph O'Neill, 216 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.
		50	Sol Cilento, 1417 K St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and	1	71	Foster J. Pratt, Room 200, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of	8	392	Ed J. Brown, 1200 15th St., N.W., Washington 5, D. C.
		391	G. M. Bugniazet, 1200 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		391	Chas. M. Paulsen, 128 N. Wells St., Room 1812, Chicago 6, Ill.
		391	Walter R. Lenox, 3043 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		391	C. F. Preller, 2025 2nd St., N. E., Washington 2, D. C.
		391	Wm. G. Shord, 2104-5 Law & Finance Bldg., Pittsburgh 5, Pa.
		391	G. X. Barker, 905 Watts Bldg., Birmingham 3, Ala.
		391	Claude Skeldon, 243 Foshay Tower, Minneapolis, Minn.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of	3	34	John C. MacDonald, 321 Tremont St., Room 10, Boston 16, Mass.
		34	John Proctor, Room 204, Columbian Bldg., 416 5th St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		34	F. B. Comfort, 20 W. Queen Lane, Philadelphia 44, Pa.

* John F. Bowen substituted for William Horner, November 21, 1944, Second Day.

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Engineers, International Union of Operating	5	200	William E. Maloney, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		200	F. A. Fitzgerald, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		200	Joseph S. Fay, Room 1526, 111 8th Ave., New York 11, N. Y.
		200	Joseph J. Delaney, Room 1526, 111 8th Ave., New York 11, N. Y.
		200	Charles B. Gramling, Route 5, Box 365, Atlanta, Ga.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo	3	37	Edward J. Volz, Room 1110, 292 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
		36	Matthew Woll, 570 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N. Y.
		36	Henry F. Schmal, 3138 S. Grand Blvd., St. Louis 18, Mo.
Fire Fighters, International Association of	4	102	Fred W. Baer, 207 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		101	Bert Hayman, 513 N. Main St., Tulsa, Okla.
		101	John P. Redmond, 1837 N. Austin St., Chicago, Ill.
		101	Vincent J. Kane, 1534 E. 14th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
			*Harry Crews.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	5	106	John F. McNamara, 101 Tremont St., Room 517, Paddock Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		106	John Clinton, Suite 1410, 330 S. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		105	George Wright, Suite 1410, 330 S. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		105	Anthony Matz, 1321 Arch St., 508 Keystone State Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
		105	Joseph P. Clark, 1411 N. Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
Garment Workers of America, United..	5	80	Joseph P. McCurdy, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y.
		80	W. R. Brooks, Room 621, 45 Astor Place New York 3, N. Y.
		80	A. Adamski, 547 Doat St., Buffalo, N. Y.
		80	Geo. C. Slater, Alexandria Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif.
		80	Anne Peterson, Wright Callender Bldg., Room 815-816, 405 S. Hill St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies	7	340	David Dubinsky, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.
		340	Luigi Antonini, 218 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.
		339	Harry Greenberg, 100 East 17th St., New York, N. Y.
		339	Samuel Otto, 128 N. 10th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		339	Joseph Tuvim, 131 West 33rd St., New York, N. Y.
		339	Miss Angela Bambace, 109 North Eutaw St., Baltimore, Md.
		339	David Gingold, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

*Harry Crews substituted for John P. Redmond, November 29, 1944, Seventh Day.

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	4	60	James Maloney, 12 South 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		60	William W. Campbell, 157 Sherwood Ave., Rochester, N. Y.
		60	Michael Flynn, 26 E. Prospect Ave., Washington, Pa.
		60	James McDonald, 5914 Watcher St., Bell, Calif.
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window	1	16	Shuler, Raymond E., 9 East Long St., Suite 3, Columbus, Ohio.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint	4	64	Harry H. Cook, 204 Hardee Bldg., Cor. Huron and Jefferson Sts., Toledo 4, Ohio.
		64	Rudolph J. Peterson, 30 Thurston Road, Apt. 2, Rochester, N. Y.
		64	Lawrence Litman, 10 Court Ave., Moundsville, W. Va.
		64	John P. Connors, 3144 Trumbull St., Bellaire, Ohio.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International	1	31	Anton White, P. O. Box 352, Kewanee, Ill.
Government Employees, American Federation of	2	134	James B. Burns, 900 F St., N. W., Room 716, Washington 4, D. C.
		134	Mrs. Bernice B. Heffner, 900 F St., N. W., Room 716, Washington 4, D. C.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	1	40	Laurence Foley, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.
Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies	1	150	Samuel Reinlib, 265 West 14th St., Suite 1302, New York 11, N. Y.
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United.....	5	64	Max Zaritsky, 245 5th Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
		64	Max Goldman, 48 West 36th St., New York 18, N. Y.
		64	Samuel Herchkowitz, 104 E. 9th St., New York 3, N. Y.
		64	Marx Lewis, 245 5th Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
		64	Abraham Mendelowitz, 31 W. 37th St., New York 18, N. Y.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International	8	417	Jos. V. Moreschi, 821 15th St., N. W., 5th Floor, Washington 5, D. C.
		417	Joseph Marshall, 201 Golden Gate Bldg., 25 Taylor St., San Francisco, Calif.
		417	Herbert Rivers, 590-504 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		416	M. D. Cox, 404 Leland Office Bldg., 523 E. Capitol Ave., Springfield, Ill.
		416	Edward I. Hannah, 731 Bryant Park Bldg., 53 W. 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y.
		416	J. B. Etchison, 414 Atlas Bldg., S E. Long St., Columbus 15, Ohio.
		416	A. C. D'Andrea, 814 W. Harrison St., Chicago 7, Ill.
		416	Holt Ross, 905 Carondelet Bldg., New Orleans 12, La.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America...	7	321	Edward Flore, 422 Sidway Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.
		321	Hugo Ernst, 528 Walnut St., 610 Edwards Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		321	Emanuel Koveleski, 90 State St., Rochester, N. Y.
		321	Chris Lane, 184 W. Canton St., Boston 16, Mass.
		321	Louis Koenig, 1442 Griswold St., Detroit, Mich.
		320	Pauline Newman, 2800 First Ave., Room 103, Seattle 1, Wash.
		320	J. W. Van Hook, 681 Kip St., Los Angeles 14, Calif.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	1	69	Leon Williams, 551 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	3	27	Wm. J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Ave., Cleveland 13, Ohio.
		27	Harry J. Hagen, 4750 Highland Ave., St. Louis 13, Mo.
		27	Walter M. Matthews, 1322 Third Ave., New York 21, N. Y.
Laundry Workers' International Union	3	167	Ray Nickelson, 115 N. Pennsylvania St., Room 1258, Indianapolis 4, Ind.
		167	Sam J. Byers, 115 N. Pennsylvania St., Room 1258, Indianapolis 4, Ind.
		166	George Turry, 591 Summitt Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Leather Workers' International Union, United	1	28	Bernard G. Quinn, 826 Lafayette Bldg., 5th and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia 6, Pa.
Letter Carriers, National Association of	5	120	William C. Doherty, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		120	William J. Gorman, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		120	Joseph P. Considine, 81 Poplar St., Watertown 72, Mass.
		120	Louis Horlbeck, 3735 Baytree St., Pittsburgh 14, Pa.
		120	L. V. McGuigan, 1527 N. Boston Ave., Tulsa 6, Okla.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	3	46	William J. Riehl, 450 7th Ave., New York 1, N. Y.
		46	Robert Bruck, 1737 Howard St., Chicago 26, Ill.
		45	Francis P. Slater, 1827 17th Ave., San Francisco 22, Calif.
Longshoremen's Association, International	3	204	Joseph P. Ryan, 265 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y.
		203	John R. Owens, 265 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y.
		203	V. E. Townsend, 938 Julia St., Jacksonville, Fla.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Machinists, International Association of	7	952	Harvey W. Brown, Machinists' Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		952	N. P. Alifas, 303 Machinists' Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		951	D. M. Burrows, 113 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		951	James Edgar, Room 1509, 265 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y.
		951	John Clayton, Room 31, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.
		951	Harley F. Nickerson, Room 209, Loyalty Bldg., Milwaukee, Wis.
		951	Fred D. Laudemann, Room 315 Watts Bldg., Birmingham 3, Ala.
		*	George C. Castleman.
Maintenance of Way Employees, Broth- erhood of	5	234	E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit 2, Mich.
		234	A. Shoemaker, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit 2, Mich.
		234	J. J. Farnan, 1202 Belmont, South Bend, Ind.
		234	F. H. Fljozdal, 210 Cedarhurst, Detroit, Mich.
		233	H. H. Reddick, 304 First National Bldg., Houston 2, Texas.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Mar- ble Setters Helpers and Terrazzi Helpers, International Association of	2	23	William McCarthy, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		22	John J. Conway, 5335 North 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization	1	30	E. W. Higginbotham, P. O. Box 540, Mobile 4, Ala.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated... ..	6	168	Earl W. Jimerson, 160 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
		168	Patrick E. Gorman, 160 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
		168	Joseph P. McCoy, 712 Concord St., St. Paul, Minn.
		167	John Malone, 1207 Park Ave., Fort Worth, Tex.
		167	Joseph Belsky, 47 West Times Square, New York, N. Y.
		167	T. J. Lloyd, 1748 Harvard Ave., Salt Lake City, Utah.
Metal Workers' International Asso- ciation, Sheet	4	63	Robert Byron, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		63	James J. Ryan, 113 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.
		62	Edward Carlough, New Hyde Park, Long Island, N. Y.
		62	James W. Close, 620 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.
Mine Workers of America, Interna- tional Union, Progressive.....	2	175	Lloyd A. Thrush, 506 South 6th St., Springfield, Ill.
		175	John Marchiando, 506 South 6th St., Springfield, Ill.

* George C. Castleman substituted for Fred D. Laudemann, November 24, Fourth Day.

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, International...	5		<div>[132 Harry Stevenson, Box 688, Cincinnati, Ohio.</div> <div>[132 Joseph Steiger, 535 Belle Ave., Hamilton, Ohio.</div> <div>[131 Ernst Atkinson, 164 Jackson St., Columbus 6, Ohio.</div> <div>[131 Gustave Knuese, 312 E. Wisconsin Ave., Suite 206, Milwaukee, Wis.</div> <div>[131 Charles Blome, 321 Fullerton Bldg., 7th and Pine Sts., St. Louis, Mo.</div>
Musicians, American Federation of....	6		<div>[167 James C. Petrillo, 570 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N. Y.</div> <div>[167 Joseph N. Weber, 621 Alta Drive, Beverly Hills, Calif.</div> <div>[167 Charles L. Bagley, 900 Continental Bldg., 408 S. Spring St., Los Angeles 13, Calif.</div> <div>[167 Vincent Castronovo, 123 Sutton St., Providence, R. I.</div> <div>[166 Stanley Ballard, 32 Glenwood Ave., Minneapolis 3, Minn.</div> <div>[166 Roy W. Singer, 542 North Miami Ave., Miami, Fla.</div>
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of....	7		<div>[200 L. P. Lindelof, Painters and Decorators Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.</div> <div>[200 L. M. Rafferty, Painters and Decorators Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.</div> <div>[200 James Meehan, 84 Towerhill St., Lawrence, Mass.</div> <div>[200 Christian M. Madsen, 3209 West Evergreen Ave., Chicago 5, Ill.</div> <div>[199 Pete Yablonski, 14 Yates, Newark, N. J.</div> <div>[199 M. H. Crow, 114 Washington Place, Marshall, Texas.</div> <div>[199 D. W. Sharpe, 808 Main St., Jacksonville, Fla.</div>
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of	5		<div>[69 Matthew J. Burns, 30 Sheridan Ave., Albany 1, N. Y.</div> <div>[69 Joseph Addy, 30 Sheridan Ave., Albany 1, N. Y.</div> <div>[69 Paul L. Phillips, 30 Sheridan Ave., Albany 1, N. Y.</div> <div>[69 Frank P. Barry, 30 Sheridan Ave., Albany 1, N. Y.</div> <div>[68 Ernest B. Lambton, 106 North Oneida St., Appleton, Wis.</div>
Pattern Makers' League of North America	1		<div>[110 George Q. Lynch, 311 Machinists Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.</div>
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative	4		<div>[63 John E. Rooney, 200 Fidelity Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio.</div> <div>[63 Michael J. McDonough, 200 Fidelity Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio.</div> <div>[62 John J. Hauck, 3409 St. Vincent St., Philadelphia 24, Pa.</div> <div>[62 Michael B. Gallagher, 4560 206th St., Bayside, N. Y.</div>

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of	7	136	George Meany, A. F. of L. Bldg., Wash- ington 1, D. C.
		186	Martin P. Durkin, Room 506, Machinists Bldg., 9th and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		186	Edward J. Hillock, 506 Machinists Bldg., 9th and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		186	Charles M. Rau, 408 S. Leavitt St., Chi- cago 12, Ill.
		186	Joseph Lahey, 1110 Sylvania St., Fort Worth 3, Tex.
		185	Robert Lynch, 269 Central Ave., Jersey City 7, N. J.
		185	John Gillard, 1405 S. W. 3rd Ave., Port- land 1, Oreg.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Help- ers' International Union, Metal....	1	100	Ray Kelsay, 48 Blymyer Bldg., Cincin- nati, Ohio.
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car	2	45	A. Philip Randolph, Room 301, 217 W. 125th St., New York, N. Y.
		45	Milton P. Webster, 4231 South Michli- gan St., Chicago, Ill.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Op- erative	4	54	James M. Duffy, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		54	George Newbon, care Box 6, E. Liver- pool, Ohio.
		54	Timothy J. Desmond, care Box 6, E. Liverpool, Ohio.
		53	Elijah Watson, care Box 6, E. Liverpool, Ohio.
Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America, Interna- tional Plate	1	11	Lee Kistler, 1429 E. Capitol St., Wash- ington, D. C.
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, Interna- tional	5	99	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tenn. New Orleans, La.
		99	Louis P. Sahuque, 1921 Frenchman St., New Orleans, La.
		99	George L. Googe, 416 Hurt Bldg., At- lanta, Ga.
		98	George O. Baker, 416 Hurt Bldg., At- lanta, Ga.
		98	John G. Warrington, 302 Calumet Bldg., St. Louis 1, Mo.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	5	123	John P. Burke, 118 Broadway, Fort Ed- ward, N. Y.
		123	H. W. Sullivan, 118 Broadway, Fort Ed- ward, N. Y.
		123	James S. Killen, Box 494, Capitol Heights, Md.
		122	Elmer Meinz, 1603 University Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
		122	Godfrey Ruddick, 621 Avenue "C," Boga- lusa, La.
Railway Employees of America, Amal- gamated Association of Street and Electric	6	175	W. D. Mahon, 260 E. Vernor Highway, Detroit 1, Mich.
		175	Joseph J. Kehoe, 1608 W. Van Buren St., Room 215, Chicago 12, Ill.
		175	Henry M. Nelson, 6146 Suburban Ave., St. Louis 14, Mo.
		175	Andrew D. Wigstrom, 612 Pence Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.
		174	Robert Arnott, 457 St. Johns Road, Toronto 9, Ont., Can.
		174	Arthur Seward, 229 Hickory Ave., Tena- fly, N. J.

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Railway Mail Association.....	3	{ 73	C. M. Harvey, Room 507, A. F. of L. Bldg., 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		{ 73	J. L. Reilly, 7736 South Park Ave., Chicago 19, Ill.
		{ 72	T. B. Dunahoo, 321 Arlington Ave., Jackson, Tenn.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition	3	{ 27	Charles Aquadro, 3335 Portolia Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		{ 27	J. M. Gavlak, 1703 Terminal Tower, Cleveland 13, Ohio.
		{ 26	George W. Jones, 840 Junipero Serra Blvd., San Francisco 12, Calif.
Seafarers' International Union of North America	4	{ 75	Harry Lundeborg, 59 Clay St., San Francisco, Calif.
		{ 75	James Waugh, 545 Dock St., Seminole Island, Calif.
		{ 75	John Hawk, 51 Beaver St., New York, N. Y.
		{ 75	Morris Weisberger, 105 Broad St., New York, N. Y.
		{ *	Patrick McHugh, 206 Essex St., Boston, Mass.
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of.....	1	{ 9	George L. Warfel, 301 First St., S. E., Washington 3, D. C.
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	5	{ 84	Richard F. Walsh, 630 5th Ave., New York 20, N. Y.
		{ 84	Louis Krouse, 630 5th Ave., New York 20, N. Y.
		{ 84	Thomas V. Green, 210 Richelieu Terrace, Newark 2, N. J.
		{ 84	Elbert J. Brock, 19472 Coffinberry Blvd., Fairview Village, Ohio.
		{ 84	Michael J. Mungovan, 334 University Ave., Rochester 7, N. Y.
State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of.....	5	{ 92	Arnold S. Zander, 448 W. Washington Ave., Madison 1, Wis.
		{ 92	Gordon W. Chapman, 448 W. Washington Ave., Madison 1, Wis.
		{ 92	H. Z. Collier, 1100 N. Ochao St., Apt. 2, El Paso, Tex.
		{ 92	Elling Munkeby, 1503 Eighth Ave., E., Duluth 2, Minn.
		{ 92	Roderick MacDonald, 6 Hillside Terrace, Madison 5, Wis.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International....	1	{ 88	Leo J. Buckley, 475 5th Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen	1	{ 19	Paul A. Givens, 8 East Market St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
Stove Mounters' International Union	2	{ 40	Joseph Lewis, 231 Fremont Ave., Centerville, Calif.
		{ 40	Edw. W. Kaiser, Rooms 203-05, Grand and St. Louis Bldg., St. Louis 7, Mo.
Switchmen's Union of North America	1	{ 93	John Lundergan, Imperial Hotel, 32nd and Broadway, New York 1, N. Y.

* Patrick McHugh substituted for Morris Weisberger, November 27, 1944, Fifth Day.

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Teachers, American Federation of... 4		63	Joseph F. Landis, 967 Elbon Road, Cleveland Heights 21, Ohio.
		63	Irvin R. Kuenzli, 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago 5, Ill.
		63	Ira S. Turley, 509 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago 5, Ill.
		63	Selma M. Borchardt, Homer Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of..... 6		1049	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
		1049	John M. Gillespie, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
		1049	Frank W. Brewster, 552 Denny Way, Seattle 9, Wash.
		1049	Robert Lester, 720 5th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		1048	John J. O'Rourke, 265 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
		1048	H. E. Wood, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.
		*	Michael J. Cashal.
Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad. 2		150	V. O. Gardner, 3673 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis 8, Mo.
		150	E. J. Manion, 106 Palisades Ave., Santa Monica, Calif.
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial..... 4		47	W. L. Allen, 5913 Georgia Ave., Washington 11, D. C.
		47	Hugh C. McKenny, 5913 Georgia Ave., Washington 11, D. C.
		47	J. A. Payne, 4706 Broadway, Room 203, Kansas City, Mo.
		46	George R. Pawson, 17 MacDonnell Ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Textile Workers of America, United.. 4		93	Anthony Valente, 306 Machinists Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		93	Lloyd Klenert, 306 Machinists Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		93	C. E. Earnhardt, 609 Jackson Bldg., Asheville, N. C.
		93	Bernard L. Eberts, 306 Machinists Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
Tobacco Workers' International Union 3		74	John O'Hare, 806 Realty Bldg., Louisville 2, Ky.
		73	R. J. Petree, 806 Realty Bldg., Louisville 2, Ky.
		73	Elmer D. Keen, 806 Realty Bldg., Louisville 2, Ky.
Typographical Union, International.. 6		9	Woodruff Randolph, P. O. Box 428, Indianapolis 6, Ind.
		9	Robert C. Kirkpatrick, 117 Ryan St., Hillside, N. J.
		9	John Simons, 106 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y.
		9	Tillman K. Garrison, 7716 18th St., N. E., Seattle, Wash.
		9	Harold H. Clark, 229 East Beaumont Road, Columbus 2, Ohio.
		8	John W. Austin, 1247 Portland Ave., Albany, Calif.

* Michael J. Cashal substituted for John J. O'Rourke, November 22, 1944, Third Day.

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ORGANIZATION	No. of	No. of votes of each Delegate	Delegates	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Upholsterers' International Union of North America	3	84	Sal B. Hoffmann, 2812 N. Broad St., Philadelphia 32, Pa.	
		83	Alfred Rota, 619 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.	
		83	Tony Remshardt, 2630 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.	
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	John P. Frey, 402 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.	
Railroad Employes Department.....	1	1	B. M. Jewell, 936 North Michigan Ave., 4th Floor, Chicago 11, Ill.	
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	I. M. Ornburn, 202 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.	
Alabama State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Thomas O. Brown, 2004½ North 4th Ave., Birmingham, Ala.	
Arizona State Federation of Labor...	1	1	William A. Gray, 1533 W. Jefferson St., Phoenix, Ariz.	
California State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Cornelius J. Haggerty, 402 Flood Bldg., San Francisco 2, Calif.	
Colorado State Federation of Labor..	1	1	George W. Brayfield, 312 Insurance Bldg., Denver 2, Colo.	
Connecticut State Federation of Labor	1	1	Timothy M. Collins, 1906 Mill Plain Road, Fairfield, Conn.	
Florida State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Leo H. Hill, 808 Main St., Jacksonville, Fla.	
Georgia State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Herbert C. Skinner, P. O. Box 372, Savannah, Ga.	
Idaho State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	August Rosquist, P. O. Box 249, Poca- tello, Idaho.	
Illinois State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Reuben G. Soderstrom, Security Bldg., Springfield, Ill.	
Indiana State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Carl H. Mullen, 701 Peoples Bank Bldg., Indianapolis 4, Ind.	
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	A. A. Couch, 612 Paramount Bldg., Des Moines 9, Iowa.	
Kansas State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Frank E. Welsh, Room 207, Liberty Life Bldg., 214 West 6th St., Topeka, Kans.	
Kentucky State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Edw. H. Weyler, 1402 Washington Bldg., Louisville, Ky.	
Louisiana State Federation of Labor..	1	1	E. J. Bourg, 405 St. Ferdinand St., Baton Rouge 10, La.	
Maine State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Benjamin J. Dorsky, 193 Exchange St., Bangor, Me.	
Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank J. Coleman, 414 Washington Loan and Trust Bldg., Washington 4, D. C.	
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor	1	1	Thomas E. Wilkinson, 11 Beacon St., Room 801, Boston 8, Mass.	

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Michigan State Federation of Labor..	1	1	George W. Dean, 12661 Hamburg, Detroit 5, Mich.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.	1	*	John Reid.
Mississippi State Federation of Labor	1	1	R. A. Olson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor...	1	1	W. L. Hines, 204 Dearborn St., Hattiesburg, Miss.
Montana State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Guy E. Tipton, 1024 South Kings Highway, St. Louis, Mo.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor...	1	1	James D. Graham, 419 Breckenridge St., P. O. Box 1176, Helena, Mont.
Nevada State Federation of Labor....	1	1	John J. Guenther, 304 Arthur Bldg., Omaha 2, Nebr.
New Hampshire State Federation of Labor	1	1	Michael J. Laux, 516 Ogden Ave., Las Vegas, Nev.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor	1	1	Joseph J. Comi, 19 Albin St., Concord, N. H.
New Mexico State Federation of Labor	1	1	Louis P. Marcianite, 509 Parkway Ave., Trenton, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor	1	1	Earl J. McDonald, 116½ East Palace Ave., or Box 165, Santa Fe, N. Mex.
North Carolina State Federation of Labor	1	1	Thomas A. Murray, 265 West 14th St., Room 902, New York 11, N. Y.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. A. Fink, P. O. Box 522, Spencer, N. C.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.	1	1	Phil Hannah, Suite 405, Atlas Bldg., Columbus, Ohio.
Oregon State Federation of Labor....	1	1	J. Cline House, Box 13, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor	1	1	James T. Marr, 506 Labor Temple, Portland 4, Oreg.
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Work- ingmen	1	1	James L. McDevitt, 430 North St., Harrisburg, Pa.
Rhode Island Federation of Labor....	1	1	Nicolas Noguerra Rivera, P. O. Box 270, San Juan, Puerto Rico.
South Carolina State Federation of Labor	1	1	John A. White, 20 Hannah St., Providence, R. I.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Walter P. Hooker, 65 Hasell St., Charleston, S. C.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Lev. G. Loring, 565 Beach Ave., Labor Temple, Memphis, Tenn.
Vermont State Federation of Labor... 1	1	1	Harry W. Acreman, Room 703, Littlefield Bldg., Austin 15, Tex.
Virginia State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Max Wexler, 100 South St., Bennington, Vt.
Washington State Federation of Labor	1	1	John F. Joinville, Labor Temple, Richmond, Va.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor	1	1	James A. Taylor, 619 Lyon Bldg., 3rd at James, Seattle 4, Wash.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.	1	1	E. A. Carter, 606 Tennessee Ave., Charleston 2, W. Va.
		1	George A. Haberman, 1012 North 3rd St., Room 321, Milwaukee 3, Wis.

* Substituted for George W. Dean, November 22, 1944, Third Day.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Wyoming State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Martin Cahill, Lock Drawer 892, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Akron, Ohio, Summit County Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Kenneth D. Statler, 415 Orlando Ave., Akron, Ohio.
Alexandria, La., Central Labor Council	1	1	Sam Domico, Jr., 129 Kathryn Ave., Alexandria 4, La.
Amarillo, Tex., Central Labor Union..	1	1	W. W. Finch, 107 Louisiana St., Amarillo, Tex.
Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council...	1	1	Redmond M. Burr, 320 South 5th Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Athens, Sayre, Pa., and Waverly, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Israel Zimmerman, 302 Ad. Lin. Bldg., Scranton, Pa.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades...	1	1	Henry W. Chandler, Box 1207, Atlanta 1, Ga.
Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union	1	1	Lewis Herrmann, 15 S. North Carolina Ave., Atlantic City, N. J.
Augusta, Ga., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Wm. W. Holley, 2516 North View Ave., Augusta, Ga.
Austin, Tex., Trades Council.....	1	1	T. A. Evans, 1005 Fredericksburg Road, Austin, Tex.
Bakersfield, Calif., Kern County Labor Council	1	1	John W. Brown, P. O. Box 1108, Bakersfield, Calif.
Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Kenneth W. Baer, Box 183, Diablo Heights, Canal Zone.
Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor..	1	1	Harry Cohen, 39 South St., Baltimore, Md.
Baton Rouge, La., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	J. S. Voorhies, P. O. 4021, Capitol Station, Baton Rouge, La.
Battle Creek and Calhoun County, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Kenneth L. Ford, 1209 East Michigan Ave., Battle Creek, Mich.
Beaumont, Tex., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Wm. J. Burkett, 1386 Wall St., Beaumont, Tex.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council...	1	1	Roy Copeland, 2004½ North 4th Ave., Birmingham, Ala.
Bloomington, Ind., Federation of Labor	1	1	Dican Summers, 1004 West 1st St., Bloomington, Ind.
Boise, Idaho, Trades and Labor Council	1	1	John F. Backis, Labor Temple, 613 Idaho St., Boise, Idaho.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union..	1	1	John J. Kearney, 184 West Canton St., Boston, Mass.
Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	William J. Doyle, 75 Egerton Road, Arlington, Mass.
Brunswick, Ga., Central Labor Union	1	1	S. D. Herndon, 612 Carpenter St., Brunswick, Ga.
Buffalo, N. Y., Federation of Labor...	1	1	Robert A. Smith, 85 Columbia Parkway, Buffalo, N. Y.
Burlington, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Martin Baner, 501 South St., Burlington, Iowa.
Butte County, Calif., Labor Council..	1	1	Frankie Behan, 1344 Huntoon St., Oroville, Calif.
Camden, Ark., Central Trades Council	1	1	Chester Johnson, Cash Road, Camden, Ark.

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Leon B. Schacter, 224 Federal St., Camden, N. J.
Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank W. Snyder, 362 Fairview Drive, Charleston, W. Va.
Charlotte, N. C., Central Labor Union	1	1	T. L. Conder, 211-213 North McDowell St., care, Labor Temple, Charlotte 2, N. C.
Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Stanton E. Smith, 223 Morning Side, Chattanooga 4, Tenn.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor....	1	1	Anton Johannsen, 149 E. Huron St., Chicago 11, Ill.
Chicago Heights, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Fred H. Groth, 8951 Commercial Ave., Chicago 17, Ill.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council	1	1	John J. Hurst, 1015 Vine St., Room 407, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor.	1	1	Thomas A. Lenehan, 1248 Walnut Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
Columbus, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Howard Anthony, Box 605, Columbus, Ga.
Columbus, Ohio, Federation of Labor..	1	1	Arthur Kistemaker, 398 Northridge Road, Columbus 2, Ohio.
Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council...	1	1	Wm. J. Harris, 416 Southland Life Bldg., Dallas, Tex.
Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union...	1	1	John E. Breidenbach, 5th and Ludlow Sts., Dayton, Ohio.
Daytona Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union	1	1	R. B. Springstead, 221 First Ave., Daytona Beach, Fla.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Henery H. Herbolshiemer, 1751 Champa St., Denver, Colo.
Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Jas. W. Soutter, 1367 E. 14th St., Des Moines, Iowa.
Detroit, Mich., Wayne County Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank X. Martel, Labor Temple, Park and Montcalm, Detroit 1, Mich.
Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Stewart A. Seifert, 1322 Washington St., Easton, Pa.
East St. Louis, Ill., Trades and Labor Union	1	1	Fern R. Rauch, 1439 N. 42nd St., East St. Louis, Ill.
El Centro, Calif., Imperial Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	K. S. Bitter, 795 Main St., El Centro, Calif.,
El Dorado, Ark., Central Trades Council	1	1	Frank B. Gaston, 103 W. Main St., El Dorado, Ark.

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Trades Council	1	1	George F. Cushing, 639 Salem Ave., Elizabeth, N. J.
El Paso and Vic., Tex., Central Labor Union	1	1	John Sorenson, 223 South Oregon St., P. O. Box 677, El Paso, Tex.
Elyria, Ohio, Central Labor Union....	1	1	Alva Kemp, 174 Pasadena Ave., Elyria, Ohio.
Everett, Wash., Trades Council.....	1	1	H. G. Walter, 2522 Broadway, Everett, Wash.
Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly...	1	1	B. F. Davis, 3111 Flatiron Bldg., Fort Worth 2, Tex.
Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council	1	1	W. T. O'Rear, 321-323 Holland Bldg., Fresno 1, Calif.
Galveston, Tex., Labor Council.....	1	1	B. A. Gritta, 5017 Avenue N½, Galveston, Tex.
Grand Island, Nebr., Central Labor Union	1	1	Roy M. Brewer, 412 W. 13th St., Grand Island, Nebr.
Gulfport, Miss., Central Labor Union..	1	1	John J. Savareese, 24th Ave. and 22nd St., Gulfport, Miss.
Hamilton, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Milton J. Doll, 39 W. McMicken Ave., Cincinnati 10, Ohio.
Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	W. L. O'Brien, P. O. Box 154, Hamilton, Ont., Can.
Harlingen, Tex., Central Labor Union, Lower Rio Grande Valley.....	1	1	Wm. Cullen, Box 744, Harlingen, Tex.
Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Edward H. Miller, 650 Verbeke St., Harrisburg, Pa.
Hattiesburg, Miss., Central Labor Union	1	1	H. W. DeWitt, 917 River Ave., Hattiesburg, Miss.
High Point, N. C., Central Labor Union	1	1	D. G. Garland, P. O. Box 1747, High Point, N. C.
Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Francis W. Curran, 100 St. James Ave., Holyoke, Mass.
Houma, La., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Oneil Labit, P. O. Box 205, Houma, La.
Houston, Tex., Trades and Labor Coun- cil	1	1	M. B. Grimes, 618 Prairie Ave., Houston, Tex.
Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union	1	1	M. A. Fitzgerald, 504 North Main, Hutchinson, Kans.
Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union	1	1	Leon Worthall, 3311 Central Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Jackson, Miss., Central Labor Union..	1	1	G. K. Fritz, 1539 St. Charles, Jackson, Miss.
Jackson, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	W. H. Farham, 406 E. Preston St., Jackson, Tenn.
Joliet, Ill., Will County Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Tony Augustino, 429 North Chicago, Joliet, Ill.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Joplin, Mo., Central Labor Union....	1	1	R. Boyd Prince, 214 Main St., Joplin, Mo.
Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union	1	1	George J. Harrison, 1879 Minnesota Ave., Kansas City, Kans.
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union	1	1	Hugh S. O'Neill, 101 East Armour, Kansas City, Mo.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council	1	1	Jeff O. Johnson, 11014 Lowe Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Harry Gearwater, 1158 Rulison, Price Hill, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Ketchikan, Alaska, Central Labor Council	1	1	Miss Louise Collier, Box 471, Ketchikan, Alaska.
Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union	1	1	John L. Essary, 311 Morgan St., Knoxville, Tenn.
Lake Charles, La., Central Labor Union	1	1	W. R. Mayo, P. O. Box 482, Lake Charles, La.
Lake County, Ind., Central Labor Union	1	1	Martin G. Peterson, 705 Indiana Ave., Hammond, Ind.
Laurel, Miss., Central Labor Union...	1	1	R. V. Johnson, Box 173, Laurel, Miss.
Lincoln, Nebr., Central Labor Union.	1	1	George F. Williams, 2813 Arlington, Lincoln, Nebr.
Long Beach, Calif., Central Labor Union	1	1	Jack T. Arnold, 324 East 4th St., Long Beach 2, Calif.
Lorain, Ohio, City Federation of Labor	1	1	A. C. Shibley, 2648 Lexington Ave., Lorain, Ohio.
Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council	1	1	W. J. Bassett, care, Labor Temple, 540 Maple Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Louisville, Ky., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Harry F. Petty, 1402 Washington Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Sidney E. LeBow, 18 Prescott St., Lowell, Mass.
Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor...	1	1	Mrs. Eva Schwartzman, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Malden and Vic., Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Jack Halpern, 888 Washington St., Boston 11, Mass.
Marysville, Calif., Central Labor Council	1	1	James D'Arcy, 409 Second St., Marysville, Calif.
Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	R. F. Brown, 1005 Galloway Ave., Memphis, Tenn.
Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Clyde Foster, 240 N. E. 8th St., Miami 36, Fla.
Michigan City, Ind., Central Labor Union	1	1	Michael Joseph, 225 West Michigan St., Michigan City, Ind.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council	1	1	J. F. Friedrich, 1012 N. 3rd St., Room 518, Milwaukee 3, Wis.
Minneapolis and Hennepin County, Minn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George P. Phillips, 117 Southeast 4th St., Minneapolis 14, Minn.
Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council.	1	1	Mrs. Sadie Betancourt, 72½ St. Michael St., Mobile, Ala.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Monroe, La., Central Labor Council..	1	1	John B. Bailey, P. O. Box 282, Monroe, La.
Muskegon, Mich., Trades and Labor Council (Greater Muskegon).....	1	1	Earl Smith, 1840 Reynolds, Muskegon Heights, Mich.
Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	David Hanly, 4 Academy Place, Nashville, Tenn.
Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council...	1	1	William C. DeKoning, Labor Lyceum, Front Street, Uniondale, Hempstead, L. I., N. Y.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council..	1	1	Jacob C. Baer, 6 Henry Place, Maplewood, N. J.
New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	John D. Connors, 129 Union St., New Bedford, Mass.
New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Fred Kreger, 1021 Sixth St., New Orleans, La.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vic.	1	1	James C. Quinn, 265 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
Niagara Falls, N. Y., Federation of Labor	1	1	Harry S. Jordan, 204 5th St., Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Omaha, Nebr., Central Labor Union...	1	1	O. Howard Stoughton, 201 Arthur Bldg., Omaha, Nebr.
Orange County, Calif., Central Labor Union	1	1	Alvin Roberts, 1314 Elm Ave., Long Beach, Calif.
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association	1	1	William Lodge, 18 Florence St., Ottawa, Ont., Can.
Panama City, Fla., Central Labor Union	1	1	J. S. Daniels, Leuverne Ave., Box 957, Panama City, Fla.
Pasadena, Calif., San Gabriel Valley Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Burt B. Currigan, 846 South Union Ave., Los Angeles 14, Calif.
Pasco-Kennewick, Wash., Central Labor Union	1	1	Lionel A. Loiseau, 110 North 2nd St., Pasco, Wash.
Passaic County, N. J., Central Labor Union	1	1	Sal Maso, 45 East 21st St., Paterson 4, N. J.
Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union	1	1	Ken H. Brown, P. O. Box 1510, Pensacola, Fla.
Perth Amboy, N. J., Central Labor Union	1	1	Thomas J. Kelly, 313 Washington St., Perth Amboy, N. J.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Joseph A. McDonough, Room 1008, City Centre Bldg., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council	1	1	John A. Stackhouse, 1305 Keenan Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
Portland, Oreg., Central Labor Council of Portland and Vic.....	1	1	Gust Anderson, Room 101, Labor Temple, Portland 4, Oreg.
Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union	1	1	Fred E. Cushman, 979 Maplewood Ave., Portsmouth, N. H.
Portsmouth, Ohio, Central Labor Council of Portsmouth and Vic.....	1	1	Ed Switalski, 816 Findlay St., Portsmouth, Ohio.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Morton Goodman, 75 Cannon St., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union	1	1	Arthur P. Patt, 53 Third St., Providence, R. I.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council	1	1	George M. Rhodes, 132 North Tenth St., Reading, Pa.
St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union	1	1	John I. Rollings, 1411 N. Grand Blvd. St. Louis 6, Mo.
San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council..	1	1	A. F. Caden, Labor Temple, San Antonio, Tex.
San Bernardino, Calif., Central Labor Council	1	1	Harry E. Griffin, 2832 Lincoln Drive, San Bernardino, Calif.
San Diego, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Robt. E. Noonan, 525 E St., San Diego, Calif.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council..	1	1	John F. Shelley, 2940 16th St., San Francisco 3, Calif.
San Mateo, Calif., Central Labor Council	1	1	Arthur Dougherty, 725 B St., San Mateo, Calif.
San Pedro and Wilmington, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Cecil O. Johnson, 341 West 7th St., San Pedro, Calif.
San Rafael, Calif., Marin County Central Labor Council.....	1	1	C. T. McDonough, 918 C St., San Rafael, Calif.
Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Union	1	1	Al Mason, 1418 2nd St., Santa Monica, Calif.
Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	W. M. Tanner, Vernon View Island, Savannah, Ga.
Schenectady, N. Y., Federation of Labor	1	1	Richard J. Carmichael, 123 Western Parkway, Schenectady, N. Y.
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Joseph L. Downes, 1911 Electric St., Dunmore, Pa.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Union of Seattle and Vic.....	1	1	Claude O'Reilly, 552 Denny Way, Seattle 1, Wash.
Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	William C. Graff, 1611 Fair Place, Shreveport, La.
Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	I. M. Nolt, 312½ West 9th St., Sioux Falls, S. Dak.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Wilson Frankland, 8819 Harper Ave., Chicago, Ill.
South Norwalk, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Carmen Lucia, 96 East Avenue, Norwalk, Conn.
Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Union	1	1	David Stalker, S. 219 Brown St., Spokane, Wash.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor..	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 223½ South 6th St., Springfield, Ill.
Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union	1	1	A. C. Guinn, 915 West High, Springfield, Mo.
Springfield, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	George E. McKenna, 119 East Clark St., Springfield, Ohio.
Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union	1	1	O. B. Soucie, 219 Odd Fellow Bldg., Terre Haute, Indiana.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union...	1	1	Oliver Myers, 912 Adams St., Toledo 2, Ohio.
Tuscaloosa, Ala., Central Labor Union	1	1	Elliott Estes, P. O. Box 318, Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Tulsa, Okla., Trades Council.....	1	1	George Majors, 1208 South Braden St., Tulsa, Okla.
Vancouver, Wash., Clark County Central Labor Council.....	1	1	C. L. Smith, 707½ Main St., Vancouver, Wash.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union	1	1	John Locher, 1211A Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Westerly, R. I., Central Labor Union	1	1	Arthur W. Devine, 104 Blossom St., East Providence, R. I.
Wichita, Kans., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Philip P. Aherne, Jr., 201 South Fern St., Wichita, Kans.
Windsor, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Charles Campbell, 25 Ouellette Ave., Windsor, Ont., Can.
Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., Central Labor Union	1	1	Irvin J. Hofschild, 251 Island Ave., Fort Edwards, Wis.
Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	John J. Regan, 107 Front St., Worcester, Mass.
Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	Maury E. Rubin, 605 Clara Ave., St. Louis 12, Mo.
Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 22519, Mobile, Ala	1	1	Stanton Dann, Mobile Labor Journal, P. O. Box 720, Mobile 4, Ala.
Aluminum Workers' Union No. 18780, E. St. Louis, Ill.....	1	17	William L. Cowley, 3903 Glass Place, East St. Louis, Ill.
Aluminum Workers' Union No. 22724, Lister, Ala.	1	23	Bob Conner, 101 Alabama Ave., Sheffield, Ala.
Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union, United No. 19388, Louisville, Ky.	1	37	Matthew W. Davis, 520 Winkler Ave., Louisville, Ky.
Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union No. 23704, New York, N. Y....	1	1	Anthony Gennaro, 11-13 47th Road, Long Island City, N. Y.
Can Workers' Union No. 22623, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	18	Catharine Connelly, 1239 Spring Garden St., Philadelphia 23, Pa.
Cannery, Dried Fruit and Nut Workers' Union No. 21634, Oroville, Calif.	1	6	Raymond V. Westfall, 1344 Huntoon St., Oroville, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20324, Sacramento, Calif.	1	28	Albert E. Bilger, 1155 Larkin Way, Sacramento, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20676, Stockton, Calif.	1	14	L. J. Hill, 425 East Miner Ave., Stockton 2, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20707, Portland, Oreg.	1	5	Lowery D. McLane, 4128 S. E. 24th Ave., Portland 2, Oreg.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20843, Southern Alameda County, Calif....	1	15	Harry Rizzo, 594 Castro St., Room 318, Schafer Bldg., Hayward, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20852, Santa Clara County, Calif.....	1	39	Walter L. Jones, 705 West Washington St., Sunnyvale, Calif.

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes cast by Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20889, Kingsburg, Fresno County, Calif....	1	1	Hal P. Angus, 1916 Broadway, Room 403, Oakland 12, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20905, Northern Alameda County, Calif....	1	20	Vernon L. Pankey, 414 13th St., Oakland 12, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 22382, Modesto, Calif.....	1	19	R. N. Tomson, 329 S. 99 Hi-Way, Modesto, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 22473, Sunnyvale, Calif.	1	9	Fred Less, 784 Loma Verde Ave., Palo Alto, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 23099, Selma and Vic., Calif.....	1	2	William R. Dennis, P. O. Box 316, Selma, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 23104, Salem, Oreg.	1	1	Charles R. Smith, 1200½ S. E. 82nd Ave., Portland, Oreg.
Display Fixture Workers' Union No. 21625, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	William Wolpert, care, United Hebrew Trades, 175 E. Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Editorial Association No. 23241, Joliet, Ill.	1	1	S. P. Miller, 68 W. Van Buren, Joliet, Ill.
Enamel Workers' Union No. 23055, Dunbar, W. Va.....	1	4	Owen O. Bibbee, 1256 West Virginia Ave., Dunbar, W. Va.
Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	43	Thomas M. Holleran, 31 N. Ashmead Place, Philadelphia, Pa.
Federal Labor Union No. 19119, East St. Louis, Ill.....	1	6	James Swift, 5 Commodore Drive, Belle- ville, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 19152, Min- neapolis, Minn.	1	18	W. A. Younker, 4021 36th Ave., South Minneapolis, Minn.
Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seat- tle, Wash.	1	4	Sam P. Ming, 126 New Labor Temple, 2800 First Ave., Seattle 1, Wash.
Federal Labor Union No. 19635, Mus- kegon, Mich.	1	3	Miss Serah Walker, 1825 Getty St., Muskegon, Mich.
Federal Labor Union No. 18546 (3 votes); Federal Labor Union No. 19806 (93 votes); Metal Workers' Union, Corrugated, No. 19339 (3 votes); Metal Workers' Union, Fabricated, No. 19340 (5 votes); Milwaukee, Wis.	1	104	Felix Reisdorf, 3310 North 27th St., Mil- waukee 10, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 19897, Jer- sey City, N. J.....	1	1	George J. Kane, 777 Bergen Ave., Jer- sey City, N. J.
Federal Labor Union No. 29186, Bar- berton, Ohio	1	26	Wilbur F. Phillips, 473 Third St., Ct., Barberton, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 21088, Wee- hawken and Vic., N. J.....	1	3	John McEntee, 620 Main Ave., Clifton, N. J.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Federal Labor Union No. 22122, Euclid, Ohio	1		1 John Grdanc, 5504 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 22454, New Orleans, La.	1		1 Claude P. Babin, 4421 Iberville St., New Orleans 19, La.
Federal Labor Union No. 22631 (42 votes); Metal Workers' Union No. 19829, Nesco Fabricated (6 votes); Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16456 (2 votes); Milwaukee, Wis.	1	50	John E. Cudahy, 2118 West National Ave., Milwaukee 4, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 22636, East Chicago, Ind.	1		1 Charles R. Rosenberg, 2325 176th Place, Lansing, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 22694, Brockton, Mass.	1	26	Paul H. Kendrigan, School St., West Hanover, Mass.
Federal Labor Union No. 22753, New Orleans, La.	1		1 Marc M. Mandot, 5328 Coliseum St., New Orleans 15, La.
Federal Labor Union No. 23160, Balboa, C. Z.	1		1 James Daniel Dunaway, 1521C Gavilan Road, Balboa, Canal Zone.
Federal Labor Union No. 23472, Mayfield, Ky.	1	14	James E. Stewart, 110½ South 5th St., Paducah, Ky.
Federal Labor Union No. 23491, Pascagoula, Miss.	1		1 S. N. Ashley, 924 Resca De La Palma St., Pascagoula, Miss.
Federal Labor Union No. 23493, Lake Charles, La.	1		1 C. A. Dugas, P. O. Box 699, Lake Charles, La.
Federal Labor Union No. 23616, Tulsa, Okla.	1		1 O. A. Vinall, 114 S. Boulder, Tulsa 3, Okla.
Flour and Feed Mill Workers' Union No. 21762, Beardstown, Ill.	1		1 George D. Weiny, 1329 Cedar St., Keokuk, Iowa.
Fur Workers' Union No. 21479 (1 vote); Fur Workers' Union No. 21480 (1 vote); Fur Workers' Union No. 21481 (1 vote), Toronto, Ont., Can.	1	3	Sidney Waverman, 47 Cecil St., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Metal Specialty Workers' Union, Fabricated, No. 22561, Chicago and Vic., Ill.	1		1 F. J. Haggerty, 2800 West Madison St., Chicago 12, Ill.
News Writers' Union No. 19982, Jackson, Miss.	1		1 F. W. Patton, P. O. Box 2012, Jackson, Miss.
Office Employees' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.	1	7	Paul R. Hutchings, 1110 13th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Office Employees' Union No. 16821, Portland, Oreg.	1	29	J. Howard Hicks, 1110 13th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
Office Employees' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.	1	1	L. E. Groner, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minn.
Office Employees' Union No. 19903, Atlanta, Ga.	1	1	Miss Minerva J. West, 905 Carondelet Bldg., New Orleans, La.
Office Employees' Union No. 20380, Miami, Fla.	1	1	Walter Hoyt, P. O. Box 828, Miami, Fla.
Office Employees' Union No. 21516, San Antonio, Tex.	1	1	Emily Jordan, 926 Cincinnati Ave., San Antonio, Tex.
Office Employees' Union No. 21786, Detroit, Mich.	1	1	Verna Corrigan, 82 West Montcalm, Room 505, Detroit, Mich.
Office Employees' Union No. 22222, Tampa, Fla.	1	9	M. B. Burnett, 2113 Marjorie Ave., Tampa, Fla.
Office Employees' Union No. 22683, Montreal, Que., Can.	1	1	Marcel E. Francq, 2231a Beaubien St., East, Montreal, Que., Can.
Office Employees' Union No. 23077, Vancouver, Wash.	1	12	Homer Parish, care, Arlene Davis, R. 1, Box 359, Vancouver, Wash.
Office Employees' Union No. 23259, Providence, R. I.	1	2	Raymond J. Jamieson, 30 Hatfield St., Pawtucket, R. I. *Alexander Hylek, 48 Pekin St., Providence, R. I.
Patrolmen's Union, Railway, No. 22503, New Orleans, La.	1	1	Vincent G. Piattoly, 932 Valence St., New Orleans 15, La.
Patrolmen's Union, Railway, No. 23228, Galveston, Tex.	1	1	M. J. Mellen, 816 Ball, Galveston, Tex.
Potash and Magnesium Workers' Union No. 23507, Carlsbad, N. Mex.	1	2	A. E. Coleman, Sparks Apartment No. 3, Carlsbad, N. Mex.
Protector's Union, Private Property, No. 21485, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Henry W. Ramsaier, 4411 W. Maypole Ave., Chicago 24, Ill.
Saw File and Steel Products Workers' Union, United, No. 22254, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	22	Otto Vollmer, 7169 Gillespie St., Philadelphia 35, Pa.
Sawsmiths' Federal Labor Union No. 18548, Indianapolis, Ind.	1	1	Arthur L. Thompson, 1510 Olive St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Smelter Workers' Union, Tin, No. 23198, Texas City, Tex.	1	3	H. J. Bierman, 1215 Avenue N, Galveston, Tex.

* Alexander Hylek substituted for Raymond J. Jamieson, November 22, 1944, Third Day.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14268, Kansas City, Kans.....	1	1	Thomas Wands, 1033 Waverly St., Kansas City, Kans.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20485, Providence, R. I.....	1	1	Edward R. Quirk, 61 Spoffard Ave., Providence, R. I.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 21142, Rochester, N. Y.....	1	1	Jack Cadden, 16 State St., Room 505, Rochester 4, N. Y.
Telegraph Workers' Federal Labor Union (Gulf Division) No. 22679, Dallas, Tex.	1	32	Van McKee, 1915½ Main St., Dallas, Tex.
Textile Examiners' and Finishers' Union No. 18205, Greater New York, N. Y.	1	3	Louis Lufrano, 41 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	John Brown, Swinton House, Gray's Inn Road, London, W. C. I., England.
		1	Arthur Horner, 2 St. Andrews Crescent, Cardiff, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. 1		1	A. R. Johnstone, 1262 Woodbine Ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
National Women's Trade Union League of America.....	1	—	Rose Schneiderman, 247 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
90	National and International.....	335	63,681
3	Departments	3	3
44	State Bodies	44	44
151	Central Labor Unions.....	151	151
76	Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	69	721
3	Fraternal Organizations	4	3
367		606	64,603

LIST OF DELEGATES AND FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers.	1911 James Duncan.	*1915	
	1913 George W. Perkins.	*1917	
To British Trades Union Congress			
1895 { Samuel Gompers.	1911 { Wm. B. Macfarlane.	1927 { John Coefield.	
{ P. J. McGuire.	{ Daniel J. Tobin.	{ Michael Casey.	
1896 { J. W. Sullivan.	1912 { George L. Berry.	1928 { Michael P. Greene.	
{ Adolph Strasser.	{ John H. Walker.	{ William B. Fitzgerald.	
1897 { Martin Fox.	1913 { Charles L. Baine.	1929 { William J. Rooney.	
{ Geo. E. McNeill.	{ Louis Kemper.	{ William P. Clarke.	
1898 { James Duncan.	*1914 { W. D. Mahon.	1930 { John J. Manning.	
{ Harry Lloyd.	{ Matthew Woll.	{ Thomas E. Maloy.	
1899 { James O'Connell.	†1915 { W. D. Mahon.	1931 { Joseph P. Ryan.	
{ Thomas F. Tracy.	{ Matthew Woll.	{ Joseph V. Moreschi.	
1900 { J. M. Hunter.	1916 { W. D. Mahon.	1932 { Joseph A. Franklin.	
{ Sidney J. Kent.	{ Matthew Woll.	{ E. E. Milliman.	
1901 { Daniel J. Keefe.	1917 { John Golden.	1933 { Thomas E. Burke.	
{ Eugene F. O'Rourke.	{ James Lord.	{ Christian M. Madsen.	
1902 { Patrick Dolan.	1918 { J. A. Franklin.	1934 { Michael J. Colleran.	
{ Henry Blackmore.	{ Wm. J. Bowen.	{ Edward Flore.	
1903 { Max S. Hayes.	1919 { Wm. L. Hutcheson.	1935 { Henry F. Schmal.	
{ Martin Lawlor.	{ John J. Hynes.	{ Dennis Lane.	
1904 { W. D. Ryan.	1920 { Timothy Healy.	1936 { William J. McSorley.	
{ D. D. Driscoll.	{ Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	{ Edward Canavan.	
1905 { John A. Moffitt.	1921 { Wm. J. Spencer.	1937 { William C. Birthright.	
{ James Wood.	{ James J. Forrester.	{ John B. Haggerty.	
1906 { Frank K. Foster.	1922 { Benjamin Schlesinger.	1938 { P. J. Morrin.	
{ James Wilson.	{ E. J. McGivern.	{ Daniel J. Tobin.	
1907 { John T. Dempsey.	1923 { Peter Shaughnessy.	1939 { Felix H. Knight.	
{ W. E. Klapetzky.	{ Anthony J. Chlopek.	{ James Maloney.	
1908 { Andrew Furuseth.	1924 { Peter J. Brady.	**1940	
{ James J. Creamer.	{ Edward J. Gaior.		
1909 { John P. Frey.	1925 { A. Adamski.	**1941	
{ B. A. Langer.	{ Edw. J. Evans.		
1910 { W. B. Wilson.	1926 { Frank Farrington.	1942 { Daniel J. Tobin.	
{ T. V. O'Connor.	{ Wm. L. Hutcheson.	1943 { Isidore Nagler.	
		1944 { Harold D. Ulrich.	
		1944 { Hugo Ernst.	
		1944 { Holt Ross.	

From British Trades Union Congress

1894 { John Burns.	1906 { Allen Gee.	1918 { F. Hall.	
{ David Holmes.	{ J. N. Bell.	{ Miss Margaret Bondfield.	
1895 { Edward Cowey.	1907 { David J. Shackleton.	1919 { S. Finney.	
{ James Mawdsley.	{ John Hodge.	{ Miss Margaret Bondfield.	
1896 { Sam Woods.	1908 { John Wadsworth.	1920 { J. W. Ogden.	
{ John Mallinson.	{ H. Skinner.	{ J. Jones.	
1897 { Edward Harford.	1909 { A. H. Gill.	1921 { J. H. Thomas.	
{ J. Havelock Wilson.	{ J. R. Clynes.	{ James Walker.	
1898 { William Inskip.	1910 { W. Brace.	1922 { E. L. Poulton.	
{ William Thorne.	{ Ben Turner.	{ H. Smith.	
1899 { James Haslam.	1911 { G. H. Roberts.	1923 { R. B. Walker.	
{ Alexander Wilkie.	{ J. Crinion.	{ W. C. Robinson.	
1900 { John Weir.	1912 { J. A. Seddon.	1924 { C. T. Cramp.	
{ Pete Curran.	{ R. Smillie.	{ A. B. Swales.	
1901 { Frank Chandler.	1913 { I. H. Gwynne.	1925 { Ben Smith.	
{ Ben Tillett.	{ T. Greenall.	{ A. A. Purcell.	
1902 { M. Arrandale.	**1914	1926 { J. Bromley.	
{ E. Edwards.		{ G. Hicks.	
1903 { William Mullin.	1915 { C. G. Ammon.	1927 { Arthur Pugh.	
{ James O'Grady.	{ E. Bevin.	{ W. Sherwood.	
1904 { William Abraham.	1916 { H. Gosling.	1928 { John Marchbank.	
{ James Gignall.	{ W. Whitefield.	{ E. Edwards.	
1905 { William Mosses.	1917 { John Hill.	1929 { J. T. Brownlie.	
{ David Gilmour.	{ Arthur Hayday.	{ J. Bell.	

LIST OF DELEGATES AND FRATERNAL DELEGATES (Continued)

1930 { A. A. Findlay. A. Shaw.	1935 { Andrew Conley. Andrew Naesmith.	1940 { Rt. Hon. Sir Walter Citrine.
1931 { F. Wolstencroft. J. Beard.	1936 { William Kean. George Gibson.	1941 { George W. Thomson. Edward Hough.
1932 { W. Holmes. Charles Duke.	1937 { William R. Townley. John C. Little.	1942 { Jack Tanner. Arthur Bryn Roberts
1933 { James Rowan. J. A. Hall.	1938 { Joseph Jones. J. W. Stephenson.	1943 { Harry N. Harrison. W. Bayliss.
1934 { A. G. Walkden. John Stokes.	1939 { Herbert Henry Elvin. † John Brown.	1944 { John Brown. Arthur Horner.

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas L. Kidd.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1930 Adolph Kummer.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1931 Charles J. Case.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1932 Frank B. Powers.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1933 James C. Quinn.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1934 Joseph P. McCurdy.
1903 John Coleman.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1935 James Maloney.
1904 John H. Richards.	1920 W. G. Shea.	1936 M. J. Gillooly.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1921 John O'Hara.	1937 R. A. Henning.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.	1938 Joseph J. Kehoe.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.	1939 E. L. Wheatley.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1924 Walter W. Britton.	1940 Claude O'Reilly.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1925 James Duncan.	1941 Harry Stevenson.
1910 John J. Manning.	1926 James B. Connors.	1942 Thomas J. Lyons.
1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.	1943 Arnold S. Zander.
1912 John T. Smith.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.	1944 Anthony Valente.
1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1929 John D. Haggerty.	

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 David A. Carey.	1914 R. A. Rigg.	1930 William E. Stephenson.
1899 David A. Carey.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1931 Colin McDonald.
1900 David A. Carey.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1932 W. V. Turnbull.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1933 Fred J. White.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1934 William Dunn.
1903 James Simpson.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1935 J. A. P. Haydon, M. C.
1904 John A. Flett.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	1936 George R. Brunet.
1905 William V. Todd.	1921 M. U. F. Bush.	1937 Rod Plant.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1922 Ernest Robinson.	1938 W. G. Russell.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1923 James A. Sullivan.	1939 D. W. Kennedy.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1924 John Colbert.	1940 E. A. Jamieson.
1909 F. Bancroft.	1925 Donald Dear.	1941 H. C. Simpson.
1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1926 Richard Lynch.	1942 Donovan Swailes.
1911 Wm. Glockling.	1927 Alfred Farnilo.	1943 Joseph Matte.
1912 John W. Bruce.	1928 Wm. Varley.	1944 A. R. Johnstone.
1913 Gus Franco.	1929 James A. Whitebone.	

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly. Roberto Haberman.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas. Roberto Haberman.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino Jose F. Guterrez. Salustrio Hernandez.
		1941 { Luis N. Morones. Roberto Haberman.

* No convention.

** No. delegates.

† Did not attend.

Conventions OF THE American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Quebec, Canada	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.
1926	Detroit, Mich.	October 4-14.
1927	Los Angeles, Calif.	October 3-14.
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28.
1929	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	October 7-18.
1930	Boston, Mass.	October 6-17.
1931	Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada	October 5-15.
1932	Cincinnati, Ohio	Nov. 21-Dec. 2.
1933	Washington, D. C.	October 2-13.
1934	San Francisco, Calif.	October 1-12.
1935	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 7-19.
1936	Tampa, Fla.	November 16-27.
1937	Denver, Colo.	October 4-15.
1938	Houston, Tex.	October 3-13.
1939	Cincinnati, Ohio	October 2-13.
1940	New Orleans, La.	November 18-29.
1941	Seattle, Wash.	October 6-16.
1942	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	October 5-14.
1943	Boston, Mass.	October 4-14.
1944	New Orleans, La.	November 20-30.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1945

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.—NAME

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2 A. Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council, or on request of National and International Unions representing a majority of the total membership of the American Federation of Labor, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last regular convention.

B. Special conventions shall not be called unless at least 30 days' notice of such special convention, together with statement of particular subject or subjects to be considered, has been given to all affiliated organizations.

C. Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

D. Special conventions shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

SEC. 3. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 4. The following committees, consisting of 15 members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organization; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 5. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least 10 days previous to the holding of the annual convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the

American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding 12 months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 6.—¹ All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

² All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

³ Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

⁴ Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive consideration of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

⁵ All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals received shall, immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated, be grouped as to nature of contents, character of subjects embraced, and committees to which they are to be referred, and all such proposals in such allocated form shall be prepared for distribution at the opening session of the convention.

⁶ The President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention, to consider proposals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

SEC. 7. The convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 8. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

SEC. 9. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 10. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be in force from the opening of any convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

SEC. 11. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a convention.

SEC. 12. No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than 4,000 members, one delegate; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; 32,000 or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitely. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pre-

pare for the use of the convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the annual convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of the suspension of the body, violating this section. No organization officer or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, 13 Vice Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the succeeding convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the 31st day of December succeeding the convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the regular and special conventions; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer at the end of each month an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be

required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$20,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

SEC. 6. The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following. The President, with the approval of the Executive Council, shall likewise have authority and be empowered to safeguard and protect and if necessary take immediate charge of all equities and properties, tangible or intangible, acquired and/or possessed by State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and Local and Federal Labor Unions or their subsidiaries or agents, whenever or however such equities and/or properties may be jeopardized through disobedience to the constitution, laws, rules and requirements of the American Federation of Labor or for any other reason or cause deemed imperative by the President and the Executive Council, and shall hold same in trust as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Disciplinary action by the President shall consist of "emergency action" and "decisions," the latter being subject to the appeal to the Executive Council hereinbefore provided. "Emergency action" shall be taken when in the opinion of the President it is necessary to preserve the rights of the American Federation of Labor, or of any affiliate mentioned in this section, or of any officers or members thereof, and for the purpose of preserving the status quo. Emergency action shall be effective only for 45 days unless within such 45 days written charges are caused to be served on the affiliate involved, or on the officers or members involved if they are individually charged. If such charges are served then the emergency action shall stand until a trial is had before the President or a representative designated by him to hear them. Such trial shall commence within 45 days after the charges have been served. If the trial is before a representative designated by the President he shall report his findings orally or in writing to the President, who shall, within 15 days, render a decision in the matter. Such decision shall consist of a dismissal of the charges if found untrue or that they, or part of them, are sustained, whereupon the President shall take such disciplinary action as hereinbefore authorized. Such action shall constitute the President's "decision," but shall be subject to change or modification by him before an appeal to the Executive Council is acted upon. An appeal to the Executive Council shall be in writing

and mailed to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor within 15 days after the President has rendered his decision. Pending an appeal, the decision of the President shall remain in full force and effect.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the regular and special conventions, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the regular and special conventions may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposit at the expiration of each interest period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested interest-bearing securities, and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this constitution, and none others.

SEC. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

SEC. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council, and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$18,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended;

close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated Local Unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

SEC. 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee, and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so

far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The salaries of organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council, in addition to which they shall receive railroad fare and hotel expenses when traveling away from the city in which they reside. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds

majority of a regular or special convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

A National or International Union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention, voting in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 of Article IV of this constitution, except in cases where two (2) or more National or International Unions unite and conspire to launch, create or maintain an organization dual and rival to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, charges may be filed against said organization or organizations, a hearing shall be held upon said charges by the Executive Council and, if found guilty by it, said organization or organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council with the right of appealing to the next succeeding annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. If appeal is taken, the suspended union, or unions, will have the right of appearing before the convention committees and the convention itself, but without the right to vote.

SEC. 13. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and general laws, as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions, and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one and one-half (1½) cents per member per month up to 300,000 members, and one (1) cent per member per month for members in excess of 300,000; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five and one-half (35½) cents per member per month, eight and one-half (8½) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in Section 1, Article X, and assessments as provided in Article XII, Sections 1 and 2, have been paid

in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter by the President or the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instruction shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, to strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the President or Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union or other

Central Body of delegates shall have power or authority to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list that has agreements with any International or National Union or Local Unions until the National or International Unions or Local Unions having such agreements are informed of the request made upon the Central Body of delegates and such International, National or Local Unions working under agreements that may be affected have had reasonable time to intercede and until the Local Union desiring such action by the Central Body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement.

Failure to reach an understanding between the unions involved, the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of Local Unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; one additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of 1 cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding 10 weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

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SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within 60 days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council, the moneys of the Defense Fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, endorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the Defense Fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within 24 hours, call a meeting of said union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the Defense Fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said Defense Fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the

first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the Defense Fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of 10 cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand dollars (\$5,000) in the Defense Fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the Defense Fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than 5 cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall not be less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar (\$1.00), together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and

names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the financial secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies, affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership, and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five dollars (\$5.00), payable to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor

Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor or its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this, in no instance, shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the

headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The executive council of each department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each Department shall report to the Executive Council of the

American Federation of Labor that the Department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each Department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall, on roll call, be entitled to two votes. A roll call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various Departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their Department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each Department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each Department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department, each Department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS

This constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

FOLLOWING ARE RULES ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

UPON RESOLUTION DULY MADE, SEC-
ONDED AND PASSED, THE FOLLOWING
RULES WERE ADOPTED BY THE EX-
ECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR, PURSUANT TO
THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY
AS SET FORTH IN SECTION 8, OF
ARTICLE 9, OF THE CONSTITUTION OF
THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
IN SESSION IN WASHINGTON, D. C.,
MAY 5-20, 1936, AND AMENDED BY CON-
VENTION ACTION, NEW ORLEANS, LA.,
NOVEMBER 26, 1940.

1. State Federations of Labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor shall adopt their policies—legislative, political, civic and organizational—to the policies adopted by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and if any State Federation of Labor purposely deviates from the policies of the American Federation of Labor, or if any State Federation of Labor violates any of the laws or provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor or any order of its Executive Council pursuant thereto, such State Federation of Labor shall be dealt with by the Executive Council. In the event the Executive Council finds a State Federation of Labor guilty after hearing of charges filed, the Executive Council may take any of the following steps: (a) Forgive said breach with or without condition to be fulfilled by said State Federation of Labor; (b) suspend said State Federation from the American Federation of Labor and from enjoying the benefits from said membership for a definite or for an indefinite time; (c) penalize said State Federation for said breach in any other way; or (d) if the actions of said State Federation of Labor have been so serious that all relations between it and the American Federation of Labor shall be severed, revoke its charter subject to appeal to the next succeeding convention of the American Federation of Labor.

2. The President of the American Federation of Labor, under authority vested in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby authorized to discipline any Central Labor Union or any Federal or

Local Labor Union and where the President of the American Federation of Labor, in pursuance of this authority, has disciplined any Central Labor Union, or Federal or Local Labor Union, and has suspended or expelled its officials, or has suspended its charter, an appeal may be taken by the aggrieved party to the Executive Council, and if the said appeal presents a *prima facie* case of error on the part of the President, the Executive Council may hear and determine the appeal.

3. The Executive Council shall investigate the affairs and audit the books of Federal and of Local Labor Unions periodically, and if said audit and investigation shows that said Federal or Local Labor Union has more members than it is paying a per capita tax on, the Executive Council shall take steps to collect in full the per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor.

Approved by 1936 convention, held in Tampa, Fla. (page 497 official proceedings). THE FOLLOWING RULE WAS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HELD AT THE COSMOPOLITAN HOTEL, DENVER, COLORADO, OCTOBER 14, 1937:

EXPENSES INCURRED IN RECOVERING PROPERTY AND FUNDS ARE CHARGEABLE TO FUNDS OR PROPERTY RECOVERED.

"Whenever a directly chartered Trade or Federal Labor Union or State or City Central Body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor secedes, or its charter is suspended or revoked, and demand is made upon such organization or its officers to deliver to the President of the American Federation of Labor, or his authorized representative, the records, property and funds of such organization, and such demand is refused, then all expenses, of whatever nature, incurred by the American Federation of Labor in recovering such records, property and funds shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved, and on recovery thereof the American Federation of Labor shall reimburse itself from the property and funds recovered."

Sixty-Fourth Annual Convention OF THE American Federation of Labor 1944

New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20, 1944

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

FIRST DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION

Pursuant to law the Sixty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in the Municipal Auditorium at 10:15 o'clock, Mr. James Dempsey, Chairman of the Local Convention Committee presiding as Temporary Chairman.

Preceding the opening of the convention John De Droit's orchestra, composed of Union musicians entertained the delegates and visitors.

CHAIRMAN DEMPSEY: Ladies and gentlemen, for our Canadian delegates, "The Maple Leaf Forever."

The orchestra played the Canadian National Anthem, followed by our own National Anthem.

CHAIRMAN DEMPSEY: The invocation this morning will be given by the Reverend Father C. C. Chapman, S.J., of the Department of Industrial Relations, Loyola University, and Chairman of Political Science.

INVOCATION

(Reverend C. C. Chapman, S.J., Loyola University)

Our Father who art in Heaven hallowed be Thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven.

Grant, O God, that we may understand these words, and let us follow Thy will in all things, understanding as we do that following the will of men, of individuals, groups or nations, we can come only to tragic ends.

Therefore, we beseech Thee to give us Thy blessing and direct all of the deliberations of these meetings and of this convention that they may start in Thee, carry on through Thee, and end in Thy Holy Spirit—Amen.

CHAIRMAN DEMPSEY: As chairman of the Arrangements Committee of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New Orleans, I bid you welcome. It is with a great deal of pleasure that I introduce my good friend and associate, a man who is recognized by the people he represents as a great civic

leader—our own Steve Quarles, President of the Central Trades and Labor Council of the City of New Orleans.

MR. STEVE QUARLES

(President, Central Trades and Labor Council of New Orleans)

Chairman Dempsey, President Green, members of the Executive Council, distinguished guests, delegates and visitors to the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: Representing labor for the city of New Orleans, I wish to extend to you a most sincere welcome to our city. I hope you will enjoy your stay down here, and if there is anything the Local Committee can do to help you along, we will be glad to do that. Someone said to me yesterday, "I thought you told us when we were in Boston last year to come to the city of New Orleans and you would have good weather." Well, we like to make people feel at home down in this grand old city of ours, and knowing that a great many of you come from the northern part of the country and are accustomed to bad weather, we decided to give you a little taste of that.

Now I can assure you that by tomorrow morning we will have sunshine and then you will know what it is to live in the South. I am sure when you go away from here you will agree with us that we do have a fine city, and good labor organizations in the city.

We are proud of the record that organized labor has made in the city in the past four years. I think there is no other part of the great country where organized labor has been doing their duty, and I am sure that that has been true all over this nation of ours. You will find that nowhere has labor been cooperating in trying to do the job we promised to do in a better way than we have here in New Orleans. There have been no strikes in our city and there will not be any for the duration, I can assure you of that. We down here are proud of that record.

I am sure that those who condemn organized labor—and we do have a few of those people left in this country today—when the record of this war is written, the complete and truthful record of this war and the home wars we have had to go through, then and then only will they give the American Federation of Labor true credit for what they have done.

We have our sons and daughters, our brothers in the war, the same as the rest of the people who do not belong to organized labor, and we certainly have done our part and are going to continue to do our part.

We hear a great deal in this day and time of a post-war program. I wonder how many people who discuss the post-war program really know what the term means. I say to you that any post-war program that does not allow organized labor to sit around the table and discuss those problems and

help make that program out is bound to end in trouble in the future, because any program that is put forth must take organized labor into consideration, and the unorganized as well, because if there are some fifty or sixty million people who work and earn their living by the sweat of their brow, then the seven million members of the American Federation of Labor should have some say so in any post-war program, as to just what the conditions of the working people are going to be. The unorganized do not speak for themselves, and so then, they will have to work under the conditions we get for them.

I say to you now that the American Federation of Labor should be recognized in any post-war program and we should continue to demand that in that program we be permitted to sit around that table and help discuss and plan that program.

I am not going into detail to describe the many beautiful spots in our city because there are speakers here today whose job that is. I again want to thank you for the opportunity of having the convention back here again this year, and at some future date, not too far away, I hope we will be able to again invite you to our city after this mighty war is over, when we can have a big convention and you can have all the luxuries of life. I don't think you would enjoy those things now, knowing that your sons and daughters are across the seas in the foxholes. I think you are much more serious minded now than you were four years ago. I said to you then in opening this convention that we could do our part with free labor, not slave labor. I think we have done that job and will continue to do so as long as they leave us free. We have given up many things because we are in a war. We will do the best we can for you while you are here and at some future time when you come back here when the war is over, we will show you a better time. I thank you.

ACTING CHAIRMAN DEMPSEY: Thank you, Mr. Quarles. Our State Federation of Labor is well represented by the President. He can look back with satisfaction to the accomplishment and the progress during the years of his administration. At this time I would like to introduce Brother E. H. "Lige" Williams, President of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor.

MR. E. H. WILLIAMS

(President, Louisiana State Federation of Labor)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, Executive Council, our honored guests and delegates to the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is a pleasure and an honor for me to have this opportunity of again welcoming you to the most interesting city in the world and to the finest

State in the United States, the State of Louisiana.

Four years ago we had this opportunity of welcoming you to our city and our State under different conditions than we have here today. We told you four years ago all of the fine things in the State of Louisiana and the city of New Orleans. We told you all of the hospitality that you would find in the city of New Orleans and the State of Louisiana and told you how we planned for your entertainment and assured you that when you left the city of New Orleans you would want to come back.

I think we did that job pretty well four years ago because we find you back here today.

We can promise the same things today that we could promise four years ago insofar as it will be possible for us to do under war conditions. I know we do not have to go into explaining what all those things are that you are hearing about daily to remind you that the war is on. We know that, but we are going to do the very best we can for all of the delegates who have come here from all over the world to attend this great convention; we are going to see to it, insofar as it is possible for us, that you have all of the comforts we can afford; we are going to see that you have all of the service that can be rendered from as good a committee as you can find anywhere in the world; we are anxious and willing and want to serve you on the very best way we can.

We are proud of the labor movement in the State of Louisiana and in the city of New Orleans. We are proud to be called members of the great American Federation of Labor; we are not ashamed to go into every nook and corner of this State and proclaim to the world that we are members of the finest organization there is. We are glad to be members. We are proud of the officers who represent the American Federation of Labor; we are proud of the record that they have made; we are proud of the members in Louisiana that have loyally followed the policies of the American Federation of Labor.

We can assure you that the same loyalty, the same patriotism that has been displayed in Louisiana in the past will continue in the future, the post-war days. I know that we are all concerned first about when this war will end. That is, of course, as it should be and I know that every delegate who has come here to the city of New Orleans to represent their people in this Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor feels a greater responsibility perhaps than at any time in any convention that has ever been held before of this great organization.

I know that the eyes of the world are on this convention at this time. I think a greater responsibility rests upon the delegates and the officers of the American Federation of Labor than has ever rested upon us before, and I feel certain that with the fine, honest, upright representation that we have here representing our large and powerful International Unions from all sections of the country and other organizations who are represented here by their delegates, a program will be outlined to carry us through

the post-war period, so that when the time comes when the war is over and we reach normalcy again, we will not be faced with the same situation that we were faced with after the last war. I happened to be one of those who returned before, and I can say without any apology that there were disappointments. I hope we will not appoint our returning service men when this war is over; that they can come home and will find security and the employment opportunities that they are entitled to have here.

I think a great deal of that responsibility rests upon us here today, and I feel that a program will be outlined and agreed upon by this great convention represented by the people who are assembled here this morning that will do the very things that we want in the coming years, that will have to do with our lives in the future, and that we can look back upon this convention as being a historic convention where things were done that will redound to the benefit of our fellow men.

I am certain we here in Louisiana will be glad to make your stay a pleasant one. Again, I say it is our desire to give you every service, all of the hospitality and everything else that we can to see to it that your stay here in New Orleans and in this convention is a pleasant one; that you will return again within a short period of time, so that we may have the honor and pleasure of entertaining you through another convention in the very near future. I thank you very kindly.

ACTING CHAIRMAN DEMPSEY: Thank you, Brother Williams.

At this time we have Mr. Charles H. Logan, who will represent the Honorable Robert S. Maestri, Mayor of the City of New Orleans.

MR. CHARLES H. LOGAN (Representing the Mayor of New Orleans)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, Officers and Delegates to the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Visitors:

I speak to you as the representative of proven friends of the American Federation of Labor—Mayor Robert S. Maestri, the members of the Commission Council, and all other officials of the City of New Orleans.

May I begin with a simple truth—that in all my life, I have never been so deeply honored, so humbly grateful and so thoroughly happy as I am at this moment—honored, grateful and happy in the privilege of facing you men and women, many of whom have in the past eleven years gone out of your way to be courteous to me, and to guide, even to watch over me, in my attempts to learn the A, B, C's of labor and labor relations. I thank you, and I welcome you back

to New Orleans with every sincere breath in my body. Mayor Maestri and his associates, the city of New Orleans and myself are yours to command.

You are met here in an hour which is alive with unbounded possibilities. Yours is the task of contributing to the pattern of the world of tomorrow. You are the policy makers for millions of American men and women who labor, so that they may attain security, respect and the requisites of life for themselves and those of their flesh.

I concede that for me to look into the faces of men and women who taught me the rules of the game, and lecture to them borders on the presumptuous. Even so, I ask that in your works and your acts, you be ever mindful of the fact that any sound labor policy must be created by and maintained through the effort of the two separate entities concerned—employer and employee, or, if you will, the company and the Union. Each shoulders stern responsibilities and each must dispose of his responsibilities with courage and a conscientious devotion to duty. Let us take that for our premise, and on that premise strive to build a labor policy which, through its operation, brings to management and Union a knowledge and appreciation of their mutual and respective aims, purposes and problems, company and Union can know and appreciate each other only when they school themselves to think out their problems together, when they work together toward a common goal in a spirit of selfless and unselfish coordination of effort.

Any statement of company and Union obligation must, in the final analysis, constitute a recitation of dual obligation, just as must be the story of dual responsibility in any partnership from which there is to issue wholesome and equitable reward. There are really no "opposite sides of the table" in the true management-employee relationship. The job is a construction job, not a football game. The job is to build an impregnable barricade against those innumerable factors which might militate against the common good. It follows, therefore, that every performance demand made one on the other must, by the nature of things, call for a showing of the right to make that demand.

You are here to shape Labor's policies—to map the road that lies ahead for men and women who live by the sweat of their brow. It was Christ Himself Who decreed that man must labor for his food. It was Christ Himself Who in the carpenter shop at Nazareth taught men that to labor was honorable, and from that time on all men fit to live have gloried in the job well done and the reward justly received.

Your goal is social justice. I do not choose to belabor you with an academic pursuit of this fascinating and all-important question. It is honorable for me to confess that my mind is not of that structure which is conducive to academic pursuit. Books, with their descriptive sentences and their heaped up statistics, are an effort for me. I like to believe that I think as the honest working man thinks—in terms of knowledge gained from past experiences. There is a simple and clear definition of social justice; it is the virtue by which all men regulate

all of their actions in proper relation to the common good. Who is so well equipped to attain this coveted goal? Who is so well equipped to assume an important role in the effort toward establishment of an ideal social order, as are you representatives of the millions of American workers to whom social justice means the difference between a full life and an empty one. Your heritage bestows upon you the solemn obligation to labor actively for those among us who suffer injustices, and to provide that those who are to come after us may be free of injustices. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the enslaved and the war-sick people of the world today look to you and to all of us in America to show them the way to a new and greater happiness. Today the spirit of the laboring people of the world keeps vigil with you. The innocent eyes of all who cry out for social justice are fixed upon America, and upon you men and women who speak the voice of the back-bone of America—her working people. That is your heritage and upon such a just and glorious heritage there falls a tremendous responsibility. The world is watching, wondering, waiting—and the measure of your share of democracy's glory will be the measure of your fidelity to the faith of your people.

New Orleans, her mayor, and her people, say "Welcome" to you. It is a sincere welcome, and coupled with it is the prayer that Almighty God may guide you in your deliberations and speed you in the fulfillment of your mission.

CHAIRMAN DEMPSEY: Thank you, Mr. Logan.

Our great State is a bright spot in the bloc of Southern States. Our Governor who is very sympathetic with our movement, is with us this morning. He, like his predecessor, appointed a Commissioner of Labor from the ranks of labor, and this we highly appreciate. It is my good fortune this morning to introduce to you the Governor of the great State of Louisiana, the Honorable James H. (Jimmie) Davis.

HONORABLE JIMMIE H. DAVIS (Governor of Louisiana)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, distinguished guests, delegates of the American Federation of Labor, fellow members of organized labor, ladies and gentlemen:

I am very happy that it is my privilege to extend to you a cordial welcome to Louisiana.

I am especially delighted in having the privilege of extending a welcome to distinguished visiting delegates from other lands. I do so with that warmth of feeling which comes from the knowledge that your sons are brothers-in-arms with our sons in the fight for justice and right in this world.

So, to all visiting delegates and to others who have honored us with their presence, I extend on behalf of our people a most hearty welcome.

You who have come from more northerly sections have noticed that summer has lingered just a little longer here in Louisiana.

This is indicative of the warm and generous nature and hospitality of our people. This I feel sure you will find to be the fact, whether the climate has anything to do with it or not.

Now, I trust that you will not suspect me of ulterior motives; that you will not think that the Chamber of Commerce has worked me over if I urge you while in our midst to see something of the charm, history and resources of this most interesting city and of the Louisiana that lies beyond it.

You will find that the tempo of life has been quickened in this metropolis; has been quickened in all Louisiana. Our way of life is accelerated by the impetus of war. However, despite this dynamic pace and rush you will find that the heart beat of our people is still true to the finest traditions of the Southland.

Being bountifully blest with raw materials of all kinds Louisiana has been the scene of great industrial activity since the emergency began.

No state, perhaps, has contributed so much per capita of essential war materials as Louisiana.

I am not privileged to go into details regarding these plants for obvious reasons. But, it has been said that if Hitler had been given the opportunity of dropping just one load of bombs on the North American continent he would have dropped those bombs on one of the great industrial centers in Louisiana.

Louisiana has been pouring out a great stream of supplies and implements of war night and day every day.

It is this stream of production going on continuously from the 48 states of the union and from the countries of our gallant Allies which will crush Nazi and Japanese militarism forever.

This overwhelming avalanche of production is the work of labor.

The great question mark in the beginning was whether the human machine could stand up under such a strain of production. For the human body is not made up of bronze, aluminum and copper and steel, but rather of nerves and muscles and bone.

Being so constituted there must have been times when this human machine grew weary. There must have been times, many times perhaps, when nerves became frayed. There must have been moments of impatience, many of them, at conditions seemingly or actually unjust. But, despite all of this, despite human frailty, the tide of production flowed on night and day every day to the four corners of the earth in an undiminished stream.

History must record this as the great miracle. It was the miracle that neither Hitler nor Tojo could foresee. And, when the future historian tells the story, writes the word "miracle" to our production achievement he must write beside that word and preferably before it, the word "labor."

For in the last analysis it is a labor miracle.

I should like to say again what I have said already to one of your groups, that we are proud here of Louisiana's traditionally liberal and friendly attitude toward labor. We were early among the states in the enactment of enlightened labor laws. Our Department of Labor is headed by a real union man. He is a member of your own organization and has been very active in the cause of labor for many years.

I am glad to say also that he is allowed to enforce the labor laws of this state and to work for the good of labor without interference by those not connected directly with the cause of labor.

Our Department of Labor is co-equal in dignity and importance with all other departments of our state and is treated as such at all times.

But I should like to interpolate at this point that I agree with the remarks of one of your leaders when he said here the other day that he looked with grave apprehension on too much governmental patrimony. It is a fact that only labor can work out the destiny of labor. The more you accept patrimony and subsidy and direct assistance from the government the more you surrender your own freedom of action, and that is the most valuable of all of your possessions.

I have a very sincere feeling that your great organization which owes so much to that immortal patriarch, philosopher and humanitarian of other days—Samuel Gompers, (applause) has been the torchbearer of labor in our land. You have lighted the way not only to happier and better conditions of living for your individual members but to a stronger and healthier economy for our whole people. I am sure you will continue in the future, worthy of the high traditions you have written in the past.

Now as a last thought I feel sure that I voice your sentiment, as I voice the sentiment of all right thinking citizens everywhere, when I say that no internal disorder should interfere with the one supreme task that is yours and mine.

If we allow internal dissension and bickering to imperil the safety of our fighting sons whose very lives are committed to our own welfare and security, then history must record our failure in the most solemn and sacred of all of our responsibilities. And I lay that burden upon your hearts today.

And I know that not only the people of this group here today, not only the people of New Orleans and Louisiana, not only the people of your respective states, in our Nation today, but the people in the far remote corners of the earth, people who are tired and hungry, people who have almost lost faith in humanity and people who, perhaps, have almost lost faith in God because of the horrors of a long war are looking with a great deal of interest and anxiety to you and to me, to people everywhere in this country, hoping that we will keep the traditions that have made this country the greatest place on God's green earth for men to live, and hoping also that we will not take on some of the traditions and principles that have meant the ruination of other countries.

We deem it a great honor and privilege and certainly a great pleasure to welcome so distinguished an assembly to our midst.

I hope that your meeting will be profitable, pleasant and constructive. I hope that when you return to your respective homes throughout our country and other countries, you will find things as you would have them be and that you will feel better for having come our way.

Thank you again, very much.

CHAIRMAN DEMPSEY: Thank you, Governor Davis.

Now, I come to the introduction of a truly great leader, a leader of 7,000,000 workers, and a leader of our great organization for twenty years, succeeding the revered Samuel Gompers. One year ago during the height of the miracle of production he said, "We are trying to do a perfect job in an imperfect world." That man is none other than your great leader, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green, on behalf of Miss Louise Collier, of the Central Labor Union of Ketchikan, Alaska, I present to you this gavel of authority.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Mr. Chairman, representatives of the New Orleans Central Trades and Labor Council and of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor, representative of the Mayor and Your Excellency, Governor Davis, Father Chapman, officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, visitors and friends: I voice the feeling and the state of mind of all who are in attendance at this historic convention when I express to all of you their deep appreciation of the cordial welcome extended to them and to us all this morning. We are deeply touched by the sincerity of that welcome. We will be pleased to be your guests, to enjoy your hospitality. Many of those in attendance at this convention were here four years ago. They recall now with feelings of deep pleasure the warm welcome which was extended them on that occasion. We anticipate the pleasure of enjoying a visit with you now for the next two weeks.

Apparently, the members of the American Federation of Labor have formed the habit of coming to New Orleans periodically and quite often. They seem to want to come here again, again and again. They know of no reason for a change, and for

that reason I am of the opinion they will come back again, again and again.

The representatives of the American Federation of Labor are here from the Pacific and the Atlantic Coast. They come from the villages and towns located near the Canadian border, from Alaska and Puerto Rico, from the great agricultural and industrial centers of the Middle West, from the Southland and from all sections of our country, representing 7,000,000 sovereign citizens, members of the army of production. And as you look into their faces this morning you become conscious of the fact that they are impressed deeply with their responsibilities. But above all, we come here as a united organization, an organization that is standing together. They walk as one, they think as one so far as winning this war is concerned. We have no rift within the family of the American Federation of Labor.

We are moved by one sincere, determined purpose, and that is to defeat the tyrants who represent the totalitarian form of government and to establish social and economic justice throughout the entire world.

We have learned to place a new value upon unity, because in these trying days through which we are now passing, we appreciate more than ever the need for unity of thought and unity of action. But as we face the post-war period, realizing that when we make the change from a wartime to a peacetime economy, we will face new and difficult problems, we understand better than ever before the need for unity, a unity of the most perfect kind, a kind of unity that will cement us together immovable in our determination to establish a better world throughout the countries united in this great war.

Now we have a purpose to realize, an objective to reach, and first of all we face that above and beyond everything else—the winning of the war. All of our decisions at this convention, all of the actions taken will revolve around that common objective—winning the war.

Four years ago when we met in this great city of the Southland we were hoping and praying then that Divine Providence, fate or something else would preserve and protect us from becoming involved in the war. Shortly after we were forced into the conflict by the dastardly attack that was made upon us at Pearl Harbor.

Now we meet at a time after we have

been in the conflict for a long period and we are conscious of the fact that we are reaching the end of the war. It may not be soon, but those of us who think and know and base our judgment upon the facts realize we are in that stage of the war when we realize and know beyond peradventure of a doubt that our enemies are doomed to defeat.

We shall continue to serve in the army of production, supplying our brave men who are serving in the armed forces of the nation with the materials they need in order to make the war complete and successful, reaching new heights and setting new standards in production.

During this convention men occupying highly important positions in our own Government, in the Army and in the armed forces will stand on this platform and testify to the grand, wonderful service given by the members of the American Federation of Labor while serving in the army of production.

In addition to that we will submit to you messages from men who know, whose statements cannot be contradicted, in which they will testify to the valuable service rendered by the members of the American Federation of Labor.

In addition to winning the war we are moved by a common desire to conclude a just and lasting peace. We want to establish security and freedom and justice throughout the world. We are united in our determination that a peace shall be concluded that will in itself guarantee security against future wars for the people of our nation.

We shudder when we think of the experiences through which we have passed and are passing. We cannot think that it was ever intended by Divine Providence that our civilization would develop to a point where we were to be confronted with a cruel war every two or three decades. The worker living in his home, the average American citizen, fired by a single desire for peace, is now demanding that the United Nations shall work out a peace on an international basis that will enable them to feel secure in their homes against the invasion of the enemy.

Now we are thinking, too, about some of our post-war problems, and those problems will occupy the attention of the sovereign delegates who are in attendance at this con-

vention. We are thinking about the immediate post-war problems of reconversion. We recognize that we must pass from a wartime economy to a peacetime economy, and we know it is more difficult for the masses of the people to make the transfer from a wartime economy to a peacetime economy than it was to move from a peacetime to a wartime economy. We know well that when we are met with the post-war situation there is going to be a degree of unemployment, because it will be impossible to reconvert overnight war material production plants created for the exclusive purpose of producing war materials. Civilian plants that were converted from civilian production plants to war production plants must bring about a transfer that will take some time. Then in addition to that, shortly after the war is over we hope our men serving in the armed forces of the nation will come back home. They must find work when they come home. We do not want them to come back to America, their homeland, and there be compelled to undergo the pangs of unemployment again as they did following the last World War.

So we are urging and will urge at this convention that immediate steps be taken, preliminary steps at least be taken, for the purpose of bringing about a speedy reconversion. That will involve the disposition of surplus goods; it will also involve the cancellation of contracts. Surely we understand the situation well enough to know that we can't postpone consideration of these problems until the last gun is fired and until the last enemy has surrendered. We should begin now. Good judgment tells us we can begin now and should begin now to bring about a form of reconversion.

After the war we demand, we insist, that work opportunities shall be created and provided for all. During the recent campaign we heard much about that. We are practical people. We know the difficulties that will be encountered. We are fully conscious of all that, but we still believe that if we will diligently and assiduously concentrate our efforts, within a reasonable length of time after the war is over, we can provide work opportunities here in our beloved land for all who are willing and able to work.

I am of the opinion that after reconversion has been brought about and we have crossed the bridge again back to normal days and normal times we will face a period,

at least, of unusual industrial activities because we know that there will be turned loose a demand for civilian goods that will probably exceed, for the moment, our ability to supply and produce. How long that will last no one can tell. It must and surely will last for a considerable length of time. We hope that we can develop an economy here in America that will protect us against the trying experiences through which we passed in the years of 1929, 1930, 1931 and 1932. We know we can, we know it can be done. It is not an impossible task; it is a task that will call upon the best that is within us in order to accomplish it, but I am sure that we can realize our objectives.

Now in planning all this we plan to assist and protect our men serving in the armed forces of the nation. There are more than one and one-half million members of the American Federation of Labor serving in the armed forces of our country. If we add the seven million members represented here, it makes over eight and one-half million members of the American Federation of Labor. Members of our International Unions, of which these men in the armed forces are also members, are carrying them as members of their organization in good standing while they offer their lives on foreign soil. In addition, many of our National and International Unions, practically all of them, have decided that when the service men return home those who may be members of our Unions will be admitted without the payment of initiation fees.

In addition to that, we are standing solidly in support of legislation that will guarantee protection to these service men when they return home.

Furthermore, we are taking the immovable position that as soon as possible after the last gun is fired and the last enemy has surrendered our boys will be permitted to turn their faces homeward. We insist and demand that they shall be brought to their homes as quickly as possible after the war is terminated.

(Applause.)

And then when they come back we shall insist that they shall share with us, those who served in the armed forces and those who served in the army of production, in the enjoyment of all the rights to which we all are entitled and in the enjoyment of work opportunities, along with the balance of us. Our men and women, our members in the army

of production, have given their lives on the field of production along with the men and women in the armed forces.

A short time ago the figures showed that there were more injured and killed as members of the army of production than there were on the battlefields. The figures show that approximately as many have been injured and killed in the workshops, the mills, the mines, the factories and on the transportation lines of the nation as have given their lives on the field of battle. I am referring to that because we share with them the sacrifices they have made and when they come back we will be comrades, there will be no line drawn between the civilian worker and the returning service man. They must be a part of our family and we a part of theirs, because there is no movement in America that has stood up more bravely, unflinchingly and courageously in defense of the men of our armed forces than has this great organization, the American Federation of Labor.

In addition to that, we are thinking about the wage program we will be faced with when the post-war period comes. We know, as a matter of simple economics, that there must be established and maintained an equilibrium, a balance between the productive power of our nation and the consuming power of the masses of the people. If either one gets out of line then we have a disastrous economic condition. We reach the height of prosperity when we establish a perfect balance between production and consumption. It is a very difficult task. We understand and appreciate quite well the difficulties encountered. It is easy for one or the other to get out of balance, but we know that if we are to maintain a prosperous economy here in our country we must at least approximate the establishment of that equilibrium to which I have just referred.

In addition to the change from the wartime to the peacetime economy we will be confronted with some new problems that will perhaps add to our difficulties, problems which will make the demand for the establishment of a high wage scale following the war necessary if we are to maintain employment throughout the land and a balanced economy.

First of all, during this war we have developed an efficiency complex, a high efficiency psychology. The laboratories of the corporations and of the nation have been diligently engaged in finding a way through which we could mechanize industry and make

the worker more efficient. The figures show that the results are startling. And so after the war is over we will have a new situation. It will not be the old one through which we passed prior to Pearl Harbor in 1941. We will be faced with a more efficient world, a more efficient army of production. Fewer workers will produce more. What does that mean? It means adjustments must be made in order to fit into that situation.

Furthermore, who can deny the fact that the more efficient worker is entitled to more wages, high and still higher wages? And so the American Federation of Labor will stand united, absolutely united in our determination to establish our wage scale on a higher standard than that upon which it now rests even during this war period.

That is one reason why we yearn to be free—free to exercise our own strength and power, persuasion and influence as a free democratic organization of labor, for we think and we know, we believe we can promote and advance the interests of the working people of our country when this Government control to which we are subjected and to which we willingly yielded shall be lifted, and then we will be free to mobilize our economic strength.

Now let me give you just a few figures on efficiency. New methods of combustion and mechanization of mines enables one coal miner now to produce for the steam boiler as many heat units during seven hours as 120 coal miners previously did in one ten-hour workday. Prior to the mechanization of mines, one miner produced three and one-half tons of coal per day. Fourteen miners produced a minimum of 1,000 tons per day and frequently 1,500 tons per day.

This increase in the individual and collective efficiency of working people is reflected in the farm industry, the railroad and transportation industries, the building industry, the brick industry, the manufacturing and machine industries, as well as the printing industry, and in fact in all lines of industry.

In the airplane industry, for instance, an early fighter plane took 150,000 man hours for construction. By the time the one thousandth plane was manufactured, mass production methods, new techniques and increasing efficiency had reduced the time to 7,800 man hours. This is a reduction of 96 per cent in man hours required in the production of this type of airplane.

In the production of four-motor bombers,

200,000 man hours for construction were required in the early stages of production. By the time the two thousandth plane was built, mass production and new techniques had reduced this time to 13,000 man hours. This is a reduction of 93 per cent in the man hours, necessary to construct this type of plane.

Productivity facts connected with shipbuilding are also striking. The figures for Liberty Ships produced through 1942 and up to September 30, 1943, show for ED-2 Type cargo vessels that the first 10 vessels took an average of 1,228,900 man hours each and the last ten constructed through September 30, 1943, took an average of 380,500 man hours each. This is a reduction of 69 per cent in man hours needed to construct this type of vessel in a period of less than two years.

In shipbuilding a new bending method has been developed for making a right angle of steel in 226 Victory ships. This new technique alone saves 180,000 man hours of work and 360,000 of welding rods and eliminates 50 miles of welding.

Productivity increases for destroyer escort vessels also show a striking reduction in man hours needed per vessel. The first three vessels required 1,235,200 man hours each. After 30 vessels had been constructed, productivity had been so greatly increased that the last three of the thirty were built in 634,000 man hours each. This represents a reduction of almost 50 per cent in work time needed to construct these vessels.

The new industry of electronics has developed means for testing materials which save enormous numbers of man hours. A "mass spectrometer" developed at a Westinghouse Company completes tests in 15 minutes that would require from 15 hours to 3 days of work by five to ten skilled chemists.

Electronic devices which have become the guides for Allied guns, warplanes and warships and which flash maps, facsimiles of maps, documents, and photographs to aid Allied strategy, will insure after the war the sending of the printed page from one end of the country to the other in a few seconds.

An automatic breech rifling machine completes a machine gun barrel in 65 seconds compared with the conventional 55 minutes. In the manufacture of 3,500,000 barrels, the new method reduced labor require-

ments by 470 jobs, time requirements by one year, costs by \$5,000,000 and floor space needed by 48,000 square feet.

A power driven machine for driving engine stud bolts enable one worker to drive a full day's quota of studs in one hour.

During the war enormous increases in productivity were made throughout the munitions industry. Figures for the whole munitions program show that from January, 1943, to July, 1944, production per man increased 42 per cent. This enormous increase was not achieved by increasing hours of work, for hours worked per worker changed very little during this period. Nearly all of this increase represents a gain in the average worker's production per hour of work.

These figures are interesting to you, I know. They are but a part of the report of efficiency which has been developed during this trying period, and that attracts our attention to the fact that we must concentrate our efforts towards the bringing about of adjustments that may be necessary to accord to every worker the opportunity to work and earn a decent living. And what stronger argument have you than that in support of an increase in wages?

We cannot let the purchasing power of the masses of the people fall below the point it has reached. But when overtime is done away with what shall we do, how are we to substitute for the purchasing power that will be eliminated through the elimination of overtime work?

Well, we think we know how we are going to find a way, and we must face that issue bravely and courageously. Another argument in favor of high wages is found in the other change which has come, aside from the argument that a high and still higher standard of living must be established in America; we are faced with the necessity of maintaining a national income that will guarantee in its operation work opportunities for all, and at the same time provide the means by which we can pay the public debt and the obligations which we have assumed during this war. For we will be faced with a situation of a debt piled higher and higher with fixed obligations on the part of our government, and the only way that we can maintain our credit and meet our obligations is to guarantee and bring about an income out of which it can all be paid. And who is to produce that? Who is to produce that

income? It will be the workers of America, and the workers of America cannot produce that income unless they are paid a wage that will enable them to buy and use the things that industry produces.

Now I want to give you a few more statistics.

1. NATIONAL INCOME IN 1944.

The U. S. Commerce Department forecasts that in 1944 the gross national income for the United States as a whole (in round numbers will be 196 billion. This includes all the goods produced by American industry and agriculture, whether for war or civilian use, and all services rendered.

Out of this gross national product, business taxes will take 28 billion and business reserves retained for various purposes will take 10 billion, leaving a net national income of 158 billion.

Not all of the national income will be paid to individuals, for 5 billion will be held by corporations as their savings, and added to their net worth. This leaves income payments to individuals amounting to 153 billion and this 153 billion includes all wages, salaries, interest and dividends, profits, rents, pensions, etc., paid to every one who receives an income in 1944.

Those who receive this income will pay out about 25 billion of it in taxes and save about 33 billion, leaving them 96 billion to spend for the consumer goods and services they buy. Therefore, consumer expenditures will be 96 billion. We are faced with the stern fact that unless there are customers to buy and pay for the entire national product, it will not be produced. In 1944, 196 billion worth must be bought.

Now how can it be paid unless by putting into the hands of those who buy the purchasing power with which to buy it?

Consumers will buy 96 billion. Government, with the money it receives from taxes and the money it borrows by selling War Bonds, will buy 98 billion. Business firms will buy 2 billion.

Thus the purchase and payment for 196 billion of the national product in 1944 may be expressed as follows:

Government buys	\$98 billion
Business buys	2 billion
Consumers buy	96 billion
Total	\$196 billion

2. Post-War National Income Necessary to Provide Full Employment and to Meet National Obligations, Etc.

In 1944, we have a total labor force of 65 million. The figures are staggering. Of these, 11 millions are in the armed forces, about one million are unemployed (while changing from one job to another) and 53 million are in civilian work.

After the war, it is estimated that about five million will retire from the labor market—young persons will go back to school, some married women and older persons will leave the labor market and retire. This will leave a post-war labor force of 60 million. Of these, about two million will be in the armed forces to maintain our peace-time Army, and two million will be unemployed (changing jobs); 56 million will be employed in civilian work including soldiers who will return to civilian jobs.

These 56 million civilian workers will each produce about \$3,100 worth of national product, or a total gross national product of \$173 billion.

That will be based, we assume, upon a restoration of a 40-hour work week.

When business taxes and reserves have been deducted from this figure, post-war net national income will amount to \$140 billion, approximately.

Now these are United States Department of Commerce figures, an agency of our government.

What We must Do to Maintain This Income

We cannot maintain a gross national product of 173 billion dollars unless that amount of goods and services is bought by someone. Today the government buys half the national product.

After the war, the war purchases of the government must be replaced by civilian goods bought by consumers and by business.

Those are startling figures, but what a wonderful convincing, unanswerable argument these figures present in support of the economic philosophy and economic policy espoused by the American Federation of Labor. It is a vindication of our position, and we have insisted and demanded that it be recognized and an equitable balance reached between production and consumption ever since this organization was formed three-quarters of a century ago.

Now we have reached the point where surely none of us wish to see the credit of America impaired even to the slightest degree, but out

of this national income there must flow into the coffers of this government a very substantial amount in order to meet its annual interest payments and obligations. And what would happen if that failed? Who could at the moment contemplate such a thing? We shrink from the thought of ever facing such a situation as that, but the solution lies in the promotion and development of a national income sufficient to meet our national needs. It can be maintained if we will pursue and apply an economic philosophy such as has been espoused and proclaimed by the American Federation of Labor.

I have taken the time this morning to assemble these facts and present them to you because it appeared to me that nothing could be more important to us nor could we consider anything more important than these economic problems to which I have now referred.

There is just one other matter to which I wish to refer. The American Federation of Labor sounded a note of warning when the movement took place which created the division within the ranks of labor. We pointed then to the necessity of maintaining our united strength. We urged that all live within the house of labor, erected and established by the American Federation of Labor.

As the days have come and gone we have become more convinced than ever that our position was sound. Now, we recall the days when we united against our common enemy, those opposed to trade unionism and employers who were set in their determination to prevent the establishment and spread of organized labor.

We regarded them as our opponents, but now labor is divided into fighting camps, berating each other, attempting to destroy one for the purpose of establishing the other. The war, perhaps, has minimized the effect of that policy, but I sound this warning now that just as sure as the sun shines, labor will pay the penalty when the post-war period arrives because of this division within the ranks of labor.

If there was ever a time when labor in America and throughout the world should be united it is now. The free democratic trade unions of the universe should be united into one great organization. The Executive Council has referred to this matter in its report and points out the need for unity. I am convinced that it is greater now than ever before, and because I am convinced of that fact, I publicly renew the appeal of the

American Federation of Labor to those who left us to come back to the house and the home of labor and unite with us.

If we stand as one and move as one and walk as one and think as one, when the post-war period arrives we can meet the common enemy on equal terms, but if we have conflict and war within the ranks of labor, then we must expend energy fighting to protect ourselves when it ought to be expended to promote our common interests.

I emphasize the importance of this subject and I hope the erring ones who left us will return, heed the call and come back home to the house of labor.

Then out of the magnanimity of their hearts there are those who have given aid and comfort to this division within the ranks of labor. I am of the opinion that if our friends—many of them whom we have always recognized as our friends—would have followed an impartial and consistent course much would have been done to minimize the effects of the division; but insofar as I am concerned, I will contribute all I can towards the establishment of unity again in the ranks of labor.

Now I am through. You have inspired me by the expression on your faces. I read in all of them evidence of a consciousness of your responsibility. You come here inspired by a purpose to establish, strengthen and maintain the American Federation of Labor upon a sound and enduring basis, to meet the post-war problems in a constructive way, to again demonstrate to the world that the American Federation of Labor adheres strictly to the economic philosophy which it espoused in the beginning and which was so ably championed during the entire lifetime of my distinguished predecessor, Samuel Gompers.

We will go out from here united as we came, determined to carry on and to establish firmly and forever in the institutional life of America the great organization that is a religion to us—the American Federation of Labor.

I thank you.

INTRODUCTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I want to present to you the fraternal delegates from the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain and the Canadian Trades and Labor Con-

gress, so that you may form an early acquaintance with them. One of the members of the delegation from the British Trade Union Congress is here. His colleague has not yet arrived, so I will present to you our friend and brother, John Brown, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

Then I wish to present to you Brother Johnstone and his good wife, who come here from Canada. Brother Johnstone is the Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Escort Committees

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Secretary of Labor, Madame Frances Perkins, and General Somervell will address the convention this afternoon at half past two o'clock. May I earnestly urge you to be present and ask all those who may be able to come to be here this afternoon and listen to these distinguished persons.

I want to appoint a committee to escort General Somervell to the convention hall. I will appoint Brother Edward J. Brown, President of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Brother John M. Gillespie, Secretary of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, and Brother Joseph McCurdy of the United Garment Workers as a committee of three to meet General Somervell and escort him to the convention hall.

Perhaps it would be helpful to the committee if I would announce that I am to meet the General at two o'clock in my room at the Roosevelt Hotel.

Then I want to appoint as a committee to escort Secretary of Labor Perkins to the hall this afternoon Brother Charles MacGowan, President of the Boilermakers International Union, Brother Richard Gray, of the Building and Construction Trades Department, and Brother Joseph Ryan of the Longshoremen's International Union. Please get in touch with the Secretary of Labor at the Roosevelt Hotel and escort her to the convention this afternoon.

Convention Post Office

SECRETARY MEANY: I would like to announce that through the courtesy of the Acting Postmaster of the City of New Orleans a post office has been established at the main entrance of the convention hall. It

will give general delivery service and also provide for the sale of postage stamps.

I also wish to announce the appointment of the following convention officers, selected by President Green:

Convention Officers

Assistant Secretary—Robert L. Soule.
Sergeant-at-Arms—William Peeler.
Messengers—Frank Sheel and Mrs. John Lawyer.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The next order of business is the report of the Credentials Committee, and the Chair presents to you Brother Thomas J. Lloyd, Chairman of the Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN LLOYD: The report will be read to you by the Secretary of the Committee, Delegate Thomas V. Green.

Delegate Thomas V. Green, Secretary of the Committee, read the following report:

New Orleans, La.
November 20, 1944

To President Green, Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
Your Committee on Credentials, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following report:

We have examined the credentials of 596 delegates, representing 89 National and International Unions, 3 Departments, 43 State Branches, 148 Central Bodies, and 74 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 4 Fraternal delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors and Artists of America, Associated—Paul Dullzell, George Heller, 160 votes.
Air Line Pilots' Association—David L. Behncke, 27 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, C. W. Sickles, 40 votes.
Automobile Workers of America, International Union, United—Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, 507 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—Herman Winter, William McGuern, Joseph Schmidt, Wm. F. Schnitzler, 897 votes.

Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journeymen—William C. Birthright, Patrick H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino, Charles T. Crane, John B. Robinson, 500 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Leo Abernathy, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, John Pelkofer, George Edgerton, 100 votes.

Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Chas. J. MacGowan, William E. Walter, J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, Wm. J. Buckley, J. P. McCollum, Harry Nacey, J. F. Schmitt, 3,369 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John D. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Anastasia Becker, 280 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, Frank W. Anderson, George W. Lawson, 400 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—Wm. J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard J. Gray, A. J. Cleland, Thomas O'Donnell, Wm. J. Moran, 650 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, William Tracy, 100 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, J. H. Lyons, J. A. Evensen, Jos. F. Boyen, B. A. Murray, C. F. Strickland, 1,056 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—William McFetridge, William H. Cooper, Thomas Burke, Charles C. Levey, Gus Van Heck, George Troy, 700 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Felix H. Knight, Irvin Barney, Alfred E. McCormick, Henri Vaillancourt, 958 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, M. A. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, George T. Coughlin, M. J. Sexton, Charles Johnson, Jr., J. O. Mack, Roland Adams, Earl E. Thomas, 6,000 votes.

Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United—William Schoenberg, Toney Gallo, Arthur J. Strunk, Samuel R. Diskan, 180 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—A. F. Bower, I. M. Ornburn, Charles E. Rohler, 100 votes.

Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of—W. S. Gross, Harold E. Greenwald, John Zitello, M. Minaden, 171 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, William I. Horner, Alex F. Swickard, William J. McGrath, Steve Quarles, 400 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—George M. Harrison, Jean W. Dubuc, Oliver De Poorter, B. J. Helmke, 2,042 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—C. C. Coulter, James A. Suffridge, G. A. Sackett, 1,000 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, J. L. Robertson, 50 votes.

Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union—Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cilento, 100 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—Foster J. Pratt, 71 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—Ed. J. Brown, G. M. Bugnizet, Chas. M. Paulsen, Walter R. Lenox, C. F. Preller, Wm. G. Shord, G. X. Barker, Claude Skeldon, 3,129 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—John C. MacDonald, John Proctor, F. B. Comfort, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operat-

ing—William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, 1,000 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, 109 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, Bert Hayman, John P. Redmond, Vincent J. Kane, 405 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—John F. McNamara, John Clinton, George Wright, Anthony Matz, Joseph P. Clark, 527 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—Joseph P. McCurdy, W. R. Brooks, A. Adamski, Geo. C. Slater, Anne Peterson, 400 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Samuel Otio, Joseph Tuvim, Angela Bambace, David Gingold, 2,375 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney, William W. Campbell, Michael Flynn, James McDonald, 240 votes.

Glass Cutters' League of America, Window—Raymond E. Shuler, 16 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Harry H. Cook, Rudolph J. Peterson, Lawrence Litman, John P. Connors, 256 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Anton White, 31 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, 268 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Laurence Foley, 40 votes.

Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies—Samuel Reinlib, 150 votes.

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United—Max Zaritsky, Max Goldman, Samuel Herchkowitz, Marx Lewis, Abraham Mendelowitz, 320 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Jos. V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, M. D. Cox, Edward I. Hannah, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, Holt Ross, 3,331 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Hugo Ernst, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, Louis Koenig, Pauline Newman, J. W. Van Hook, 2,245 votes.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International—Leon Williams, 69 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. McSorley, Harry J. Hagen, Walter M. Matthews, 81 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Ray Nickelson, Sam J. Byers, George Turry, 500 votes.

Leather Workers' International Union, United—Bernard G. Quinn, 28 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—William C. Doherty, William J. Gorman, Joseph P. Considine, Louis Horlbeck, L. V. McGuigan, 600 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—William J. Riehl, Robert Bruck, Francis P. Slater, 137 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International

—Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, V. E. Townsend, 610 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—Harvey W. Brown, Fred D. Laudemann, Harley F. Nickerson, N. P. Alifas, D. M. Burrows, James Edgar, John Clayton, 6,659 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—E. E. Milliman, A. Shoemaker, J. J. Farnan, F. H. Fljzodal, H. H. Reddick, 1,169 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of—William McCarthy, John J. Conway, 45 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—E. W. Higenbotham, 30 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, Joseph P. McCoy, John Malone, Joseph Belsky, T. J. Lloyd, 1,005 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—Robert Byron, James J. Ryan, Edward Carlogh, James W. Close, 250 votes.

Mine Workers of America, International Union Progressive—Lloyd A. Thrush, John Marchiando, 350 votes.

Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, International—Harry Stevenson, Joseph Steiger, Ernest Atkinson, Gustave Knuese, Charles Blome, 657 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—James C. Petrillo, Joseph N. Weber, Charles L. Bagley, Vincent Castronovo, Stanley Ballard, Roy W. Singer, 1,000 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—L. P. Lindelf, L. M. Raftery, James Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, Pete Yablonsky, M. H. Crow, D. W. Sharpe, 1,397 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—Matthew J. Burns, Joseph Addy, Paul L. Phillips, Frank P. Barry, Ernest B. Lambton, 344 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—George Q. Lynch, 110 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—John E. Rooney, Michael J. McDonough, John J. Hauck, Michael B. Gallagher, 250 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—George Meany, Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, Charles M. Rau, Joseph Lahey, Robert Lynch, John Gillard, 1,300 votes.

Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal—Ray Kelsay, 100 votes.

Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car—A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, 90 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, George Newbon, Timothy J. Desmond, Elijah Watson, 215 votes.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—Lee Kistler, 11 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Louis P. Sahuque, George L. Googe, George O. Baker, John G. Warrington, 493 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, Interna-

tional Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, James S. Killen, Elmer Meinze, Godfrey Ruddick, 613 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Joseph J. Kehoe, Henry M. Nelson, Andrew D. Wigstrom, Robert Arnott, Arthur Seward, 1,045 votes.

Railway Mail Association—C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, 218 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition—Charles Aquadro, J. M. Gavlak, George W. Jones, 80 votes.

Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of—George L. Warfet, 9 votes.

Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—Richard F. Walsh, Louis Krouse, Thomas V. Green, Elbert J. Brock, Michael J. Mungovan, 420 votes.

State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of—Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, H. Z. Collier, Elling Munkeby, Roderick MacDonald, 460 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Leo J. Buckley, 88 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Paul A. Givens, 19 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Joseph Lewis, Edw. W. Kaiser, 80 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—John Lundergan, 93 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, 252 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Frank W. Brewster, Robert Lester, John J. O'Rourke, H. E. Wood, 6,292 votes.

Telegraphers, the Order of Railroad—V. O. Gardner, E. J. Manion, 300 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, the Commercial—W. L. Allen, Hugh C. McKenny, J. A. Payne, George R. Pawson, 187 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, C. E. Earnhardt, Bernard L. Eberts, 372 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—John O'Hare, R. J. Petree, Elmer D. Keen, 220 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Woodruff Randolph, Robert C. Kirkpatrick, John Simons, Tillman K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, John W. Austin, 53 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—Sal B. Hoffman, Alfred Rota, Tony Remshardt, 250 votes.

Departments

Building and Construction Trades Department—

Metal Trades Department—John P. Frey, 1 vote.

Railroad Employees Department—B. M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—I. M. Ornburn, 1 vote.

State Branches

Alabama State Federation of Labor—Thomas O. Brown, 1 vote.

Arizona State Federation of Labor—William A. Gray, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Cornelius J. Haggerty, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—George W. Brayfield, 1 vote.

Connecticut State Federation of Labor—Timothy M. Collins, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—Leo H. Hill, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—Herbert C. Skinner, 1 vote.

Idaho State Federation of Labor—August Rosqvist, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—Reuben G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Carl H. Mullen, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—A. A. Couch, 1 vote.

Kansas State Federation of Labor—Frank E. Welsh, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—Edw. H. Weyer, 1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—E. J. Bourg, 1 vote.

Maine State Federation of Labor—Benjamin J. Dorsky, 1 vote.

Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—Frank J. Coleman, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Thomas E. Wilkinson, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—George W. Dean, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—R. A. Olson, 1 vote.

Mississippi State Federation of Labor—W. L. Hines, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Guy E. Tipton, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.

Nebraska State Federation of Labor—John J. Guenther, 1 vote.

Nevada State Federation of Labor—Michael J. Laux, 1 vote.

New Hampshire State Federation of Labor—Joseph J. Comi, 1 vote.

New Mexico State Federation of Labor—Earl J. McDonald, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—Thomas A. Murray, 1 vote.

North Carolina State Federation of Labor—C. A. Fink, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Phil Hannah, 1 vote.

Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—J. Cline House, 1 vote.

Oregon State Federation of Labor—James T. Marr, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—James L. McDevitt, 1 vote.

Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen—Nicolas Noguera Rivera, 1 vote.

Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—John A. White, 1 vote.

South Carolina State Federation of Labor—Walter P. Hooker, 1 vote.

Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Lev. G. Loring, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Acreman, 1 vote.
 Vermont State Federation of Labor—Max Wexler, 1 vote.
 Virginia State Federation of Labor—John F. Joinville, 1 vote.
 Washington State Federation of Labor—James A. Taylor, 1 vote.
 West Virginia State Federation of Labor—E. A. Carter, 1 vote.
 Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—George A. Haberman, 1 vote.
 Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Martin Cahill, 1 vote.

City Central Bodies

Akron, O., Summit County Trades and Labor Assembly—Kenneth D. Statler, 1 vote.
 Alexandria, La., Central Labor Council—Sam Domico, Jr., 1 vote.
 Amarillo, Tex., Central Labor Union—W. W. Finch, 1 vote.
 Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council—Redmond M. Burr, 1 vote.
 Athens, Sayre, Pa., and Waverly, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Israel Zimmerman, 1 vote.
 Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Henry W. Chandler, 1 vote.
 Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union—Lewis Herrmann, 1 vote.
 Augusta, Ga., Central Labor Union—Wm. W. Holley, 1 vote.
 Austin, Tex., Trades Council—T. A. Evans, 1 vote.
 Bakersfield, Calif., Kern County Labor Council—John W. Brown, 1 vote.
 Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union—Kenneth W. Baer, 1 vote.
 Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—Harry Cohen, 1 vote.
 Battle Creek and Calhoun County, Mich., Federation of Labor—Kenneth L. Ford, 1 vote.
 Beaumont, Tex., Trades and Labor Assembly—Wm. J. Burkett, 1 vote.
 Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—Roy Copeland, 1 vote.
 Bloomington, Ind., Federation of Labor—Dion Summers, 1 vote.
 Boise, Ida., Trades and Labor Council—John F. Backis, 1 vote.
 Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—John J. Kearney, 1 vote.
 Brunswick, Ga., Central Labor Union—S. D. Herndon, 1 vote.
 Buffalo, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Robert A. Smith, 1 vote.
 Burlington, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Martin Baner, 1 vote.
 Butte County, Calif., Labor Council—Frankie Behan, 1 vote.
 Camden, Ark., Central Trade Council—Chestor Johnson, 1 vote.
 Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union—Leon B. Schachter, 1 vote.
 Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley, Central Labor Union—Frank W. Snyder, 1 vote.
 Charlotte, N. C., Central Labor Union—T. L. Conder, 1 vote.
 Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor Union—Stan'on E. Smith, 1 vote.
 Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Anton Johannsen, 1 vote.
 Chicago Heights, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Fred H. Groth, 1 vote.
 Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Council—John J. Hurst, 1 vote.
 Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor—Thomas A. Lenehan, 1 vote.
 Columbus, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—Howard Anthony, 1 vote.
 Columbus, O., Federation of Labor—Arthur Kistemaker, 1 vote.
 Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council—Wm. J. Harris, 1 vote.
 Dayton, O., Central Labor Union—John E. Breidenbach, 1 vote.
 Daytona Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union—R. B. Springstead, 1 vote.
 Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Henry H. Herbolshiemer, 1 vote.
 Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Jas. W. Souther, 1 vote.
 Detroit, Mich., Wayne County Federation of Labor—Frank X. Martel, 1 vote.
 Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Stewart A. Seifert, 1 vote.
 East St. Louis, Ill., Trades and Labor Union—Fern R. Rauch, 1 vote.
 El Centro, Calif., Imperial Valley Central Labor Union—K. S. Bitter, 1 vote.
 El Dorado, Ark., Central Trades Council—Frank B. Gaston, 1 vote.
 Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Trades Council—George F. Cushing, 1 vote.
 El Paso and Vic., Tex., Central Labor Union—John Sorenson, 1 vote.
 Elyria, O., Central Labor Union—Alva Kemp, 1 vote.
 Everett, Wash., Trades Council—H. G. Walter, 1 vote.
 Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly—B. F. Davis, 1 vote.
 Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council—W. T. O'Rear, 1 vote.
 Galveston, Tex., Labor Council—B. A. Gritta, 1 vote.
 Grand Island, Nebr., Central Labor Union—Roy M. Brewer, 1 vote.
 Gulfport, Miss., Central Labor Union—John J. Savareese, 1 vote.
 Hamilton, O., Trades and Labor Council—Milton J. Doll, 1 vote.
 Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—W. L. O'Brien, 1 vote.
 Harlingen, Tex., Central Labor Union, Lower Rio Grande Valley—Wm. Cullen, 1 vote.
 Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union—Edward H. Miller, 1 vote.
 Hattiesburg, Miss., Central Labor Union—H. W. De Witt, 1 vote.
 High Point, N. C., Central Labor Union—D. G. Garland, 1 vote.
 Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union—Francis W. Curran, 1 vote.
 Houma, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Oneil Labit, 1 vote.
 Houston, Tex., Labor and Trades Council—M. B. Grimes, 1 vote.
 Hutchinson, Kansas, Central Labor Union—M. A. Fitzgerald, 1 vote.
 Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—Leon Worthall, 1 vote.

- Jackson, Miss., Central Labor Union—G. K. Fritz, 1 vote.
- Jackson, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—W. H. Parham, 1 vote.
- Joliet, Ill., Will County Trades and Labor Council—Tony Augustino, 1 vote.
- Joplin, Mo., Central Labor Union—R. Boyd Prince, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—Geo. J. Harrison, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—Hugh S. O'Neill, 1 vote.
- Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—Jeff O. Johnson, 1 vote.
- Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly—Harry Gearwater, 1 vote.
- Ketchikan, Alaska, Central Labor Council—Louise Collier, 1 vote.
- Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union—John L. Esary, 1 vote.
- Lake Charles, La., Central Labor Union—W. R. Mayo, 1 vote.
- Lake County, Ind., Central Labor Union—Martin G. Peterson, 1 vote.
- Laurel, Miss., Central Labor Union—R. V. Johnson, 1 vote.
- Lincoln, Nebr., Central Labor Union—George F. Williams, 1 vote.
- Long Beach, Calif., Central Labor Union—Jack T. Arnold, 1 vote.
- Lorain, O., City Federation of Labor—A. C. Shibley, 1 vote.
- Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council—W. J. Bassett, 1 vote.
- Louisville, Ky., Central Labor Union—Harry F. Petty, 1 vote.
- Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union—Sidney E. Le Bow, 1 vote.
- Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor—Eva Schwartzman, 1 vote.
- Malden and Vic., Mass., Central Labor Union—Jack Halpern, 1 vote.
- Marysville, Calif., Central Labor Council—James D'Arcy, 1 vote.
- Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—R. F. Brown, 1 vote.
- Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union—Clyde Foster, 1 vote.
- Michigan City, Ind., Central Labor Union—Michael Joseph, 1 vote.
- Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—J. F. Friedrich, 1 vote.
- Minneapolis and Hennepin County, Minn., Central Labor Union—George P. Phillips, 1 vote.
- Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council—Sadie Betancourt, 1 vote.
- Monroe, La., Central Labor Council—John B. Bailey, 1 vote.
- Muskegon, Mich., Trades and Labor Council (Greater Muskegon)—Earl Smith, 1 vote.
- Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—David Harby, 1 vote.
- Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—William C. De Koning, 1 vote.
- Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—Jacob C. Baer, 1 vote.
- New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union—John D. Connors, 1 vote.
- New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Fred Kreger, 1 vote.
- New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vic.—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.
- Niagara Falls, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Harry S. Jordan, 1 vote.
- Omaha, Nebr., Central Labor Union—O. Howard Stoughton, 1 vote.
- Orange County, Calif., Central Labor Union—Alvin Roberts, 1 vote.
- Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—William Lodge, 1 vote.
- Panama City, Fla., Central Labor Union—J. S. Daniels, 1 vote.
- Pasadena, Calif., San Gabriel Valley Central Labor Council—Burt B. Currigan, 1 vote.
- Pasco-Kennewick, Wash., Central Labor Union—Lionel A. Loiseau, 1 vote.
- Passaic County, N. J., Central Labor Union—Sal Maso, 1 vote.
- Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union—Ken H. Brown, 1 vote.
- Perth Amboy, N. J., Central Labor Union—Thomas J. Kelly, 1 vote.
- Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Joseph A. McDonough, 1 vote.
- Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council—John A. Stackhouse, 1 vote.
- Portland, Oreg., Central Labor Council of Portland and Vic.—Gust Anderson, 1 vote.
- Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union—Fred E. Cushman, 1 vote.
- Portsmouth, O., Central Labor Council of Portsmouth and Vic.—Ed Switalski, 1 vote.
- Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—Morton Goodman, 1 vote.
- Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union—Arthur P. Patt, 1 vote.
- Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—George M. Rhodes, 1 vote.
- St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union—John L. Rollings, 1 vote.
- San Bernardino, Calif., Central Labor Council—Harry E. Griffin, 1 vote.
- San Diego, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council—Robt. E. Noonan, 1 vote.
- San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—John F. Shelley, 1 vote.
- San Mateo, Calif., Central Labor Council—Arthur Dougherty, 1 vote.
- San Pedro, and Wilmington, Calif., Central Labor Council—Cecil O. Johnson, 1 vote.
- San Rafael, Calif., Marin County Central Labor Council—C. T. McDonough, 1 vote.
- Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Union—Al Mason, 1 vote.
- Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—W. M. Tanner, 1 vote.
- Schenectady, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Richard J. Carmichael, 1 vote.
- Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Joseph L. Downes, 1 vote.
- Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Union of Seattle and Vic.—Claude O'Reilly, 1 vote.
- Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—William C. Graff, 1 vote.
- Sioux Falls, S. D., Trades and Labor Assembly—L. M. Nolt, 1 vote.
- South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Wilson Frankland, 1 vote.
- South Norwalk, Conn., Central Labor Union—Carmen Lucia, 1 vote.
- Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Union—David Stalker, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.
 Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union—A. C. Guinn, 1 vote.
 Springfield, O., Trades and Labor Assembly—George E. McKenna, 1 vote.
 Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union—O. B. Soucie, 1 vote.
 Toledo, O., Central Labor Union—Oliver Myers, 1 vote.
 Tulsa, Okla., Trades Council—George Majors, 1 vote.
 Tuscaloosa, Ala., Central Labor Union—Elliott Estes, 1 vote.
 Vancouver, Wash., Clark County Central Labor Council—C. L. Smith, 1 vote.
 Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—John Locher, 1 vote.
 Westerly, R. I., Central Labor Union—Arthur W. Devine, 1 vote.
 Wichita, Kans., Trades and Labor Assembly—Philip P. Aherne, Jr., 1 vote.
 Windsor, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council—Charles Campbell, 1 vote.
 Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., Central Labor Union—Irvin J. Hofschild, 1 vote.
 Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union—John J. Regan, 1 vote.

Local Unions

Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.—Maury E. Rubin, 1 vote.
 Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 22519, Mobile, Ala.—Stanton Dann, 1 vote.
 Aluminum Workers' Union No. 18780, East St. Louis, Ill.—William L. Cowley, 17 votes.
 Aluminum Workers' Union No. 22724, Lister, Ala.—Bob Conner, 23 votes.
 Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union, United, No. 19388, Louisville, Ky.—Matthew W. Davis, 37 votes.
 Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union No. 23704, New York, N. Y.—Anthony Genaro, 1 vote.
 Can Workers' Union No. 22623, Philadelphia, Pa.—Catharine Connelly, 18 votes.
 Cannery, Dried Fruit and Nut Workers' Union No. 21634, Oroville, Calif.—Raymond V. Westfall, 6 votes.
 Cannery Workers' Union No. 20324, Sacramento, Calif.—Albert E. Bilger, 28 votes.
 Cannery Workers' Union No. 20676, Stockton, Calif.—L. J. Hill, 14 votes.
 Cannery Workers' Union No. 20707, Portland, Oreg.—Lowery D. McLane, 5 votes.
 Cannery Workers' Union No. 20842, Southern Alameda County, Calif.—Harry Rizzo, 15 votes.
 Cannery Workers' Union No. 20852, Santa Clara County, Calif.—Walter L. Jones, 39 votes.
 Cannery Workers' Union No. 20889, Kingsburg, Fresno County, Calif.—Hal P. Angus, 1 vote.
 Cannery Workers' Union No. 20905, Northern Alameda County, Calif.—Vernon L. Pankey, 20 votes.
 Cannery Workers' Union No. 22382, Modesto, Calif.—R. M. Tomson, 19 votes.
 Cannery Workers' Union No. 22473, Sunnysvale, Calif.—Fred Less, 9 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 23099, Selma and Vic., Calif.—William R. Dennis, 2 votes.
 Cannery Workers' Union No. 23104, Salem, Oreg.—Charles R. Smith, 1 vote.
 Display Fixture Workers' Union No. 21625, New York, N. Y.—William Wolpert, 3 votes.
 Editorial Association No. 23241, Joliet, Ill.—S. P. Miller, 1 vote.
 Enamel Workers' Union No. 23055, Dunbar, W. Va.—Owen O. Bibbee, 4 votes.
 Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—Thomas M. Holleran, 48 votes.
 Federal Labor Union No. 19119, East St. Louis, Ill.—James Swift, 6 votes.
 Federal Labor Union No. 19152, Minneapolis, Minn.—W. A. Younker, 18 votes.
 Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Wash.—Sam P. Ming, 4 votes.
 Federal Labor Union No. 19635, Muskegon, Mich.—Serah Walker, 8 votes.
 Federal Labor Union No. 18546 (3 votes); Federal Labor Union No. 19806 (93 votes); Metal Workers' Union, Corrugated, No. 19339 (3 votes); Metal Workers' Union, Fabricated, No. 19340 (5 votes); Milwaukee, Wis.—Felix Reisdorf, 104 votes.
 Federal Labor Union No. 19807, Jersey City, N. J.—George J. Kane, 1 vote.
 Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberston, O.—Wilbur F. Phillips, 26 votes.
 Federal Labor Union No. 21088, Weehawken and Vic., N. J.—John McEntee, 3 votes.
 Federal Labor Union No. 22122, Euclid, O.—John Grdanc, 1 vote.
 Federal Labor Union No. 22454, New Orleans, La.—Claude P. Babin, 1 vote.
 Federal Labor Union No. 22631 (42 votes); Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16456 (2 votes). Milwaukee, Wis.—John E. Cudahy, 44 votes.
 Federal Labor Union No. 22636, East Chicago, Ind.—Charles R. Rosenberg, 1 vote.
 Federal Labor Union No. 22694, Brockton, Mass.—Paul H. Kendrigan, 26 votes.
 Federal Labor Union No. 22753, New Orleans, La.—Marc M. Mandot, 1 vote.
 Federal Labor Union No. 23160, Balboa, C. Z.—James Daniel Dunaway, 1 vote.
 Federal Labor Union No. 23472, Mayfield, Ky.—James E. Stewart, 14 votes.
 Federal Labor Union No. 23491, Pascagoula, Miss.—S. N. Ashley, 1 vote.
 Federal Labor Union No. 23493, Lake Charles, La.—C. A. Dugas, 1 vote.
 Federal Labor Union No. 23616, Tulsa, Okla.—O. A. Vinnall, 1 vote.
 Flour and Feed Mill Workers' Union No. 21762, Beardstown, Ill.—George D. Weiny, 1 vote.
 Fur Workers' Union No. 21479 (1 vote), Fur Workers' Union No. 21480 (1 vote), Fur Workers' Union No. 21481 (1 vote), Toronto, Canada—Sidney Waverman, 3 votes.
 Metal Specialty Workers' Union, Fabricated, No. 22561, Chicago and Vic., Ill.—F. J. Hagerty, 1 vote.
 News Writers' Union No. 19982, Jackson, Miss.—F. W. Patton, 1 vote.
 Office Employees' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.—Paul R. Hutchings, 7 votes.
 Office Employees' Union No. 16821, Portland, Oreg.—J. Howard Hicks, 29 votes.
 Office Employees' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.—L. E. Groner, 1 vote.

Office Employers' Union No. 19903, Atlanta, Ga.—Minerva J. West, 1 vote.
 Office Employers' Union No. 20380, Miami, Fla.—Walter Hoyt, 1 vote.
 Office Employers' Union No. 21516, San Antonio, Tex.—Emily Jordan, 1 vote.
 Office Employers' Union No. 22222, Tampa, Fla.—M. S. Burnett, 9 votes.
 Office Employers' Union No. 21786, Detroit, Mich.—Verna Corrigan, 1 vote.
 Office Employers' Union No. 22683, Montreal, Que., Can.—Marcel E. Franco, 1 vote.
 Office Employers' Union No. 23077, Vancouver, Wash.—Homer Parrish, 12 votes.
 Office Employers' Union No. 23259, Providence, R. I.—Raymond J. Jamieson, 2 votes.
 Patrolmen's Union, Railway, No. 22503, New Orleans, La.—Vincent G. Plattoly, 1 vote.
 Patrolmen's Union, Railway, No. 23228, Galveston, Tex.—M. J. Mellen, 1 vote.
 Potash and Magnesium Workers' Union No. 23507, Carlsbad, New Mex.—A. E. Coleman, 2 votes.
 Protectors' Union, Private Property, No. 21485, Chicago, Ill.—Henry W. Ramsaier, 1 vote.
 Saw File and Steel Products Workers' Union, United No. 22254, Philadelphia, Pa.—Otto Vollmer, 22 votes.
 Sawsmiths' Federal Labor Union No. 18548, Indianapolis, Ind.—Arthur L. Thompson, 1 vote.
 Smelter Workers' Union, Tin, No. 23198, Texas City, Tex.—H. J. Bierman, 3 votes.
 Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14268, Kansas City, Mo.—Thomas Wands, 1 vote.
 Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 21142, Rochester, N. Y.—Jack Cadden, 1 vote.
 Telegraph Workers' Federal Labor Union (Gulf Division) No. 22679, Dallas, Tex.—Van McKee, 32 votes.
 Textile Examiners, and Finishers' Union No. 18205, Greater New York, N. Y.—Louis Lufrano, 3 votes.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

British Trades Union Congress—John Brown, Arthur Horner, 2 votes.
 Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—A. R. Johnstone, 1 vote.
 National Women's Trade Union League of America—Rose Schneiderman.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS J. LLOYD,

Chairman.

HENRI VAILLANCOURT,

THOMAS V. GREEN,

Secretary.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GREEN: Mr. Chairman, this is a partial report of the Credentials Committee, and I move that the delegates whose names are contained therein be seated.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Credentials Committee will continue and will bring in supplemental reports from time to time.

The Chair will announce the appointment of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

I. M. Ornburn, Chairman; N. P. Alifas, W. R. Brooks, J. A. Evensen, R. J. Petree, John B. Robinson, John C. MacDonald, Max Goldman, John Marchiando, Charles Aquadro, Thomas Burke, Stanley Ballard, Joseph Lewis, H. E. Greenwald, Bert Hayman, Henry Nelson, Samuel Otto, Joseph P. Clark, Pauline Newman, William F. Schritzier, Raymond E. Shuler, E. J. Bourg, J. P. McCollum, Al. J. Cleland, T. B. Dunahoo.

Chairman Ornburn has requested me to announce that the committee will meet at the front of the rostrum immediately upon the adjournment of the morning session.

The Chair recognizes Brother Quarles, of the Local Committee for an announcement.

Committee Member Quarles made the following announcement:

War Bond Show

Tonight in the Grand Ballroom of the Roosevelt Hotel a war bond show will take place. It is being sponsored jointly by the New Orleans Central Trades and Labor Council's Convention Committee and United States Treasury Department War Finance Division—Labor Section. New War Department pictures will be shown for the first time. They will be actual invasion pictures. President William Green and I. M. Ornburn will address the meeting. A national radio program will take place in which President Green will participate. A part of the cast from the Gay Nineties Review will provide entertainment. This is one of the Nation's most famous old time shows, and is now playing at the St. Charles Theatre. Gilbert E. Hyatt, Chief of the Labor Division of the United States Treasury Department will also make a short address. You are all cordially invited to the show tonight. Tickets can be obtained at the Registration Headquarters in the Roosevelt if you do not have them yet. Remember the time . . . 8:00 P. M. tonight in the Grand Ballroom of the Roosevelt Hotel.

Members of the Executive Council will please come to the platform upon their arrival at the show.

WAR BONDS WILL NOT BE SOLD

PRESIDENT GREEN: Please take note of this announcement. And don't forget the

announcement that I made a while ago that General Somervell will deliver an address when we reconvene at 2:30 this afternoon.

Following that, the Secretary of Labor will address the officers and delegates and visitors at the convention.

FIRST DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:50 o'clock, P. M.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The convention will please be in order. The Committee on Rules and Order of Business will report. The Chair recognizes Chairman Ornburn, Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ORNBURN:

Mr. President, Brother Robinson, Secretary of this Committee, will report on the rules for this convention.

Committee Secretary Robinson submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

In conformity with the instructions of your President and this convention, we, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the Sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20, 1944, beg leave to make the following report for your consideration.

RULES

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30 p. m., reconvene at 2:30 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m. on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. There shall be no session on Saturday of this week. The convention next week will be in session—Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday; and will meet on Saturday if the business of the convention is not completed.

Rule 2. Any delegate failing to fill in his attendance card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 3. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Are there any further announcements? If not, it seems we have completed the work of the morning session and we stand recessed until 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

The convention thereupon recessed at 12:20 o'clock P. M. to 2:30 o'clock P. M.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise at the same time to speak, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 7. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 8. At the request of five delegates the mover of a motion shall submit it in writing.

Rule 9. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 10. A roll call on any motion shall be called at the request of 10 per cent of the delegates present.

Rule 11. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 12. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 13. A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 14. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 15. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in triplicate form.

Rule 16. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak upon it if he or she so desires.

Rule 17. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 18. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have preference in the order named.

Rule 19. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Reading of minutes of previous sessions shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ORNBURN: I desire to amend the committee's report under Rule 1. This is the report of the committee, as it now reads.

"The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30 p. m., reconvene at 2:30 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m. on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. There shall be no session on Saturday of this week. The convention next week will be in session Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday; and will meet on Saturday if the business of the convention is not completed."

The amendment to the committee report refers to the order of business for the second week. I desire to change that to read Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, and if all of the business of the convention is not completed by Thursday, November 30th, the convention will re-convene in the evening in order to complete the work before the convention.

That is the amendment to the committee's report. This report is signed by all of the members of the committee as follows:

Respectfully submitted,

I. M. ORNBURN, Chairman,
N. P. ALIFAS,
W. R. BROOKS,
J. A. EVENSEN,
R. J. PETREE,
JOHN B. ROBINSON, Secretary,
JOHN C. MACDONALD,
MAX GOLDMAN,
JOHN MARCHIANDO,
CHARLES AQUADRO,
THOMAS BURKE,
STANLEY BALLARD,
JOSEPH LEWIS,
H. E. GRENWALD,
BERT HAYMAN,
HENRY NELSON,
SAMUEL OTTO,
JOSEPH P. CLARK.

PAULINE NEWMAN,
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER,
RAYMOND E. SHULER,
E. J. BOURG,
J. P. MCCOLLUM,
AL. J. CLELAND,
T. B. DUNAHOO.

Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

I move you the committee's report as amended be approved.

The motion to amend the committee's report was seconded and adopted by unanimous vote.

The report as amended was adopted by unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The committee is thanked for the services rendered.

Now we have two distinguished guests who will bring to us messages which I know will be educational, inspiring and most helpful. As I stated to you this morning, we have scheduled for addresses this afternoon the Secretary of Labor and General Somervell.

I am going to present to you as the first speaker the Secretary of Labor. I know I can say to her that we are all deeply grateful for her visit to this convention, and we are all anticipating the pleasure of listening to her inspiring address.

We interpret her trip from Washington to New Orleans as evidence of her deep interest in the American Federation of Labor and in the work of this convention. One always must count on making some sacrifices these days when transportation facilities seem to be so inadequate, when they make a long trip such as the trip from Washington to New Orleans for the purpose of meeting with those in convention. She has attended our convention on numerous occasions and we have always deeply appreciated the fine message which she has brought to us. We know she will live up, this afternoon, to the high standards she has set. I am pleased to present to you Madame Perkins, Secretary of Labor.

HON. FRANCES PERKINS (Secretary of Labor)

Mr. Chairman and my friends of the Federation of Labor: I do not need to remind President Green of the fact that I enjoy the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and that perhaps it is not as much of a sacrifice as he thinks it is for me to come to New Orleans on this occasion, not only because I enjoy this opportunity to renew old and valued friendships and undertakings of mutual action and mutual exchange of views, but also because the people of the city of New Orleans are so hospitable, so interesting, and because they have developed here, particularly

in the recent years, such interesting aspects of industry and labor relations.

Your convention meeting, coming as it does in the week of the Nation's Thanksgiving Day, is bound to put first in our thoughts the matters for which we are particularly thankful to Almighty God in this autumn of 1944. Not only for the bountiful harvest and the increasing wealth and security of our people do we give thanks, but in this year we give thanks particularly that the end of the war is in sight and that the beginning of victory and a just peace is already forming in our minds and influencing our actions. And as a free people we give thanks, too, that we have been through a great national election in the midst of wartime, and that even in our hour of danger the American people went to the polls in unprecedented numbers and voted freely after the most free and unlimited debate. Once the vote was taken, the people displayed that unity of underlying purpose in which we Americans have always taken so much pride—the unity of purpose which accepts the decision of the polls in good spirit.

Emergence From Depression

And you of the labor movement have great things to be thankful for as you review this last decade. First, for the emergence from the most frightful depression of unemployment through which the labor movement went, with its consequent loss of membership and influence, and for the restoration of earning capacity and opportunity to millions of fellow workers. And this has strengthened our faith and belief in the democratic processes as it is lived and carried out in the United States of America, and we go forward to our next task with more courage than we had in other years.

In preparation for coming down here, I glanced over the notes upon which I based a little talk I made before the—I think it was the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and it seems only yesterday, but it was in the spring of 1933, and I was more than a little scared and nervous.

What interested me were the headings of that speech, the items which I discussed with you which reflect problems of that day, and I see that they were concerned with immediate relief funds; with appropriations for the beginnings of a Public Works Program with prevailing rates of wages; with the keeping of children out of the labor market; with various devices such as shortening of hours to spread the work; with recommendations for the establishment of a free public employment service to help the public find work; with various suggestions for preventing the further fall of wages. These items merely suggest to you the point in our economic life which we had reached when the tide turned and things began to get better.

We are worrying now about an entirely different kind of problem; problems today connected with surplus, with maintaining permanent prosperity, with maintaining high levels of employment on a permanent basis, with making a lasting peace, and with stabilizing sound relations between labor, employers and the Government. Frankly I am

glad to be worrying about these problems rather than the problem of poverty and deficit and degradation which we were worrying about when first I spoke before your body in 1933.

Labor, of course, in this year of 1944 on Thanksgiving Day has reason to give thanks for all legislation in the past ten years which so benefited the lives of the working people of this country.

There now has been accomplished in the United States a great body of statute law which puts sound underpinning under the economic life of the wage earning people of the United States, greatly improving their opportunity to make a living under good and dignified conditions, protecting their economic security in old age and periods of unemployment, and giving to organized labor a protection and a status from which they can go ahead with constructive work for the benefit of their members and the workers generally without wasting their energies on a constant running fight to live and organize.

When I was writing my annual report this year, I asked someone in the Solicitor's office to give me a chronological report of every piece of social and labor legislation since the year 1933. After all, you know after three terms you are at liberty to examine your conscience to see what has been accomplished. I asked for a very brief digest of every law. Even I was astonished at the size of the report that came back to me. It was 55 typewritten pages, but that was because I had asked for digests of the laws and comments on the reasons entering into the formulation of the legislation. So I made a digest of the digest and that was only 11 pages of closely typewritten material. I confess I was surprised myself at the amount. I won't read you the whole eleven pages—it is in legal language and would not be very entertaining; but just let me read to you the titles in chronological order as a picture of what the working people of the country of today have as a bulwark of defense of their economic and social life:

First, the NRA—a temporary emergency measure meant to be what it proved to be—a shot in the arm of a sick industry.

The second title of the NRA—the Public Works Program financed by the Federal Government with aid to the States and localities for the purpose of making employment available in the heavy industries.

Then, the establishment of free Public Employment Agencies under the Wagner-Peyser Act.

Then, the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps, an emergency relief program which gave tremendous satisfaction to labor and youth.

Several measures for emergency relief: The Home Owners Loan Act which saved the homes of millions of working people from foreclosure, the act safeguarding and insuring bank deposits which gave security to the savings of the working people and the people generally; various acts having to do with emergency relief works under a variety of names.

Then, in the 73rd Congress, the National Labor Relations Act, the Railroad Employees' Retirement Act, Federal Prison Labor Act,

the Bituminous Coal Act, and the Social Security Law approved on August 14, 1935, but becoming operative only two years later, including an unemployment and old age insurance system, and including public assistance programs with Federal aid in matching appropriation to the state for the needy aged, needy dependent children, maternal and child health service, service for crippled children, aid to the blind.

Then, in the 74th Congress, in addition to a variety of improvements in existing labor laws, the important Public Contracts Act was passed, popularly known as the Walsh-Healey Act. This was designed to maintain good standards of hours, wages and working conditions on all Government contracts, including an eight-hour day, forty-hour week, prohibition of child labor, and maintenance of the prevailing wages.

Then, in the next Congress, a most important law in the long run for the labor movement, an act for the promotion of apprenticeship training and the establishment of labor standards for apprentices; and a law also which was to prove of vast importance during the war and will undoubtedly be of greater importance in the Reconstruction Period—the United States Housing Act. Then, in 1938, the long discussed and vitally important Fair Labor Standards Act, commonly known as the Wage-Hour Law, a basic foundation of minimum wage and maximum hours with prohibition of child labor and provision for administrative measures which give labor and employers a voice, made this Act one upon which we can build, as we can in the National Labor Relations Act build many new programs as time demonstrates their need and wisdom.

Then there are a lot of smaller, less well known, but vital labor enactments in the succeeding years. In the war years come first a unified defense of the labor laws which some sought to have suspended or repealed on account of the war—and thus unified defense that was significant because the Army and Navy and Maritime Commission as well as the Department of Labor joined in their defense before Congress, and that was not an accident.

I cite all these to indicate the great bulk of defense which has now been wrought into the law of the land, defense for the working people against social and economic pressures, opportunity for the labor movement to make enormous progress. And one more item for which the American people can be thankful today, and the labor movement primarily, is that by a variety of devices and by the cooperation of working people, Government, merchants, manufacturers, housewives and banking establishments, we have avoided and escaped the inflation which was so dreaded by all of us two years ago.

And we are thankful, too, and I am sure that every responsible labor leader in this audience and in this country is thankful and rejoices in the great growth of the labor movement in those years in numbers and influence—the largest group of organized laboring people which this country has ever seen.

This great list of achievements in law is called by some people the whole of the

New Deal. It is not the whole of the New Deal, of course, and of course as citizens you are concerned with every aspect of our political life and institutions but this is certainly one of the great achievements of the historic period which is now called the New Deal, and in which so much cooperation has taken place between the workers and the Government unprecedented in this great country of ours and holding great promise for the future of a Democratic and a progressive life in this beloved country. For myself, I feel a kind of reverent pride, as I think many of you do, in having had a part in the formulation, exposition and administration of these measures which will be, I believe, for generations a powerful pattern for social justice, for true democracy of opportunity, and for better life for the people of the United States.

The labor movement with this body of statutes as defense—defense for all of its members and with its great and new membership has today perhaps the greatest opportunity that has ever been offered to any such group organization to serve this generation and all the people of the country. No labor leader, no objective friend, looking at the labor movement today fails to see certain defects, certain neglects, certain missed opportunities for service. Most of these spring out of the fact that the labor unions have for most of their lives been obliged to fight merely to live and have tolerated practices that spring up in times of warfare, which would not be endorsed or resorted to in times of security and peaceful cooperation. I believe those days of intense warfare between the labor unions and employers have passed and that we are on the verge of a period of mutual cooperation, and this is the constructive period for the American labor movement. Certainly, I am sure that the labor unions ought to take the lead in the development and maintenance of the note of cooperation, mutual responsibility, and good will. Labor in the United States has a status today never before enjoyed by any nation in the world. This status rests partly on the public law, law passed by the concurrence of all groups of people and various political and economic groups. American trade unionism is an established American institution resting on the will of the people. It has, therefore, a definite public responsibility and since the public law of recent years is now so important to the labor movement itself, one realizes that failure to perform in the field of public responsibilities is likely to result in the weakening of those laws which today give such opportunity. For what the people give the people can take away and often do, if they become offended. So, it seems to me that the next ten years, the next twenty perhaps, in the life of the labor movement might well be devoted to a program of public service—service first to the working people of the country through representation whether members or not; second, to industry by cooperation with industrial leadership for the expansion of ordinary production up to maximized production, and for developing and establishing maximum and steady employment for all workers, for sta-

bilizing employment by stabilizing the industrial economy and for improving the standards of living of the people generally by better wages and reasonable prices in the mass production industries; for cooperating with employers also in the improvement of working conditions generally in the safety and sanitary features as well as in the comfort and convenience features of modern industrial life, but above all, by setting up in mutuality and cooperation programs of relationship within industry which will prevent strikes, and the permanent warfare through which we have passed for so many years between workers and employers. Those of you who are long experienced in the labor movement know that if we had sufficient agreements between employers and workers and sufficient good will to interpret those agreements in the right spirit, we would so reduce the area of conflict as to make the whole operation pass over into a period of constructive action, in which we will never give up the protection of the needs of those people.

The right to strike is a precious defensive weapon but the effort should be to develop an orderly pattern based on justice and realistic knowledge of industrial and economic facts so that like many another old-fashioned weapon the strike, too, can be unloaded and put behind the door and not used, although retained just to give a sense of security.

This means, of course, a pattern in which direct negotiations between employers and workers, honest exchange of pertinent information, assistance of Government conciliation where necessary, orderly intervention in the form of mediation, voluntary—and I underscore it again—voluntary arbitration of disputed arbitration of disputed points and final recourse to fact-finding boards or panels (by preference on a "ad hoc" basis) with powers of recommendation but not of enforcement. This ought to be adequate as a pattern and a procedure, but the spirit and intention which will make such a pattern successful must spring from the minds of the working people and the employers. Demonstration of this principle by the leadership of the trade union movement in its now constructive phase is essential.

For I do truly believe that the American labor movement has passed into a constructive phase from which all the people of the United States expect to derive true economic and social improvement.

Third, there must be increasing public responsibility in the labor movement by participation in the general life of the community, in its charities, in its culture, in education, in the development of housing, in the spiritual expansion so necessary to the full practice of democracy. In this participation the labor movement must, of course, give evidence, as I think it will, to all elements of society, not only of good will but of power and intention to overcome by its own actions the defects in their own house. It must, of course, give assurance to the public as it takes part in the whole life of the community, that it will regard solemnly the rights of others, that it will prevent within its own ranks those occasional practices and occurrences which are called "rackets," that it will not tolerate excessive

practices, wildcat strikes, unfair treatment of individual members or prospective members by officers or locals; and that within the labor movement itself there will be found ways of preventing and doing away with anti-social tactics, competitive organizing between unions; that the differences of opinion between individual unions and between federations of unions will be resolved either by organic reunion or by a practical agreement to divide the field of organization and to be in a position to participate in public service together.

Trade unions will accept the challenge and live up to these responsibilities. The case is summed up in a recent report on "Labor Unrest and Dissatisfaction" made by a special research committee of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers. The report stresses the part of a union in maintaining a democratic society and indicates its belief that if employers and employees work together to settle their differences and keep the wheels of industry running smoothly, this effect, even from one union, will spread and have a steady influence on the balance of the population.

It closes upon a note which will be more and more stressed by labor unions and by the public in the future. "We must work for the common good of all the people," the report says. "The time now has come when we must have proper consideration for the welfare of others. If the interests of the nation as a whole are promoted we shall benefit from the general advancement of civilization."

"Labor unions have a definite responsibility for the future welfare of democratic society. Now that we have power we must assume the responsibility of underwriting that power—guaranteeing to the public that this power shall be used wisely, and that we as an organization will be an asset, not a liability, to society."

That policy is one to which forward looking trade unions will subscribe. It will carry them far ahead in public esteem and help build for them a growing and highly influential organization in the post-war period.

In the days ahead there will be need for a closer relationship and interlocking of government labor functions. The various ministerial functions having to do with labor which are now scattered through a variety of agencies of the government will be consolidated in the United States Department of Labor after the war. Many of these are in the emergency agencies of government serving special functions which will not be retained after the war. They are war activities.

I know that your organization will approve such a program and we have reason to believe that the political opposition which talked so much about it in the last two months will approve it. I was delighted to learn that not only certain leaders in the labor movement but apparently also the recent opposition candidate for President had done me the unprecedented honor of reading the Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor for the year 1942, pages 14 and 15 in particular. Perhaps you know that heads of departments regularly commit their deepest secrets to their annual reports and feel pretty sure that they will not be discovered. At the bottom of page 14 in the Annual Report of 1942 are these words, which I wrote and I quote:

"I recommend after the war a consolidation in the Department of Labor of various ministerial functions having to do with labor matters which are now scattered through a variety of agencies of the Government. Many of these are in the emergency agencies of Government which will not be retained after the war. Such functions of the Manpower Commission as Employment Service, apprenticeship and occupational training should be transferred to the Department of Labor on the breakup of that organization. Such functions of the War Production Board as labor planning for production, should be transferred to the Department of Labor. The fixing of wages and prices should be abandoned as soon as possible and the various activities of the Government looking toward the prevention of industrial disputes or their equitable settlement should find their permanent home in the Department of Labor. This includes the functions of the War Labor Board, the National Labor Relations Board, and the Labor Division of the War Production Board.

I recommend such increase as possible of the ministerial duties and functions of the Department of Labor in order that all the people of the country may have the full services of that Department.

I recommend lodging in the Department of Labor the functions that have to do with adult education insofar as they affect working people and the people of the industrial communities.

I recommend the development of a strong working conditions service within the Department of Labor on a permanent basis. This service should have the duty and function of establishing safe, healthy, practical, and effective physical and social conditions for employment and work, and having some slight but carefully guarded authority to carry out or to secure compliance with at least a minimum of such standards. When I say carefully guarded, I mean sufficient membership on advisory committees of employers, labor, and industrial experts as to prevent merely arbitrary action and sufficient number for the public to be heard on a local basis to prevent the number for the public to be certain to prevent the establishment of ways of doing things contrary to the best interests of the community."

It may interest you also to know that during the summer of 1944 in response to insistent demands of the Bureau of the Budget the Department presented to that Bureau a carefully worked out plan with timing and suitable alternatives suggested for the consolidation of these and other activities (including, by the way, certain studies being made in census and other agencies about problems of labor and employment). In providing consolidation within the Department of Labor of all of the agencies having to do with labor relations, we specified clearly in our report to the Bureau of the Budget that the quasi judicial and fact-finding function of the National Labor Relations Board should remain entirely independent and not reviewable by the Department of Labor or any of its officers; that future dealing with industrial disputes after the war would be based upon an early

return to negotiation of wages by free collective bargaining. To avoid a very real danger in wartime of inflation, a certain measure of governmental control of wages has been necessary during the war. Government control of wages and working arrangements present enormous difficulties for all the factors in production—a unit of labor is the hardest to define and hence to evaluate in money. The most competent representatives of Government (even when bulwarked by employer and labor representatives), when charged with an official decision on wages can hardly be as well informed about any practical situation as are the workers and employers who are themselves directly involved. Such officers are bound to follow verbal precedents and legalistic procedures as a protection against charges of favoritism and unfairness, and in these ways human needs as distinct from cold economic standards are neglected. These human adjustments can best be achieved by the free human relationship in which bargains are made directly by the workers and employers involved. The timing of such a return to the relaxing of wage controls must of course be careful and responsibly studied by both labor, employers, and the Government.

When the European part of the war is over, it would be appropriate to study the question intensively and practically once we see what our economic picture is likely to be during the remainder of the war which will be largely concerned with Japan. Inflationary hazards will not be over and control of prices will undoubtedly be essential to the prevention of inflation and the fair operating of our economy until such time as we build back to an abundance of consumers' goods where competition will serve to keep prices at reasonable levels. The relation of wages to prices will have to be carefully considered. The return to wages established by free collective bargaining may have little effect upon inflation if there is a general agreement and understanding that wage increases could not be made a reason and basis for increasing prices.

I ask that some of you may study that suggestion and come to competent and realistic and informed decisions as to whether that may not be possible upon the immediate close of the war in Europe.

Constant forward steps must be taken in the next ten years on a well conceived program of social security. Certainly, the expansion of the Social Security Act to cover all workers, to provide a better level or a longer period of income under unemployment insurance and old age insurance. The provision under social security techniques of income similar in amount and character to unemployment insurance benefits when the cause of the lack of income is disability due to illness or non-industrial accident. I hope the labor movement, as I expect to in the next few years, will study the whole question of how to provide under social security techniques and out of social security funds that are known in England as "facilities" as distinct from cash for the care of such aged as need care, facilities for the care

of the sick and convalescent, and the crippled, and facilities for dependent or crippled or blind children and even facilities for the temporarily unemployed in periods of transition or when moving around the country in search of a proper job. We have much to learn from other countries in this regard in some of these matters and I hope that through intercourse with other members of the United Nations we may learn of their experience and evaluate its practicability for our country.

I hope that the labor movement will study and be prepared to take part in a variety of experiments for improved housing for different types of communities, climates, and family groups. This ought to be one of the great post-war projects in which the labor movement can participate with all other elements in the community. The improvement of the standards of living by greater knowledge of nutritional values, by cooperation with agriculture in the production and preserving and distribution of adequate food supplies is another extremely important item of participation in which the labor groups can participate with other public bodies. The labor movement, I hope, will study the most practical and important aspects of adult education and of the education and training for work. There is a great disposition at present to think that because the Army has made mechanics and technicians out of boys who never liked school very well, that there has been discovered in the Army a new form of education. I credit the Army with some tremendous contribution to the short-cut technique of education but it was done mostly by intensive concentration and discipline. Education as such, the training of the whole man, his mind and his body and the skill of the hands certainly, but also of the mind and of that inner core of his life which we call the spirit, that God-given element which makes it possible for him to rise above circumstances, to exercise his free will and to attach his will permanently to that which is good and true and beautiful in human life; that kind of education must never be set aside for merely technical and trade training—no one knows that better than the working men and women of this country.

I look to the labor movement also to develop a new technique of friendship and help to the fine young men and women who have put in these war years of courageous and intelligent service to their country in the armed forces. I take it that they want to continue to serve their country for the rest of their lives, not in the armed services, but in those heroic efforts which all of us will make together to make this a great and good country; a country using its wealth and resources for the advantage and enhancement of the life of its people and participating in international affairs as a permanent good neighbor to all the world, entering into agreements generously, but with great practicality, to maintain high production levels, to keep our people employed at good wages, so that they may buy not only the products of our industry but the raw materials and products of other countries, and may develop trade with the whole world on reasonable bases, so that we may

raise our own standards of living and at the same time assist others in improving their standards of living. We can thus contribute economically as well as spiritually to a permanent world peace, and can begin to think about wages and income as purchasing power—as a market which will bring about a balanced economy and serve as an opportunity for true social security and true cooperation throughout the world.

I am sure that the core of our foreign policy so far as we are labor people is expressed in that slogan which the International Labor Organization adopted in the Philadelphia declaration that, "poverty anywhere is a menace to prosperity and civilization everywhere."

PRESIDENT GREEN: On behalf of the officers and delegates and visitors in session at this convention I thank you most sincerely, Madame Secretary, for your instructive and inspiring address. We are pleased to have you here, and I hope and trust that you will realize the hope you expressed in the beginning of your address that you would enjoy your visit with us.

And now I have the honor of presenting to you a distinguished gentleman of the Army. Most of us know General Somervell. Many of the representatives of our splendid organizations have enjoyed the privilege of conferring with him upon matters of mutual interest. In all these conferences he has manifested a sympathetic understanding of labor and our labor problems. I have admired the patience and self-control which he has manifested at the conferences in which we have participated, when dealing with problems of very great interest to our country, to the world, to the Army and to all of the armed forces. I know you will appreciate the fine address which he will deliver. No man has given more to our country, to the services of our country during this great emergency than has our distinguished visitor this afternoon. I am pleased to present to you General Somervell.

GENERAL BREHON SOMERVELL (Chief of the Army Service Forces)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: Before proceeding with my talk I would like to read you a message from my chief, General Marshall, addressed to your President and to this convention.

Message from General Marshall

"You are holding your Annual Convention at a most critical moment in the war. The record in the greatest production race in history represents a tremendous accomplish-

ment. You have made possible the overwhelming superiority in supplies and equipment that has enabled our Army and those of our Allies to wrest the initiative from the enemy in every theater of war.

"Despite these achievements at home and abroad, we are forced to view the future with deep concern. The very speed of our advance has created new production problems which demand herculean effort on the part of all our people in the months ahead. If we are to knock Germany out of the war and keep moving forward in the Pacific with minimum loss of American lives, we must intensify the force of the blows we are striking against the enemy. Specifically we now need, as a matter of the utmost urgency, more artillery and mortar ammunition, more tanks, more heavy trucks and tires, more field and assault wire, more tentage and more radar equipment.

"The soldiers face a desperate and determined enemy day after day in the mud and in the snow. They look to us for assurance that they will receive the urgently needed supplies in rapidly-increasing volumes until the German Army has been eliminated. Every day is vital. Every hour of delay means hundreds of lives and millions of money. Every one in this country, every worker must be made to understand that where a few divisions for brief periods consumed our munition output, today we must maintain a raging battle along a thousand miles of front in Europe and a steadily increasing battle in the Philippines. Tomorrow, next week and next month, more and more of our troops will pour into the battle, and more and more shells, bombs and other munitions will be consumed.

"A prodigious effort is being made by our Army. An equally prodigious effort must be made here at home."

Signed:

GENERAL MARSHALL

General Somervell:

When I was invited to join you here, I accepted gladly for I wanted to talk over with you certain problems that worry all of us. You, as the representatives of organized workers, and I, as Commanding General of the Army Service Forces, together shoulder a heavy responsibility to our fighting men. Because I know that you want to carry your share, I'd like to outline briefly the situation we face today.

Members of the American Federation of Labor are fighting on every front. You know these lads and have the right to be proud of them. The American soldier has proved repeatedly that he is the best soldier on earth. As long as he has enough tools with which to fight, there's no stopping him. When he does slow down it means that he is running short of munitions, supplies or transportation.

American production for war has rightly been called a miracle. I wish I could say that this miracle had solved all our problems, but it has not. Today at this very hour, production of arms and equipment needed by our troops is lagging on 40 per cent of the program. Two-thirds of this 40 per cent are the critical items desperately wanted on the fighting fronts. I want to

talk to you about that 40 per cent which stands like a wall between us and quick, sure victory. Together, we have solved other problems and I know that together we can solve this one.

I need not tell you that ever since Pearl Harbor we've had a tough production job to lick. We had to build our arms program almost from scratch, to develop new weapons and build huge factories. We had to equip our own Army and our Allies. We tackled this job as a team, and we are going to finish it as a team. (Applause.)

The battles our troops have won in Europe and the Pacific are a measure of the progress we have made in our joint production effort. Every victory had its beginning in our own war factories. The harder we work here at home, the harder the blows our troops can strike. And they have been striking some hard blows, as the Germans and the Japs can testify.

I have come before you today to express to you the Army's appreciation for what you have already done and to tell you frankly how much more remains to be done. I am happy to have the opportunity to do this because we are up against some of the most urgent and most difficult production assignments we have ever had to fill, and the speed with which we do fill them is going to have a very direct bearing on how fast we win this war and how many of our troops come home alive and whole.

I know that we can depend on you and the millions of workers you represent to attack these assignments with the same determination and energy that is carrying our fighting men toward the heart of Germany and Japan. It is going to take the hardest kind of work on the part of all our people, but I do not doubt for a moment that it will be done.

This is the situation we have to face: The rapid pace of our advance in Europe and the Pacific has created a sharply increased need for many items of equipment, and our overseas commanders are now in the position of having to obtain this equipment at once or to reduce the force of their offensives. We are ahead of our military timetables. To keep ahead we must move our production timetables forward and get from our factories today material that was scheduled for later delivery.

The need is particularly great for ammunition for our heavy artillery and our mortars. Our commanders in every theater of war are demanding more than we can give them at our present rate of production.

Our troops on the Western Front alone are firing more artillery ammunition than we are currently producing, and they will have to fire much more before they break through the fortifications of the Siegfried Line and fight their way to Berlin. Every minute, day and night, they fire more than two tons of steel at the Germans. During a two-week period in the fighting around Aachen, the 105-mm. howitzers of the First Army alone fired more than 300,000 rounds, and Aachen would have fallen sooner if they had had more ammunition to throw at the enemy.

On the other side of the world the demand is equally insistent. General MacArthur's forces on Leyte are using more artillery ammunition this month than they used in all of the past

16 months combined. They recently radioed for five extra shiploads of heavy artillery ammunition—50,000 tons extra—at a time when every other theater was stepping up its own requirements. On some types of ammunition we have calls for three times as many shells as our ordnance plants are turning out, and the demand is getting bigger, rather than smaller.

They need these shells so badly overseas that we don't even wait for them to get cool at the loading plant before they are on their way. As those of you who work on the railroads know, a lot of these shells are moving toward the ports on special trains that take the right-of-way over everything else on the rails. We get hourly reports on the progress of those "expedite" shipments so that we can spot a tie-up almost as soon as it occurs.

In the case of eight-inch shells for our great "Black Panther" guns, we are operating 18 days from the machine tool to the firing line, in comparison with a normal lag of six months between production and use.

You can see how that demand has closed in on us and how urgent it is.

We are even using air transport in some cases to speed the delivery of these shells to the front. But when you consider that one such shell, when packed for shipment, weighs 400 pounds, it is obvious that we can never blow down the West Wall with the quantity we can send by plane. Our primary reliance must be on ships, and we are using the fastest ships we can get.

To give our front-line units the firepower they need, we have cut ammunition for training purpose to bare essentials and we have even gone to the length of "borrowing" from the Navy shells adaptable for use in Army guns.

But none of these measures goes to the heart of the problem. They are merely expedients to get this top-urgency material to the spot where it is most needed in a hurry. They do not take the place of a sustained increase in production, far beyond the increases we have already had.

We are in the position of a man living beyond his income, only our deficits are measured in lives, and not in dollars. Up to now we have been able to keep our casualties relatively light because of our overwhelming superiority in firepower. Where our enemies have used a battery, or even a single gun, we have used whole battalions of artillery and we have steadily increased the intensity of our assault until our foes have been forced to fall back.

We have demonstrated time and again, in sectors where our artillery fire was adequate, that no enemy can withstand the deadly accuracy and volume of our big guns. One German sergeant with two years of service in Russia and Western Europe, told his American captors: "The toughest thing we had to face was your artillery. Its accuracy, concentration and slugging power are terrific. The blasting effect of your fire made one fellow in the next fox-hole go crazy. I'd rather be dead than face another barrage from your 155-mm. guns." Hundreds of other prisoners have told the same story.

But the effectiveness of our artillery is greatly reduced if we have to pause before every shell and see how many more we have in the bin before we let it go. We cannot go

on much longer firing more than we produce. But neither can we tell our troops to reduce their rate of fire. The degree to which we have to do that will be reflected in additional American lives lost and in delayed victory. The fewer shells our soldiers have to fire, the longer it will take them to attain their objectives and the more lives they will have to sacrifice in the effort.

We have gone a long way since the start of this year to give our fighting forces the increased firepower they need. We have more than tripled our output of big shells, and every worker who has contributed in any way to that increase is entitled to our heartfelt thanks. We would not be hammering against the western defenses of Germany right now if we hadn't had this outpouring of effort in our support by the people at home.

But what we have done is as nothing to what we must do. The pressure is really on. Our troops are asking us for the ammunition that will enable them to knock Germany out of the war and to step up the force of the blows they are delivering against the Japanese. They need assurance that they can hit the enemy harder and harder until he collapses in utter defeat.

Our schedules call for an immediate increase of 35 per cent over our present output of heavy ammunition, of 31 per cent over the number of heavy trucks we are building now, of 35 per cent in tanks. Our schedules have been trimmed down to what we thought was reasonably possible of accomplishment. But there is nothing reasonable about the demands of war. War is insatiable. The more you produce, the harder you can hit the enemy. The harder you hit the enemy, the faster you advance. The faster you advance, the more you need to sustain the pace of your advance. It all comes back to the producer of equipment and supplies, and as a result of our successes, we need much more than our schedules originally called for and we need it much faster than our present schedules demand. The fact that our combat commanders expect us to give them the vastly increased quantities of ammunition they now need is a sign of the high confidence they place in you. They are so used to having the people at home perform miracles to give them the things they need that they have come to take those miracles for granted and to build their battle plans on the assumption that we will never fail them, however great their demands become. I think they are right. We have never failed them yet, and we aren't going to start now. (Applause.)

I have spoken at length about heavy artillery ammunition because that is one of our most urgent problems, but it is by no means the only one. The fact is that our over-all Army Service Forces production schedule for this month is bigger than any we have had to undertake before. A year ago, in November, 1943, we hit our previous peak of \$2,150,000,000 worth of supplies and equipment.

That was the high point of the all-out expansion phase of our war production. After it had been attained, we began to refine our requirements and to concentrate on those

things that were most urgently needed. As a result, our volume of production receded, although our problems grew more complicated because of the necessity for sudden shifts in emphasis to make sure that our troops were supplied with the most effective weapons we could give them. We stopped making things that were no longer needed and stepped up the production of those things that were needed.

This month, with major offensives in progress on both sides of the world, our over-all requirements have gone to a point 10 per cent above the high we reached a year ago. We are still concentrating on the things that will do our soldiers the most good and our enemies the most harm. Everything we are making is being made because our theater commanders want it to increase the security and the striking power of the soldiers they lead.

That is an important thing to remember. Too often workers get discouraged and feel that they are not making any real contribution to the war effort because they are not employed in a plant that is turning out finished shells or guns or tanks. I want to say right here that such a feeling is just plain foolish. That is a team job and the workers in the mines, the foundries, the machine shops, the engine plants and in every unit of industry that is playing a part in our war production are fully as deserving of praise as those who work on the final assembly lines. In many cases, more so.

And let me repeat we are not making anything we do not need. Just because a particular item doesn't seem at a casual glance to have anything to do with killing Germans and Japs doesn't mean it isn't important to us.

I imagine most of you would find it hard to believe that we could ever get in a situation where one of our commanders would put a top priority on the delivery of something as apparently insignificant as a shoulder patch. Yet that is exactly what happened just a couple of weeks ago and the man who gave us the order wasn't kidding when he said, "Hurry."

At 4 P. M. on October 26 a cable was received at the Office of The Quartermaster General in Washington from General MacArthur requesting shipment at the earliest possible moment of 750,000 specially designed shoulder patches for the members of his Filipino Army and 50,000 more for the Filipino Constabulary.

The designs were drawn and approved by midnight, a pattern was made and the orders placed. The initial batch of 110,000 patches was delivered to the Newark Airport for air transport to the Philippines on November 1 and the rest were delivered three days later. The only hitch that was encountered was a shortage of blue silk yarn, but one plant dyed a sufficient quantity overnight and the work went forward. It took the cooperation of a lot of people to get those patches out, but the job was done.

Let's take another item that doesn't sound very dramatic—cotton duck. That is one of the things our commanders are calling for most insistently right now. It is tough enough to have to live in a tent in Europe

with snow on the ground. It is even tougher when you haven't got a tent. That is the kind of situation we are heading for unless we get our production up at once. In the Pacific we have the same kind of situation. You don't have snow, but you do have rain. And canvas doesn't last long in the darkness of the jungle. A 40 per cent step-up in our production of that item is imperative.

Now, I know that the frequency with which we change models has a lot to do with the fact that we sometimes miss our schedules. People keep telling me, "We could give you many more of the things you need if you would only let us keep on building them the way you tell us to at the start." All I can say to that is it would be a fine thing if we could do it, but we can't. We have to change a model every time our troops in the field or our engineers at home find a way to make it better. Our Army has the best equipment in the world, and it is going to keep on getting the best equipment, no matter how tough that makes our job at home.

Take the medium tank, one of the items that stands near the top of our urgency list. When the M-4 tank, the General Sherman, made its appearance in North Africa for the first time, the Germans started heading back toward Berlin, and they have been getting closer to home ever since.

We are now making that tank with two types of gun, the 75-mm. and the 76-mm. In addition, the M-4 chassis is being used for a new tank destroyer, carrying a 90-mm. gun; three types of self-propelled artillery; a flame-throwing tank; a mine exploder; a tank-recovery vehicle and a prime mover for our big guns. As if that weren't enough, we have revised our specifications to include a wider tank track, which will enable our tanks to get over muddy ground better, and we are asking the same plants that are now producing all these variants of the M-4 to get ready to shift to the production of two new types of tanks with more firepower and heavier armor than those we are now using.

Every one of the things I have just told you is being done because it must be done if we are going to continue to give our soldiers the best equipment we are capable of producing. At the present time we are falling short of our production requirements.

To help improve the situation, we have taken away from training units in this country every tank that meets overseas specifications. Huge repair and reclamation shops have been set up close to the front and Army technicians are working 24 hours a day to get tanks back into action. We are utilizing captured German tanks and artillery to the maximum extent to overcome our own shortages. But again, as in the case of artillery ammunition, these are expedients and cannot take the place of a sustained rise in production.

I have told you a little about the speed with which we move ammunition and other urgently needed equipment from the factories in this country to the port. The story would be incomplete without some reference to what happens to it on the other side of the ocean.

I am particularly anxious to speak of these things because so many of the members of your Teamsters Union and your railroad unions, now in service, are contributing to the rapid movement of this equipment once it gets to Europe. You have all heard of the famous Red Ball express line, which we have established in France to rush supplies by truck from the Cherbourg Peninsula to points just behind the front. Today we have three other special truck routes running in France: the White Ball, the Green Diamond, and a third, as yet unnamed, which runs from the Mediterranean ports to the armies approaching Germany from the southeast. The British have taken up the practice, too, and they have a one-way express route of their own from newly opened Channel ports to their section of the front.

The Red Ball is still hauling the bulk of the traffic. Its round trip distance, including spurs to the front, is about 750 miles. Endless lines of trucks move along it all day and all night. These lines never stop. When one truck breaks down, a fresh one is put in. Each day more than 100 trucks must be replaced, and the number would be far higher if it were not for the sturdy quality built into those trucks by the people who make them and the skill of the men who drive them.

The second express route, the White Ball, extends eastward from Le Havre and carries the supplies from that recently opened port to the front. The Green Diamond is, in reality, a local pick-up service, rather than an express truck line. It stretches from Cherbourg and the Normandy beaches to the large depots established in the rear areas ashore. Its purpose is to keep the beaches clear and to get supplies under cover until they are transported to the front. Its average haul per load is only eight miles. All three of the routes and the trucks that operate on them are marked with the Red Ball, the White Ball or the Green Diamond. Their story will become part of the great saga of American transportation.

But we are not concerned with writing history books today. We are concerned with winning a war. The plain fact is that all of our truck operations overseas are handicapped for lack of trucks. The more we can get overseas, the faster material can move up to the front from the ports and the railroads. Here, again, we need a sharp and immediate increase in production.

It is going to take the united effort of all our people to see this thing through. The Army and Navy are working in close cooperation with the War Production Board, the War Manpower Commission, the Office of War Mobilization and all the other agencies of government to insure the necessary concentration of effort on the programs of greatest urgency. But, in the final analysis, the problem rests with American industry and American labor.

I'm calling on you as individuals, and upon the American Federation of Labor, and all its locals and all its members to volunteer right now, today, for this very tough job.

We are short 100,000 workers in plants producing essential war materiel for the

ASF and we must have these workers at once.

I know that you men and women are sticking to your war jobs, but there are a lot of Americans who are not. They are turning to other employment in quest of greater post-war security.

Our men aren't dying in Germany and in the Philippines simply to give someone the right to work at a soft job before the war is over or to get an advantage over his competitor. Our men are dying for causes greater than any industry or group of industries, greater than any worker or group of workers.

We've got to back them up. We've got to get people into the plants and shipyards, into every place our production schedules fall behind. Our consciences must give us no rest until every last man and woman on the home front is in there pitching with the same vigor and the same unselfish devotion our soldiers display in the face of the enemy.

I urge you to take it upon yourselves to recruit people in all vital industries. Get them into the plants when they are needed. See that they stay there. See that they keep on working as faithfully as our men are fighting. There's the job.

I am not worried about what your response will be. I know that none of you will falter or turn aside until the last enemy has thrown down his arms. The lives of our troops and the speed of our victory are in your care. Nothing else could be as important. I know that your response will be as overwhelming as the cause is vital.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know this factual and constructive address which General Somervell has just submitted has made a deep impression upon your hearts and your minds. We are seeking the truth. We want the facts. We are tremendously interested in the success of the armed forces of our nation. There are a million and a half members of the American Federation of Labor serving somewhere in the armed forces, either in the European center or in the South Pacific. We shudder at the thought of failing them or of failing their comrades.

The production forces of our country have been well classified as an arsenal of democracy and, as General Somervell pointed out, we have made a record of which we can be tremendously proud.

But if there is more that we must do, if there are new heights that we must reach, then I say to you, General Somervell, in behalf of the 7,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor, that we will reach the new heights, and we will give you the service. We want to know just how we can do it, and we will find out the way, and I know that these men, possessed of skill, of training and of genius will go into the workshops and will

supply the needs of the armed forces of the nation in full measure and they will do it as brave patriots, soldiers serving in the army of production. I want you to go back to Washington feeling assured that, having submitted these facts to these 7,000,000 soldiers of production, we will now try to find a way by which and through which we can respond to your earnest appeal for renewed service.

I thank you.

The Chair will recognize Secretary Meany for the purpose of submitting a brief supplemental report of the Executive Council, which calls for urgent action in order to help employees in the postal service.

Secretary Meany submitted the following supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT— EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Increase in Basic Salary for Postal Workers

Postal workers are a component part of the American Federation of Labor. They have not received an increase in basic pay rates for nearly 20 years. The Executive Council doubts seriously that any group of workmen in America have had a similar experience.

Public hearings will be held before the House Committee on Post Office and Post Roads commencing at 10 a. m. Tuesday, November 21. A measure designed to grant all Postal Workers a permanent \$400 increase in their basic salary will be taken up for consideration. This meritorious legislation is known as the O'Brien Bill, H. R. 4715. Simple justice demands that this loyal group of Government workers be granted pay increases commensurate with the ever increasing cost of living.

Your Executive Council feels that the pay of Postal Workers and other working men and women should not be based on living costs alone but that due consideration should be given to the quantity and the quality of the work performed. Over 50,000 postal employees are in the armed forces. The remaining postal personnel have performed a yeomanlike service to the people of the United States in expeditiously handling the record-breaking mail volumes despite manpower shortages. They deserve the upward salary revision demanded in H. R. 4715.

Therefore, we recommend that this 64th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at New Orleans, La., on November 20, 1944, do endorse the O'Brien Bill, H. R. 4715, and that telegrams be sent to all Members of the House of Representatives and the United States Senate, notifying them of this action and requesting them to appear before the scheduled public hearings in support of the legislation.

DELEGATE DOHERTY: Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman, I move you the adoption of

the Supplemental Report of the Executive Council, and in so doing I should like to ask that that report bear the unanimous endorsement of this convention. It may be news to many of the delegates here assembled that postal workers do not receive time and one-half for overtime. They actually receive for work in excess of forty hours per week 17 cents less per hour than they receive at straight rates of pay or for the work performed during the 40-hour period. They have not received a basic increase in their pay schedules for nearly twenty years, and I think it is time our Federal Government should do something for this group of working men.

The vast majority of postal workers, as you know, with very few exceptions, are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We are proud of that affiliation. I sincerely hope that in this instance the American Federation of Labor will take the action recommended by the Executive Council.

The motion offered by Delegate Doherty was seconded and carried by unanimous vote of the convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You who have been regular attendants at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor will recall the visit of the Administrator of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the most impressive addresses which he delivered on those occasions. You will recall that he delivered a most interesting address at the Boston Convention held one year ago.

I am pleased to announce to you that Mr. L. Metcalfe Walling, Administrator of the Fair Labor Standards Act, is here this afternoon. Because he is pressed for time, he has asked that he be accorded the opportunity of addressing the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention now. We are pleased indeed to respond to his request. I know he will bring to you a most interesting message.

I now present to you Mr. L. Metcalfe Walling, Administrator of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

MR. L. METCALFE WALLING (Administrator of Fair Labor Stand- ards Act)

President Green, friends of the American Federation of Labor: I think I can use that term confidently, because as I look around the audience I see many friendly and familiar faces that I have had the opportunity to see during this last year as I have been privi-

leged to address various state conventions of the American Federation of Labor, since I spoke to your convention in Boston. In fact, I think maybe I have somewhat of a record, because I had the high privilege in March of this year of addressing the first annual convention of the newly formed Alaska Federation of Labor in Ketchikan. That is just a little indication of the fact that you have not forgotten your organizing activities during the stress of the war period.

We are meeting here in the Southland, and some of you may have heard of the letter of the sailor to his family which read somewhat as follows:

"Dear Pappy—I am out here on the high seas on one of these destroyer escorts in the Navy. We are surrounded by explosives; we are carrying torpedoes aboard. Some of them are coming at us through the water and bombs are dropping all around us from the air." He said furthermore: "We have two or three damned Yankees aboard, and of course it is dangerous, but tell Mom I will be all right."

Well, I want to confess right away, if you don't know it, that I am one of those damned Yankees, but I haven't any serious explosives in my pocket.

You have had a long and serious session and I am going to compress into a very few words the few things I do want to bring to your attention in my annual report to you.

A year ago I pointed out that we were pretty well along the road toward realizing the congressional objective of bringing all of the workers in interstate industry, 21,000,000 workers subject to the Federal Wage and Hour Law up to a 40-cent minimum wage. That seems to be pretty low to you people who are talking about how to break the Little Steel Formula, but you will be interested to know that there are still in this great country of ours in war times a great many workers—and they are not all women workers, either—who are getting less than 40 cents an hour. Do you realize that in 14 per cent of the inspections which we make for compliance with the Federal Wage and Hour Law we are still finding violations of that low 40-cent minimum wage, that in 49 per cent of the cases we are still finding failure to pay that time and one-half overtime pay, which it was just pointed out to you is not vouchsafed to the postal workers, or other Government employees, because of a special exemption in the Federal Wage and Hour Law? Forty-nine per cent of the inspections we make show a failure to pay a minimum wage of 40 cents an hour for overtime pay. I am glad to say that is a lot better record than I reported to you a year ago, but it is still all too high a rate of violation.

I am sorry to have to report to you that there is still an increase in the illegal employment of children—a 200 per cent increase in 1943, for instance, and it is still increasing over 1941. We have collected, under the Public Contracts Act about \$750,000 in liquidated damages to the Federal Government for the illegal employment of minors since that Act was put on the books in 1936. More than 50 per cent of that figure was collected in this last year. The

violations are increasing so rapidly in the illegal employment of minors that we are now collecting \$70,000 a month for the Federal Government in liquidated damages, which is about 10 per cent of the total figure we have collected so far. Those are figures for you to ponder upon, and last you think that the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, which the American Federation of Labor has always regarded as one of its main interests and its particular babies is inactive, let me remind you of what is happening under that law in war time.

Eight years ago when we started administering the law we had less than 4,000 contracts a year into which the Government had the right to write minimum labor standards, including your good old trade union principle of prevailing wages, and those 4,000 contracts were valued at about \$200,000,000; but this year we had 100,000 contracts into which we could write this basic labor principle, and they amounted to over \$30,000,000.

I think you might be interested in some of the plans which we are jointly making for the future amendment of this Wage and Hour Law so it will be a better tool to realize the common objectives which all of the labor movement has. I suggest to you that you ought to be giving consideration to the question of whether the basic minimum wage guaranteed by the law ought not to be raised to meet the advancing cost of living which we have experienced in wartime, and I am sure in due course you will be prepared to make your recommendation to the Congress on that important matter.

I have developed several items in our experience in administering this law where we recognize it can be strengthened. We begin to realize that it is important to extend these benefits to employees now largely engaged in industrialized agriculture and who have no protection whatever from labor laws and in all too many cases have no law to protect them and I know you have been as disturbed as I have been by this disturbing, rash, discriminatory state legislation which eliminates the period during which the employee may sue to recover wages wrongfully withheld from him by his employer. In many states the period is as short as six months, although our creditors may have several years.

One of the most effective ways to stop this discriminatory legislation is to write into the Federal Wage and Hour Law a provision that would be suitable for everyone interested, the period within which an employee may sue to recover back wages. That is important because this is a uniform standard and it should not depend on the acts of the state in which he lives and therefore has to bring his suit.

And in that connection I would like to suggest to you also that it might be helpful to use in enforcing this law, that employees could assign their rights of lawsuit to the administrator who could bring action on their behalf to recover their wages, because all too many employees do not know that they have the right to bring suit in court to recover back wages.

Wherever we find out about such violations we try to see that the employee is

paid what he has owing him, and we have today collected about \$80,000,000 in back wages which would not otherwise have been received by workers. We are vigorous in that regard and even in these wartime years we have collected over \$17,000,000 and the need has not abated.

There are other suggestions for improvement. We should narrow the exemption in the food processing industry so they will not be denied the benefits of this statute, and others that I will not take the time to outline to you.

In conclusion I want to say just this. We have in this country in the nearly three years that we have been at war fostered a great national unity, and we have turned out a miracle of production which I am willing to state on any platform is largely due to the patriotism, the unselfishness and the breadth of vision of the working men and women of this country.

And as we face the future we can do so with confidence, with that same determination to do the impossible, which is going to bring about our ultimate victory and can be utilized to bring about our ultimate victory on the peace front, too.

You have heard from General Somervell the continuing importance of war production and we cannot too often remind ourselves that the war is not yet won. Just as you have to prepare for war before actual hostilities break out, so you must plan for peace before the peace descends upon you and there are other encouraging signs in this country that the transition will be easier than we dared hope a while ago. For instance, there is no respectable body in this country, and that includes the employers, that does not recognize our national goal must be full employment at high wages and we are determined in this democracy of ours that we shall attain that goal. And as we begin the difficult days of transition following the military victory we know that in reaching that goal we have assurance of basic national labor standards of minimum wages—whatever that might be, forty cents or higher. We have overtime pay to discourage over long hours and we have this realization that we can move forward to this goal with a unified approach. And so I say to you confidently that this promise of American life joint and cooperative effort on the part of all of us, and I want to pledge to you, on behalf of those of us in the Wage and Hour Division, that we will keep alive the faith and the confidence you have reposed in us, and we will constantly remember that we have the responsibility of administering the law which was enacted for the benefit of working people all over this great country of ours. We pledge our effort with you to do all that we jointly can to bring about that constantly increasing standard of living which is the goal of every American.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know I can say to Brother Walling in your behalf that we are equally interested with him in the administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act. We have noticed with a feeling of pleasure and interest that the wage prevail-

ing under the operation of this law has been lifted and the submerged worker has been tremendously helped.

I am of the opinion that no act has ever been passed by the Congress of the United States that in its application has proved to be of greater benefit to millions of workers than has the Fair Labor Standards Act, and I am happy to report to you that I know from the facts that have come to me that Mr. Walling administers this Act in accordance with the point of view of the members of the American Federation of Labor. I thank you kindly for coming with us this afternoon and for your message.

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

I now call upon Secretary Meany to read to you the names of the convention committees.

Secretary Meany read to the convention the convention committees as follows:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Harry C. Bates, Robert Byron, F. A. Fitzgerald, Henry F. Schmal, Leo J. Buckley, George Q. Lynch, Charles M. Rau, William Campbell, Frank J. Coleman, Irvin Barney, Matthew Burns, A. C. D'Andrea, C. F. Preller, Selma Borchardt, M. J. Sexton, Luigi Antonini, Rudolph J. Peterson, Lloyd A. Thrush, Jean W. Dubuc, John Malone, Joseph F. Boyen, G. Leo Abernathy, Joseph Steiger, Robert C. Kirkpatrick, John O'Hare.

RESOLUTIONS

Matthew Woll, John P. Frey, J. A. Franklin, John M. Gillespie, William E. Maloney, P. J. Morrin, David Dubinsky, John B. Haggerty, L. F. Lindelof, R. G. Soderstrom, Thomas H. O'Donnell, John J. Mara, Fred Baer, J. L. Reilly, M. A. Hutcheson, Arnold S. Zander, John E. Rooney, Joseph P. Ryan, Frank Kasten, Richard F. Walsh, Herman Winter, Max Zaritsky, Hugo Ernst, George L. Berry, Woodruff Randolph.

LAWS

Daniel J. Tobin, Joseph N. Weber, Patrick E. Gorman, Joseph Lahey, J. J. Farnan, Elijah Watson, James Kilien, William Tracy, William J. Gorman, Edward J. Vols, Steve Quarles, A. E. McCormick, Herbert Rivers, Lee Freeman, George C. Slater, William McCarthy, Timothy M. Collins, Anthony Matz, Sol Cilento, Anthony Valente, John P. Redmond, Sam J. Byers, Charles Johnson, John Simmons.

ORGANIZATION

Wm. C. Doherty, Frank Duffy, V. O. Gardner, John P. Burke, Paul Dulzell, Patrick H. Reagan, Charles C. Levey, Vincent Castrovano, William J. Riehl, Edward I. Hannah, Leon Williams, John B. Prewitt, Earl W. Jimeron, A. Philip Randolph, Joseph Schmidt, W. J. Bassett, Michael Flynn, A. Shoemake, Louis P. Sahuque, Ray Nickelson, Lester Washburn, Vincent J. Kane, E. W. Higginbotham, Tillman K. Garrison, Anton White, J. A. Payne.

LABELS

Elward Flore, George T. Coughlin, Anthony Merlino, Joseph Belsky, Samuel Herchkowitz, Anne Peterson, Toney Gallo, Joseph Addy, James A. Taylor, John G. Warrington, George Newborn, John Zitello, Anastasia Becker, James McDonald, Charles E. Rohler, Harry Greenberg, Robert Lester, James A. Suffridge, C. E. Earnhart, J. L. Robertson, Frank W. Anderson, Harold H. Clark, George Turry.

ADJUSTMENT

Felix H. Knight, James Maloney, Roy Horn, John P. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, Arthur Seward, H. H. Reddick, Frank Brewster, Ed. J. Brown, E. J. Manion, Ernest Atkinson, James Edgar, George W. Lawson, Gus Van Heck, L. M. Rafter, Harry Nacey, Joseph J. Delaney, J. O. Mack, Joseph O'Neill, Joseph P. McCurdy, Samuel R. Diskan, Louis Krouse, Gordon Chapman, George Grisham.

LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

W. C. Birthright, C. C. Coulter, Joseph Marshall, A. Adamski, James C. Quinn, R. E. Woodmansee, George O. Baker, Wm. J. Moran, Alfred Rota, Wm. McGuern, J. W. Van Hook, Lloyd Klenert, John Lundergan, Arthur J. Strunk, Abraham Mendelowitz, Thomas A. Lenehan, Angela Bambace, Michael J. Mungovan, John Hawk, Edward W. Kaiser, Anton Johanness, John E. Briedenbach, John Gillard, J. F. Schmitt, Claude Skeldon.

EDUCATION

George M. Harrison, E. E. Milliman, Carl H. Mullen, Edward J. Hillock, Louis Horbeck, John P. Bowen, Thomas E. Wilkinson, James Petrillo, Andrew Wigstrom, C. F. Strickland, William L. McFetridge, Harry H. Cook, Joseph Tuvin, Irvin Kuenzli, D. M. Burrows, Harry Lundberg, Robert Bruck, William Schoenberg, James J. Doyle, Charles J. MacGowan, W. L. Allen, Peter G. Noll, A. P. Bower, Roland Adams.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

G. M. Bugniazet, William E. Walter, George L. Googe, Joseph A. Mullaney, John Clinton, Bernice B. Heffner, Phil Hannah, Charles T. Crane, C. J. Haggerty, W. S. Gross, Thomas A. Murray, Oliver De Poorter, Gust Anderson, John J. Guenther, Louis Koenig, John F. Joinville, Bernard Quinn, James D. Graham, Claude O'Reilly, John J. Hauck, Harry W. Acreman, George Troy, E. A. Carter, Alex F. Swickard.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

William L. Hutcheson, John Clayton, Joseph P. Considine, Joseph S. Fay, Walter Matthews, John Proctor, John O'Rourke, Joseph E. Kehoe, Charles N. Paulsen, John R. Owens, Edward H. Weyler, Samuel Reinlib, George L. Warfel, E. J. Brock, James W. Close, George Wright, Hugh C. McKenney, M. D. Cox, M. H. Crow, F. H. Fljozdal, George Edgerton, Robert Lynch, Paul L. Phillips, James Waugh.

BUILDING TRADES

Richard J. Gray, William J. McSorley, Joseph V. Moreschi, F. B. Comfort, Charles B. Gramling, John H. Lyons, Martin P. Durkin, William J. Bowen, C. W. Sickles, Pete Yablonski, G. X. Barker, J. M. Gavlak, M. J. McDonough, John J. Conway, H. E. Wood, James L. McDevitt, C. A. Fink, Earl E. Thomas, Laurence Foley, James J. Ryan, Paul A. Givens.

SHORTER WORKDAY

Harry Stevenson, James P. Meehan, Chris Lane, John Pelkofer, William Cooper, Louis P. Marcilante, Sal B. Hoffman, B. A. Murray, Milton P. Webster, Harry J. Hazen, Elmer P. Meinz, Joseph P. McCoy, Walter Lenox, F. D. Laudemann, Herbert Skinner, George Haberman, George W. Brayfield, Ray Kelsay, Robert Arnott, David Gingold, Timothy Desmond, Roderick MacDonald, John W. Austin, Frank Evans, B. J. Helmke.

LEGISLATION

Harvey W. Brown, Leo E. George, Emanuel Koveleski, B. M. Jewell, Foster J. Pratt, James M. Duffy, Edward Carluough, Michael B. Gallagher, James B. Burns, Joseph F. Landis, L. V. McGuigan, Marx Lewis, Christian Madsen, Gustave Knuese, Lee Kistler, Roy W. Singer, Lawrence Litman, Frank X. Martel, Holt Ross, C. M. Harvey, David L. Behncke, William G. Shord, Harley F. Nickerson, H. Z. Collier.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Wm. J. McSorley, Matthew Woll, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon,

Wm. L. Hutcheson, Wm. J. Bowen, Albert Adamski, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, E. E. Milliman, J. A. Franklin, John P. Frey, Christian M. Madsen, Edward Flore, Henry F. Schmal, W. C. Birthright, John B. Haggerty, P. J. Morrin, Felix H. Knight, James Maloney, Harold D. Ullrich, Hugo Ernst, Holt Ross, Isidore Nagler.

DELEGATE MCSORLEY: I move that President Green be added to the Committee on International Relations.

DELEGATE SOULE: I second the motion. The motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chairmen of the committees will please take note of the announcements, come forward and receive the names of the members of their committees and arrange for meetings at your convenience.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: The Committee on Resolutions will meet tomorrow morning at 9:30 at the Roosevelt Hotel. It will occupy the Pan American Room for the meeting. Members will be present promptly at 9:30. Those desiring to be heard by the committee will please arrange to be present tomorrow morning or Wednesday morning. The committee will not be able to have hearings longer than that. Delegates, please take note.

PRESIDENT GREEN: May I remind the delegates and visitors in attendance at the convention that we will meet tomorrow morning and adjourn at noon for the day. We will just have one-half day session tomorrow. You recall the announcement made by the Local Committee that a boat ride was provided for all at this convention tomorrow afternoon, so tomorrow morning we will have as speakers to address the convention Governor McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, and Commander Scheiberling of The American Legion.

Escort Committee

I wish to appoint a committee made up as follows to meet Governor McNutt and escort him to the hall tomorrow morning at his convenience: Brother William C. Birthright, Barbers; Brother L. P. Lindelof, Painters, and Brother Carl Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

All three of them are good Hoosiers, and they should be able to escort a good Hoosier to the hall and inspire a good Hoosier to make a good address.

I wish to announce a committee to meet with Commander Ed Scheiberling and escort him to the hall, and I appoint on that committee the following:

Brother George L. Berry of the Printing Pressmen, Brother Maurice L. Hutcheson, of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, Brother David Beck, of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, and Brother James B. Burns, President of the American Federation of Government Employees.

Announcement

Committee Member Quarles, on behalf of the Local Committee on Arrangements, announced that a sight-seeing trip around the Harbor of New Orleans would be given for the delegates, the boat leaving the Canal Street dock at 2:30 o'clock p. m.

He also reminded the delegates of the War Bond show at the Roosevelt Hotel Monday evening.

Opportunity was given for announcements by committees as to time and place of the committee meetings.

There being no further business to come before the convention, Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 5:05 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, November 21st, 1944.

RESOLUTIONS

Under the provisions of the A. F. of L. Constitution, Article III, Section 6, All resolutions must be received 30 days prior to the opening of the convention, **EXCEPTING** resolutions adopted after the expiration of the 30-day period, by a convention of a national or international union or of a state federation of labor. Such resolutions shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention.

Any resolutions or proposals received after the expiration of the time limits shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance thereof is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

Resolutions of state federations of labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

Resolutions of city central labor unions must first have received the approval of such central labor union at a regular constituted meeting of the organization.

Resolutions received from directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions are to be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council in turn to report to the convention as to the disposition made of these resolutions.

The following resolutions were received within the prescribed time limits and conform to constitutional requirements:

Application of Seniority Principles to All Federal Employees

Resolution No. 1—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex. Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Jos. Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; **C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Bernice B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers;**

Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers', Die Stammers' and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Jos. Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Seniority is a well established principle in most trades and industries, and

WHEREAS, Seniority principles are recognized and operate successfully in several post offices, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of seniority principles among all Federal Employees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Retirement System for A. F. of L. Employees

Resolution No. 2.—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, There is at present no equitable provision for retirement upon annuities of the officers and employees of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The establishment of an equitable retirement system for such officers and employees has received favorable action by previous conventions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be urged to expedite a study of the subject with the end in view of the establishment at the earliest practicable date of an equitable retirement system for all full time officers and employees of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Representation At Peace Conferences

Resolution No. 3.—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federa-

tion of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The burdens and sacrifices of wars are borne inevitably by the workers, and

WHEREAS, The future welfare and security of workers everywhere are dependable upon the establishment of equitable and humane international relations and the maintenance of permanent peace, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor make appropriate representation to the President of the United States urging the inclusion of duly constituted representatives of the American Federation of Labor in any conferences to negotiate the terms of peace following the present war.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Essay Contest

Resolution No. 4.—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of

Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Hundreds of thousands of members of the American Federation of Labor are enrolled in the armed forces of the United States and are participating in the conflict in every theater of the present war, and

WHEREAS, their views and opinions arising from their experience are of the utmost importance in the consideration of terms of peace, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor conduct an essay contest open to all members in the armed forces upon the subject "The Peace For Which We Fight," and that suitable recognition be accorded the authors of winning essays, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the winning essays be published in the American Federationist.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Attaches in State Department

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates David, Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Samuel Otto, Joseph Tuvin, Angela Bambace, David Gingold, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The role of labor in the conduct of international relations has grown during the war and will doubtless continue to increase after the war, and

WHEREAS, In recognition of this fact the State Department has undertaken to appoint labor attaches in many countries where the United States has diplomatic representation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the creation, within the State Department, of an Under-Secretariat of Labor to organize and supervise the work of the labor attaches who along with the head of the secretariat shall be chosen from the ranks of organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

International Machinery For Peace

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Samuel Otto, Joseph Tuvin, Angela Bambace, David Gingold, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, We are today involved in a vast struggle of world-wide proportions

against those who have sought to conquer the world and impose upon it tyrannical domination, and

WHEREAS, We are fighting in this war for the right of every man to have a voice in the government of his country; for the right of every man to live in peace and security, and to enjoy social and economic standards consistent with human comfort and human dignity, and

WHEREAS, It is our belief that in order to achieve these aims the old, discredited system of power politics, balance-of-power manipulations and arbitrary divisions of spheres of influence must be abolished and that this modern interdependent and closely knit world must be recognized on the basis of collaboration among all nations, large or small, and

WHEREAS, It is our unshakable belief that such collaboration cannot attain its full effectiveness unless labor is fully and adequately represented on the international councils by delegates chosen by organized labor itself, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the United States shall help to establish an international machinery with adequate power to maintain the peace against all possible future aggressors and to assure the small nations of the world security from unilateral action or domination by the bigger powers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the free and democratic movements of all countries shall have direct and adequate representation on such international councils, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our foreign policy be directed towards support of the principles of Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, and the removal of trade barriers and the encouragement of the exchange of goods among nations as a means of advancing their economic stability and collective well-being.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

U. S. Employees Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 7—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Bernice B. Hoffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert

Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the workmen's compensation law covering Government employees and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's Compensation Laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia; and the large body of workmen employed on Federal Emergency projects, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of Federal workmen's compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within Federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal workmen's compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to request that the U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission, its records, and functions be returned to the national capital at the earliest practicable date, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

U. S. Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Print-

ers' Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The administration of laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of positions under the Classification Act of 1923, and the administration of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of Federal Government employees, and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law, and

WHEREAS, Many decisions had under these laws are quasi-judicial ones, and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of Federal Government employees should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bipartisan commission, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to request of the President that one of the members of the United States Civil Service Commission be selected with particular reference to his active interest in organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Government Employees Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Con-

sidine, Louis Horibeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers; Die Stampers' and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Jos. Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government service, and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers, and

WHEREAS, All these unions have recently reaffirmed their allegiance to the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions of Government workers in this Sixty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Jurisdictional Disputes

Resolution No. 10.—By Central Labor Council, Everett, Washington.

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes cause dissension between internationals and also between local unions, and

WHEREAS, These disputes also waste a great deal of the time of international officers and business representatives and also time at meetings of local councils and local unions, and

WHEREAS, Most of these jurisdictional disputes are caused because of the jurisdictional claims of the various internationals overlap and in some places are not clearly defined, and

WHEREAS, Every effort should be made to eliminate all causes of dissension in or-

ganized labor, in order that union men and women can work together in harmony to improve wages and working conditions and also work together for economic and social progress, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to appoint an impartial committee to examine the jurisdictional claims of the various international unions, and to request the internationals affected to adjust their jurisdictional claims where they overlap or otherwise conflict with each other.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Racial Discrimination

Resolution No. 11.—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, Detroit, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The constitution of the United States guarantees to the citizens of this country equal rights before the law, and that there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, or color, and

WHEREAS, The Selective Service Act specifically states that no member of the armed forces shall be discriminated against because of race, creed or color, and

WHEREAS, It is now charged that the Selective Service Act is being violated in that the negroes inducted into the Armed Forces are discriminated against, particularly, this is true in the Air Forces by the establishment of a segregated Air Base at Tuskegee Institution at Tuskegee, Alabama, and

WHEREAS, These negroes in the Armed Forces have given a good account of themselves in the conflict and have assumed their full responsibility with credit to themselves and to the nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor investigate the allegation made that the discrimination is being made against negroes in the Armed Forces, and that every opportunity be afforded to those making the charge to present their evidence to the end that all such alleged discrimination shall be eliminated and that the people of the United States, both negroes and whites, will have full confidence that prohibition against discrimination is being fully observed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. of L. Public Relations Department

Resolution No. 12.—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Samuel Otto, Joseph Tuvim, Angela Bam-

bace, David Gingold, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The 1943 Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor, in acting on a number of resolutions calling for the establishment of a Public Relations Department, has expressed its accord with the spirit of those resolutions and suggested that the Federation's public relations activities be improved, enlarged and better coordinated, and

WHEREAS, That same convention has recommended that the Executive Council set up a special fund, supplemented by voluntary contributions from affiliated national and international unions, to finance an effective and comprehensive public relations program, and

WHEREAS, While we regard these still unrealized decisions of the 1943 Convention as a step in the right direction, we still believe that the expansion and improvement of organized labor's public relations could best be effected through the establishment of a properly financed Public Relations Department by the Federation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention approve the formation of such a public relations department in the American Federation of Labor to interpret the true social aims of organized labor; to present a responsible picture of trade unionism as an element in the American way of life; and to establish close, mutual relations of good will and cooperation with those sections of the public to whom labor is bound by a community of interest.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Participation in B. L. S. Surveys

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Cost of living statistics as compiled by the United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, have become a factor in wage controls as administered by Federal Government agencies, and

WHEREAS, Even prior to the institution of governmental controls as a result of the present war emergency, such statistics formed the basis of wage controls in many agreements between industry and labor, and

WHEREAS, Serious deficiencies in the data content of the Bureau of Labor Statistics Index was disclosed by the report of the Labor members of the President's Committee on the Cost of Living, and

WHEREAS, The reconciliation of this index by the incorporation of such deficiencies discloses that this index, in its present form, fails completely in reflecting the magnitude of the actual rise in the cost of living, thereby destroying any confidence which organized labor may have had in the index as an instrument to be used in wage controls and adjustments, and

WHEREAS, The restoration of this lost confidence on the part of organized labor in the adequacy and reliability of the index is essential if the index is to serve a useful purpose in relation to collective bargaining, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby requests that labor personnel, appointed by labor, be made a part of the Bureau of Labor Statistics to assist in determining the policy, as well as the compilation of data content for the BLS Cost of Living Index, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, and to the Secretary of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor News Commentator

Resolution No. 14—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, All American labor has lost respect, esteem and support from the American public through the distortion of many radio newscasters and commentators, and

WHEREAS, The distortions, half-truths and inaccuracies by these broadcasters as well as by the people engaged in gathering and preparing the news for broadcast, have caused serious harm to American Labor, and

WHEREAS, These prejudicial and biased news broadcasts are usually sponsored by corporations, many of which are avowed enemies of American Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee of three members of the Executive Council to study ways and means of sponsoring Labor's own news commentator on a satisfactory network frequently enough so that Labor can get its spot news with full confidence in its truth and accuracy, and be it further

RESOLVED, This Committee report its findings to the Executive Council at its next regular meeting and make public the Council's findings and decision.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Free Medical Care For Wage Earners

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The inadequacies of the Federal Social Security Act and its complete lack of protection for workers and their families during periods of illness are well known, and are, if anything, made more glaringly outstanding since the enunciation of the democratic principles of freedom from want and freedom from fear, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the New Orleans A. F. of L. convention go on record requesting the American Federation of Labor to sponsor federal legislation, either as an amendment to the Social Security Act or for separate enactment, which will provide for free hospitalization and free medical care together with a stipulated financial support for all wage earners and their families during periods of illness.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Aid to Veterans

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The premise of the international unions of the American Federation of Labor is the same as the desire of all veterans' organizations in getting and securing full employment for returning servicemen, and

WHEREAS, This singleness of purpose has already been proven in good faith by labor and the veterans' organizations in the support for the GI Bill of Rights, and

WHEREAS, Each organization will be in a better position to accomplish the best possible employment for the men and women now serving our country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge its help and full support to all service organizations and agencies to assist, augment, and if necessary, carry out a program of full employment for returning veterans, as well as assist these organizations wherever and whenever possible to help the returning servicemen receive all the help and benefits a grateful nation can give them.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Marshaling Labor's Vote For Preservation of Democracy

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Our country has fought two wars in twenty-five years, championing the rights of oppressed peoples to preserve the right of self-government, and

WHEREAS, This right of self-government, which is democracy, can be endangered just as much by the people's failure to express themselves by voting, as by foreign aggression, and

WHEREAS, Democracy is living and progressive only when the largest possible number of Americans use the privilege of the secret ballot, and

WHEREAS, True democracy must have the largest possible expression by voters to make it workable and a reality, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor develop permanent, complete and concise plans for getting out this vote, a plan to include all details to encourage Americans to use the privilege of the ballot, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor transmit this plan to all Central bodies, State bodies, as well as International Unions, so that full voting strength will be mustered for all county, township, village, school, judicial, municipal, state and national elections.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Membership's Duty to Vote

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The right of Americans to vote is one of America's sacred privileges for which a number of wars have been fought, and

WHEREAS, The privilege of the secret ballot is a valuable attribute of liberty, and

WHEREAS, The proper use of the ballot is considered the mark of good citizenship, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always endeavored to fight for the cause of democracy and good citizenship and its components, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend to all international unions that there be included in their constitutions, as well as in the by-laws of their respective local unions, a clause which shall read: "It shall be the duty of every eligible member of this Union, as proof of his love of liberty and democracy and an expression of his desire to be a good citizen, to register, to vote and be properly registered for all elections, and at all times to make the most intelligent possible use of the ballot in all elections."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

National AFL Government Service and Advisory Department

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Many complex problems are continually arising pertaining to wage stabilization, the National Labor Relations Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, Walsh-Healy Act, etc., which seriously affect the welfare of all members of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, These problems are steadily becoming more important, and requiring greater application of skill and research to properly present these problems to guarantee maximum benefits for the membership, and

WHEREAS, Many unfavorable decisions and rulings have been made as a result of unwise presentation and representation, and

WHEREAS, Such unfavorable decisions and rulings could be avoided, and greater benefits and security could be affected by a more unified approach to these problems, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed to establish a department comprised of the most capable experts available, to develop policy and strategy, to combat unfavorable trends and decisions and establish information service designed to advise national and international unions on dangerous trends, and how best to approach these problems, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this department be sufficiently staffed to assist all national and international unions in properly presenting Labor's problems in all such cases.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Products of Anti-Labor States

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Robert C. Kirkpatrick, John

Clark, John W. Austin, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The States of California, Florida and Arkansas have submitted amendments to their Constitutions which are framed to be used against organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The adoption of such amendments will reflect a hostile and unfair attitude of the people of such state or states toward organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby call upon all members of organized labor to recognize as unfair, all products from such States as adopt such anti-labor amendments, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all publicity features of the American Federation of Labor devote necessary space to supply information to its members as to the names of sources of supply of the products of such state or states and the trade names of such products, if any.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Committee to Investigate Social and Economic Conditions in Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate Nicolas Noguera Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The geographical position and its ethnological conditions place Puerto Rico in a privileged situation to render invaluable services to our Nation in its relations with the Latin American Countries, and

WHEREAS, It is most desirable that social and economic conditions be improved for the welfare of the two million American citizens inhabiting our Island, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

1. That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to appoint a committee to investigate at the earliest possible moment the social and economic conditions of Puerto Rico so as to enable the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, upon the report of this committee, to recommend to the President of the United States and to Congress those measures that might be considered just, reasonable and necessary to ameliorate social and economic conditions of the inhabitants of the Island and that would also permit Puerto Rico, through its duly accredited representatives to participate in all the post-war plans and programs intended to rehabilitate our Nation and Dependencies.

2. That said committee be also empowered to investigate how the labor move-

ment of Puerto Rico is functioning and to find out what cooperation could be rendered to carry out its work to improve conditions of the toiling masses of Puerto Rico and to protect and maintain the principles and ideals of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Free Speech

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, An international president of one of the international unions, affiliated with the A. F. of L., was denied the privilege to exercise the right of free speech and free assembly by the city officials of Memphis, Tenn., and President William Green of the A. F. of L. forthwith, upon being informed of this outrageous act, ordered George Gooze, Southern Organizer for the A. F. of L., to arrange a meeting in Memphis so that the international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters may exercise his right of free speech even in the face of opposition of some of the local A. F. of L. unions and Negro leaders, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans, La., November, 1944, go on record as commending the statesmanlike and courageous and sound action of President Green as a fundamental contribution to the preservation of democracy and civil rights in America for all workers, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Auxiliary Union Discrimination

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Auxiliary unions deny workers, on account of race and color, the right in the form of a voice and vote, to participate in the making of the laws, constitution, general rules and policies that govern the national and international union, since they cannot attend and share on a basis of equality with other workers in the deliberations of the national conventions, and

WHEREAS, The auxiliary unions even deny the workers, on account of race and color, a voice and vote in the selection and designation of representatives who negotiate agreements concerning rates of pay and rules governing working conditions that vitally affect their work and life, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, Louisiana, November, 1944, go on

record as condemning the auxiliary unions and call upon all international and national unions that have such devices to abolish said auxiliary unions on the grounds that they are undemocratic, unfair and against sound trade union principles, and constitute taxation without representation, which the A. F. of L. cannot consistently countenance and tolerate as it fights for the rights of the wage earners from business and government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Law Against Lynching

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Lynching and mob-law are a disgrace and menace to American democracy and Christianity, and since the lynching of American citizens, white and black for over fifty years shows that the states, individually, are incapable of abolishing this evil, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, Louisiana, November, 1944, go on record as condemning lynching and mob-law as a grave danger to our Constitutional government and an attack upon civilized society, and hence call upon the House and Senate of Congress to enact a Federal law against lynching and mob-law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

White Primaries

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court in a recent decision, has outlawed white primaries as being unconstitutional, based upon a case in the State of Texas, and citizens, without regard to race or color, are now voting in the primaries of the State of Texas, but since several other Southern States continue to defy the decision of the United States Supreme Court, by refusing Negroes the right to vote in the primaries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, La., November, 1944, go on record as commending, upholding and supporting the decision of the United States Supreme Court, outlawing white primaries, and call upon the United States Department of Justice to enforce it in the interest of the preservation of Constitutional government, democracy and justice.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Danger of Master Race Doctrine

Resolution No. 26—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Master Race Doctrine is responsible for the threat of Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's Fascism and Hirohito's Militarism to modern democracy, Christianity and free and voluntary trade unionism, the ruthless and inhuman persecution of the Jews, Catholics and Protestants of Germany and other lands and the Negro people in the United States of America, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans, La., November, 1944, go on record as condemning the Master Race Doctrine as mythical, unsound, unscientific and a menace to peace and the democratic way of life.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Discrimination in employment on account of race, color, religion and national origin, are unjust and unchristian and hinder the war effort thereby causing the President of the United States to issue Executive Order 8802 under which the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice was established, and upon which sits a representative of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The work of the Fair Employment Practice Committee has received the commendation and support of most of the leading papers and the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish churches and outstanding men and women in public life, and since the U. S. Senate Committee on Labor and Education of the present Congress voted out favorably a bill, for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee realizing that, in the interest of full employment for all workers, regardless of race color, religion or national origin, and sound and constructive reconversion from a war to a peace economy, the aforementioned committee will be indispensable, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans, La., November, 1944, go on record as endorsing and supporting the existing President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice and also Federal legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee in the interest of justice and fair-play for all workers, without regard to race, color, religion or national origin.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Industrial Reconversion

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate John B. Bailey, Central Trades and Labor Council, Monroe, La.

WHEREAS, The scourge of unemployment that plagued this nation for a decade between 1930 and 1940 was alleviated only by the advent of World War II, which afforded temporary employment to millions of workers, and

WHEREAS, The cessation of hostilities will cause the closing down of hundreds of war plants and will throw millions of workers out of employment, and

WHEREAS, Congress, in its recent sessions, has been seriously considering post-war industrial reconversion, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, representing the millions of organized workers within its ranks, is vitally concerned with such post-war industrial reconversion, and

WHEREAS, A comprehensive industrial reconversion program no doubt will be adopted by Congress before the end of World War II, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand Congress, as a part of its post-war industrial reconversion program, enact provisions that will afford the maximum of employment to workers who would otherwise be displaced, even to the extent, if necessary, of Government operation of war plants on a non-profit basis.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. of L. Representation at Peace Conference

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates C. J. MacGowan, William E. Walter, J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, William J. Buckley, J. P. McCallum, Harry Nacey, J. F. Schmitt, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, American Labor has made the most gigantic contribution to the successful prosecution of the present global war ever witnessed in the history of mankind, and

WHEREAS, This great contribution is portrayed by the great number of our sons who lie among the uncounted dead, or who have been incapacitated for life in one form or another. We have given generously of our slender earnings. We have endured discomfort and inconveniences, and we have accepted for the duration of the war, the lowering of many of our precious standards, and the impairment of our standard of living, and we have likewise, as soldiers in the Army of Production, kept the faith and

redeemed our pledge to the nation to surrender our traditional defense—the right to suspend work, and

WHEREAS, All of these sacrifices and contributions have been made willingly and cheerfully in order to preserve for ourselves and for posterity, the sacred institutions of American liberty, and

WHEREAS, We feel that the workers of America should not again be called upon to lay such precious treasures at the altar of liberty without insisting that all reasonable things be done to establish and maintain a permanent, healthy and militant world peace, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we respectfully insist and demand that the American Federation of Labor be represented in the Peace Conference deliberations by fully accredited spokesmen of this organization to the end that power, politics, secret diplomacy, balances of power and other machinations which will sow the seeds of future wars will be exposed and defeated so that when the peace is arrived at, it will, in truth and in fact, be a lasting peace so that the peoples of the earth may bind up their wounds and undertake the gigantic task of restoring civilization and normal peacetime activities.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Social Security Act

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Social Security Act does not include all employees and does not include the self-employed, and

WHEREAS, The Act does not provide sickness and disability insurance, and

WHEREAS, The age limits provided in the Act are too high, and

WHEREAS, It is unfair to the employee to include time lost due to sickness, disability, or military service in computing the average earnings upon which benefits are based, and

WHEREAS, Minimum benefits are too low, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby records itself in favor of the following changes in the National Social Security Act:

1. The inclusion of the self-employed and of all employees not now covered by this act;

2. The inclusion of sickness and disability insurance in the Act;

3. The payment of full benefits to begin at age 60 for the worker and at age 55 for his wife;

4. The time lost due to sickness, disability, or military service to be eliminated in computing the average earnings upon which benefits are based; and

5. Minimum payments to be not less than \$20 per month.

6. The inclusion of all men and women in the armed forces and disabled veterans.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Universal Transfer Within American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, American Labor is doing a major part in winning the present war for the universal establishment of the rights of mankind, and

WHEREAS, The workers organized under the banners of the American Federation of Labor and its member unions have ever been in the foreground in the fight to establish and maintain democracy at home, and

WHEREAS, We believe that all the organizations composing the American Federation of Labor have as their foundation the same underlying principles calculated to better the conditions of the workers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, hereby go on record as supporting the principle of the universal transfer and favors its establishment by and between all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Public Members On Government Boards and Commissions

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is most desirable that labor, which has modified many meritorious rules and working conditions in an effort to expedite victory, should not be called upon to make unnecessary sacrifices which would prove a menace to the future of its members who are now serving with the armed forces as well as those now producing those things essential to victory, and

WHEREAS, The present make-up of boards and commissions dealing with industrial matters is such that quite generally they are composed of representatives of workers, management, and a third group named the public, which third group while probably well intentioned has been quite generally without experience in industrial affairs, yet more closely associated with the employer group than with labor, thus making it extremely difficult and sometimes impossible to get justice from such boards, and

WHEREAS, These boards and commissions almost invariably exercise the functions of arbitration boards, in all set-ups of which it is conceded that the two parties of major interest should choose the third party which is assumed to be neutral, but which in the cases complained of are apparently not, although referred to as the public, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in session assembled in this 64th annual convention, that we record ourselves as unalterably convinced that the manner of naming third parties to such governmental boards, etc., accounts for much of the dissatisfaction among workers caused by unjust decisions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon all affiliated organizations and the officers of this Federation to use all the means at their command to rectify the conditions herein complained of, and to secure more just and equitable representation on these boards.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Little Steel Formula

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The War Labor Board has frozen wages by means of the Little Steel Formula whereby a bargaining unit of labor is limited to an increase of 15 percent in its average straight time rates over the rates prevailing January, 1941, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living has increased 40 percent or more since January, 1941, and

WHEREAS, Employees are justly entitled to increased wages which the employers can and will absorb without passing the increase to the consumer, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instruct its officers to request the National War Labor Board (1) to abrogate the Little Steel Formula as a limit to wage increases thereby permitting wage increases in keeping with the increased cost of living and (2) to promulgate an additional regulation making any increase in

wages permissible when agreed upon between employer and employees and when assurances are furnished that such increase will not be passed along to the consumer.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Representation at the Peace Conference

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor having played a very important role in the conduct of the war through production in vital war industries and other necessary war jobs, through a no-strike pledge, and also in furnishing a large percentage of the manpower actually engaged in military operation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby records itself in favor of the proposition: That all organized labor friendly to the American Federation of Labor and not dual thereto shall be represented at the Peace Conference.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Little Steel Formula

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor has performed one of the most outstanding miracles of production ever witnessed in industrial history in supplying our Armed Forces with the planes, guns, ammunition, foodstuffs and materials of war, and

WHEREAS, The no-strike policy of organized labor has been rigidly followed, with the exception of sporadic unauthorized cessations of work, and

WHEREAS, When Labor pledged that it would remain at work during World War II, it did so with the understanding that wages and the cost of living would be "stabilized," with the resulting rules of wage stabilization, and

WHEREAS, Wages have been frozen by the Wage Stabilization rules and the cost of living has risen so that the purchasing power of the worker has diminished, and

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Labor Statistics' latest available data indicates that the cost of living has increased 25.4 percent over the January 1, 1941, level, and

WHEREAS, The Labor Members of the President's Committee on the Cost of Living have reported on January 25, 1944, that a

realistic rise in the cost of living of 43.5 percent has taken place over the base date of the Little Steel Formula, January 1, 1941, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as advocating an increase in the Little Steel Formula, or the liberalization of Wage Stabilization policies to permit the purchasing power of the workers to keep pace with the realistic increase in the cost of living, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor advocate automatic adjustments in wage rates of all workers, both organized and unorganized, without submission to the War Labor Board, and that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, Chairman of the War Labor Board, William Davis; Director of Wage Stabilization, Judge Vinson, and to members of the Regional War Labor Boards.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Compulsory Military Training

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Proposals made by the Army High Command seem to suggest the idea of permanent compulsory military service, for the American youth, through conscription, in addition to a smaller professional army, and

WHEREAS, Such permanent compulsory military service has long since been the established rule on the European continent, where Hitler and Mussolini attempted to invest it with a new found glory, while the United States remained singularly free of conscription during peace time, and

WHEREAS, Experience has shown that in all cases in Europe permanent compulsory military service imposed a severe burden upon the people, many of whom migrated to these shores because of it, normal popular education and popular well-being suffering because of it, and in most cases it led to varying degrees of militarism which is incompatible with democratic institutions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention go on record as opposed to permanent compulsory military service through conscription.

Social Security

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Scientific and technological developments have in this country established a solid basis enabling workers in all industries and trades as a part of their American standard of living the privilege of a regular annual vacation period with pay and

WHEREAS, European labor in many countries much less generously endowed in richness and resources, has long since recognized and actually established such annual vacations with pay, and

WHEREAS, in many industries, in most public utilities and civil service institutions, either financed directly by taxation or indirectly by government contracts paid out of taxation, this principle of annual vacations with pay has been recognized, established and approved by public utilities, commissions and government agencies, and

WHEREAS, The democratic form of government based upon equal rights for everybody fails to hold true in this case where only a part of the working population actually enjoys the privilege of vacation with pay, while the balance suffer a discrimination of paying through taxation for this privilege without enjoying the benefits thereof, and

WHEREAS, An annual vacation period with pay for all workers should become a definite part of an expanded Social Security program, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be urged to draft and sponsor a bill as a part of an expanded Social Security program which will provide for a regular annual vacation with pay for all workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Lower Age for Retirement Benefits

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Social security and old age pension payments are so very low, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of dollars are being stored up in their funds, and

WHEREAS, When a man is of the required age and his wife is not, the man's payments are not enough for both, and

WHEREAS, Neither are enough for a decent standard of living, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor sponsor amendments to the Social Security Act which will provide for the lowering of the age of retirement benefits from 65 years to 60 years and raise the benefits to an amount commensurate with the American standard of living.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Trade Union Officers' Rights On Government Projects

Resolution No. 39—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, A considerable percentage of those who are employed under agreements made by the International Union of Operating Engineers which cover construction projects of the War Department, the Navy Department and the United States Maritime Commission are handicapped in their work by lack of representation, and

WHEREAS, In the interest of production and harmony of relationships it is essential that duly elected officers of the local unions which represent those workers have admittance to the projects so that grievances may be adjusted and agreements checked and protected, and

WHEREAS, In many areas, officers in charge of construction whose personal attitude is anti-union, arbitrarily bar those duly elected officers from the projects over which they have charge, thus denying representation to the workers causing agreements to be violated with impunity and bringing about widespread dissatisfaction, and

WHEREAS, That form of discrimination constitutes a direct violation of the agreements to which those agencies of the Government are parties, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as demanding that over-all passes be granted which will admit specified duly elected officers of local unions to projects on any occasion in which they have legitimate business to transact, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of Labor and the Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Social Security Act

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act, by its provisions, has excluded many of our members from its benefits because of their employment by Federal, State and city governments or subdivisions thereof such as counties, port and park districts and by hospitals, public schools and other public institutions, and

WHEREAS, Many of these members are now approaching the state in life when social security has a vital meaning for them and they, through no fault of their own, are at present denied even the meager benefits granted by the present Social Security Act, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as petitioning Congress immediately to take the necessary action to place these and similar employees under the provisions of the Social Security Act, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the provisions of the Act be made retroactive so that all workers may have the privilege of securing its benefits in the proportion which they may elect to pay of the wage deduction which would have been made had they originally been covered by the Act, and be it further

RESOLVED, That employees of Federal, State and City governments or subdivisions thereof such as counties, port and park districts and employees of hospitals, public schools and other public institutions who contribute to pension funds, the benefits of which are greater than those provided by the Social Security Act, be exempted from the provisions of the Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Power and Flood Control Development of Missouri River

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Lands drained by the upper reaches of the Missouri River and its tributaries constitute an empire rich in undeveloped resources, and

WHEREAS, Its development has been retarded and impeded by lack of sufficient rainfall at the proper times to render its crop production safe and assured and said area has suffered from drought and because of its distance from market for its products, and

WHEREAS, This vast water resource which originates in the Rocky Mountains and traverses and supplies this area, properly controlled and utilized is the greatest potential factor in the full development and prosperity of this territory, and

WHEREAS, The detention of such waters during periods of flood and high water and the use of same for irrigation later in periods of lack of water supply will result in the creation of untold wealth in agriculture and industry and commerce dependent thereon, and

WHEREAS, The Missouri River in its present state is the cause of recurring floods

which bring about great damage and loss of property, and

WHEREAS, A comprehensive plan for the retention, control and full use of such waters is fully recognized as the fundamental need, for the development of a public works program and that same will be of value to the entire United States, and will furnish employment to thousands of laborers, both skilled and unskilled over a long period of time in an enterprise of sound economic value, and this development has every desirable feature of a good public works program and will not interfere or conflict with any established business or enterprise, and

WHEREAS, Plans for such development program have been carefully studied, are well understood, and are now ready for a great program of construction, and

WHEREAS, In such program it should be fully recognized that the greatest possible development and use of said waters should be had in the higher or upper portions of said river and its tributaries, and

WHEREAS, The detention of such waters and their full use for irrigation and domestic purposes may be fully coordinated with a program of power development and use for mining and manufacture in said areas, and

WHEREAS, Such program should include a full development for rural electrification in said territory, and

WHEREAS, The adoption and construction of these works under such program is necessary for the control of floods in the entire lower Missouri River and the Mississippi River to its mouth, and

WHEREAS, An adequate post war program should include the opportunity for continuous employment by millions of men released from military service, and

WHEREAS, Upon lands to be reclaimed by irrigation and development in this area are locations suitable for many happy and prosperous new homes under right conditions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we do hereby recommend that immediate steps be taken by the United States Department of the Interior for the initiation and continuous construction of a comprehensive coordinated development program for the conservation and retention of waters by dams and in reservoirs in the upper portions of the Missouri River valley and its tributaries, so that these waters may be conserved during times of flood or periods of high water in river flow; and that same be fully utilized for irrigation during periods when such waters are so needed to grow and mature crops and to supply water for domestic use, mining, manufacture and power development and flood control and navigation, and this entire river system be controlled to permit its greatest possible use of the benefit for all the people, and be it further

RESOLVED, That Congress declare that the use of said waters in said area for irrigation and domestic use is prior and superior to any other uses, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in such program the wishes of the people of the several states, primarily interested, be duly considered and regarded, and that the distribution of such waters, and the use thereof, be governed to as great an extent as possible, by the wishes of the people of the states where said waters are to be used and by local agencies and be as free from Federal control and supervision as is consistent with the full development of said program.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Trade Unionists On Government Labor Agencies

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Robert C. Kirkpatrick, John Simons, T. K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, John W. Austin, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The various Government agencies dealing with the problems of labor and labor relations are headed and staffed with executives who are not trained in the Labor Movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor make known by way of official communication to all such Government agencies and to the President of the United States, its opposition to the appointment in executive and/or administrative positions any person or persons who have not been trained in the Labor Movement and who are not themselves members of Organized Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Immigration

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates C. J. MacGowan, William E. Walter, J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, William J. Buckley, J. P. McCallum, Harry Nacey, J. F. Schmitt, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, There appears to be a growing sentiment among certain people in the United States with a selfish and spurious cry of humanity on their lips to lower our immigration barriers and to permit a general influx of impoverished people from all countries of the earth, and

WHEREAS, American labor, having made the greatest contribution to the elimination of international gangsterism and the preservation of the democratic way of life that has ever been made by any workers in world's history, such workers should not

now be subjected to a flood of immigration which will destroy our American standards of life and create an unemployment problem more devastating in its effect and more permanent in its character than the depression of the early thirties, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor unqualifiedly declare that we are unalterably opposed to the admittance of any immigration from any source unless and until our nation has been completely converted from a war time to a peace time economy, and that all of our wage earners are steadily employed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will do all things possible to assist the peoples of every stricken land to rehabilitate themselves so that they can again become self-sustaining; but to destroy our own standards will not permanently assist other nations and will only impoverish our own people.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Unity

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Robert C. Kirkpatrick, John Simons, T. K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, John W. Austin, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, the 87th Convention of the International Typographical Union held at Grand Rapids, Michigan, August 19 through August 25, 1944, passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the 87th International Typographical Union Convention meeting in Grand Rapids, August 19 to 25, 1944, request that the two 'peace' committees of the AFL and the CIO begin immediate conferences to unite these two great labor organizations," and

WHEREAS, The differences between the AFL and other organized labor groups have continued for a period of time making it unlikely that unity in the ranks of labor will be achieved without some concrete indication of a practical basis on which the AFL is willing to approach the problem, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL Peace Committee and Executive Council prepare a statement for the benefit of all AFL affiliates and members, containing the following information:

1. Those points on which there is a fundamental disagreement with the CIO and/or other labor groups outside the AFL.
2. The basis on which the AFL would be willing to settle such controversial points and
3. Present plans for bringing about a meeting which has for its purpose the

exploration of possible avenues of reaching an understanding with these outside labor organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Rights of A. F. of L. Affiliates

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Robert C. Kirkpatrick, John Simons, T. K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, John W. Austin, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union has reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor with all "rights heretofore possessed by the International Typographical Union reaffirmed and reestablished as though no breach had taken place in the affiliation," and

WHEREAS, The same factors that caused the breach, and the agreement on the basis of reaffiliation (ratified by the 1943 convention of the American Federation of Labor and the membership of the International Typographical Union) may apply to other unions not now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the above mentioned basis of reaffiliation stand as the basis of reaffiliation for any other international union which may desire to take advantage thereof.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Little Steel Formula

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Robert C. Kirkpatrick, John Simons, T. K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, John W. Austin, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union, at its 1944 Convention made definite requests for a change in policy by the War Labor Board, and

WHEREAS, Those requests are fair and reasonable for such time as the War Labor Board may need to function, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That they are hereby endorsed by the American Federation of Labor as requests to the War Labor Board as follows:

1. That the War Labor Board revert to the principle it established when it announced that a 15 percent increase in the cost of living warranted a 15 percent increase in wages.
2. That after reverting to that principle it discard the obsolete "Little Steel Formula" and set a new ceiling as of a more accurate reflection of the increased cost of living and in no case less than an

amount equal to the proved increase in living costs.

3. That it recognize as approved any wage scale up to the increase in the cost of living and in cases of employers not directly charging wages against war materials that increases negotiated up to 50 percent stand as approved.

4. That it reestablish the dignity of the Board so it can function as reason and facts indicate rather than act as automations at the voice of an alleged stabilizer dictating wages while at the same time unable to enforce or maintain ceiling prices on commodities; and at the same time knowingly ignore the plight of the working people who are kept from helping themselves.

5. That if members of the War Labor Board cannot act as above requested, they seriously consider resigning from the Board in protest against such an unfair and unreasonable method of distributing the burden of the war effort; that they admit failure to carry out the principle they originally announced and which the American people accepted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Prohibition

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cilentio, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, The dry forces have continuously and unceasingly attempted to obtain some form of national legislation to prohibit the manufacture, sale and distribution of alcoholic beverages, and

WHEREAS, The dry forces up to this point have not succeeded in obtaining such legislation through the Congress of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The "drys" have been successfully utilizing the medium of local option election in the several States, and

WHEREAS, The "drys" have been overwhelmingly successful in their endeavors to dry up county after county in great numbers of States, and

WHEREAS, According to available statistics, almost one-third of all the nation's counties are dry, wherein twenty-five million people reside, and

WHEREAS, A successful culmination of such a campaign as is presently being conducted in the great distilling State of Kentucky, where 70 percent of that State is now dry, must inevitably result in causing complete prohibition, State by State, and

WHEREAS, The "drys," as a result of the success of their campaigns in local option elections, will be thereby enabled to ultimately accomplish their avowed objec-

tive, namely, the complete prohibition of the manufacture, sale and distribution of alcoholic beverages, nation-wide, without the necessity of securing an Act of Congress, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates in convention assembled, go on record opposing all such activities, and urge every member of this Federation to take immediate cognizance of this serious situation, and make every effort to assist and cooperate to acquaint the general public with the activities of the "drys", and the evil conditions which must obtain if the dry forces succeed in bringing back national prohibition, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Federation, its affiliated unions and its members, take such action as is proper and necessary to combat these dry forces in all local option elections whenever and wherever possible, and that we continue to militantly oppose these forces of reaction, in order to protect and safeguard our industrial and economic future.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Unity

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Samuel Otto, Joseph Tuvim, Angela Bambace, David Gingold, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Unity of the trade union movement, for many years a matter of paramount concern to all keenly interested in the welfare of organized labor, is today more than ever desirable and urgent, and

WHEREAS, This division in organized labor is bound to offer its enemies even greater advantages for attack in the post-war period, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the sub-committee of the Executive Council, charged with the duty of negotiating with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, immediately upon the adjournment of this convention, to invite the representatives of the Congress of Industrial Organizations to meet and explore again every practical possibility for bringing about unity within the labor movement, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the sub-committee of the Executive Council appointed to negotiate with the United Mine Workers of America for the reaffiliation of that organization with the American Federation of Labor, be similarly instructed to take the initiative in renewing conferences with the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America in an effort to find a basis of adjustment and reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be given broad powers to summon the aforesaid sub-committees and to take part with these sub-committees in further conferences with the representatives of the CIO or the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America whenever, in his judgment, resumption of such conferences is advisable or opportune.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Louis P. Marciante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is presently established a Fair Employment Practices Committee under a Directive of the President of the United States, in the exercise of his war time authority, and

WHEREAS, There has been demonstrated beyond any doubt the substantial need for the continued functioning of protective measures to prevent discrimination in employment against any person because of race, color or creed, and

WHEREAS, There is full recognition of the continued need for such protection to the American worker, in order to enjoy the democratic processes of our great country, and

WHEREAS, The eradication of discrimination has proven to be possible only through the establishment of appropriate legislation, or regulation through the Federal Government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby goes on record as supporting the establishment by the necessary congressional action of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee, to continue the necessary preventive measures to insure the American worker against discrimination in his employment because of race, color, or creed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Benefits for Persons in Armed Services Under Social Security Laws

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Louis P. Marciante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, To be currently insured, a worker must have earned wages in private industry, from which contributions have been made to the Social Security Fund,

during the last few years prior to any application for benefits, and

WHEREAS, workers who have entered the armed forces and have thus contributed their time, their efforts, and, in many cases, their lives, for the protection of their country, are not now being credited with wages earned or with contributions to the fund, and are thus losing all rights to protection under the social security act by reason of their service to their country, and

WHEREAS, Also, benefits under the social security act are computed on the basis of average earnings per month, and the Act would require the inclusion in this computation of all time spent in service, without including any computation of earnings during such time, thereby drastically reducing the benefits which will eventually be payable to the men and women in the armed service, and

WHEREAS, It is utterly unfair to call upon men and women to serve their nation, and to risk and suffer even death as a result thereof, and at the same time to deprive them of the already meagre benefits provided for them by the Social Security Act, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor at convention assembled in New Orleans, La., that we call upon the United States Congress to amend the Social Security Laws so as to grant to all men and women in the armed services credit for wages earned at least equal to the wages earned by them prior to their entry into the armed forces, and not less than \$175 per calendar quarter.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Figures showing that to date over 4,000,000 men have been rejected from the armed services as unfit for military service, 8 of 10 of whom have at least one physical defect, indicate a lowering of the national health standards, and

WHEREAS, Further proof of the decline of our national health may be found in testimony given before a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor calling attention to the fact that there are 23,500,000 Americans with chronic diseases or physical impairments, thousands of which could be cured even if minimum standards of health were set up, and

WHEREAS, This condition was attributed mainly to the absence of adequate hospital and medical services a relationship was traced between low incomes and poor health, substantiating the belief that the average working man is financially unable to meet

the added burden of sickness or hospitalization, and

WHEREAS, Dr. Parran, Surgeon-General of the U. S. Public Health Service, confirms the fact that a third of the American people are handicapped by ailments that might have been prevented in the first place and which could now be corrected by proper health policies, and calls for the encouragement of group medical practice and more rather than less "socialization" of medicine, and

WHEREAS, Although great strides have been made in this direction by group health mutuals, hospital service associations, and similar organizations, their benefits are still too few and limited to too small a circle, and

WHEREAS, There is before the Senate Committee on Finance S. 1161 more commonly known as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, which sets up a system of Federal medical and hospitalization benefits which would encourage the raising of national health standards by not only providing for beneficiaries in case of illness or hospitalization but by indulging in preventive medicine to such an extent that many diseases and impairments might be eliminated, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring a Federal program looking toward the socialization of the medical and dental professions and that in order to accomplish this aim it does indorse the principles contained in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, S. 1161, and call for its immediate enactment into law, properly amended to make its benefits available to government workers as well as those in private industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

National Labor Relations Board

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Labor Relations Board was established by Congress to protect the right of workers to self organization; to form, join, or assist labor organizations of their own choosing for mutual aid and protection, and

WHEREAS, Present policy of the National Labor Relations Board as demonstrated in numerous certification cases and in particular its recent decision in the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company case in St. Paul wherein the National Labor Relations Board refused to place the names of three American Federation of Labor unions on the ballot even though the three unions had clearly shown that they represented a majority of the employees coming under their jurisdiction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor protest such actions of the National Labor Relations Board which constitutes a threat of the right of workers to organizing into craft unions under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Labor Day Radio Broadcasts

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor Day programs are held in hundreds of cities throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, Labor Day committees often encounter difficulty in securing suitable guest speakers for the occasion, and

WHEREAS, A nationally known labor leader speaking on a radio network could be tuned in by many assembled Labor Day groups all over the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20 to December 1, 1944, go on record in favor of establishing a procedure of Labor Day radio broadcasts on a sectional or nation-wide basis at convenient hours of the day so that Labor Day assemblages throughout the country could tune in to listen to prominent speakers of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

National Broadcasts of Congressional Proceedings

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The affairs of Congress and of government in general are vital to every citizen, and

WHEREAS, No present method exists to provide full information to the average citizen about the real happenings in our Congress, and

WHEREAS, Radio is the simplest and most effective medium for communicating with every American in every part of the country, and

WHEREAS, New Zealand adopted a program of short-wave broadcasts of the proceedings of its parliament, and has successfully demonstrated that full knowledge by citizens of the affairs of government stimulates and strengthens the democratic system, and

WHEREAS, Our Congress could lease radio time from one or more networks, several important and powerful stations, or broadcast by short-wave all important debates, excepting such matters as might jeopardize national security during this war, and

WHEREAS, The best safeguard of democracy is a government of the people in every sense of the word. Through the broadcasting of the proceedings of Congress all of the millions of people in this country would be in a better position to understand the every day procedure that is followed by our elected representatives; therefore, be it

RESOLVED That the American Federation of Labor investigate the system of broadcasting proceedings of the Parliament of New Zealand to its people. If deemed advisable for similar broadcasts of our Congress to the people of the United States, the American Federation of Labor propose and urge upon the United States Congress enactment of the necessary measures to establish a nation-wide broadcast of its proceedings.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Rehabilitation of Disabled Veterans

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Federal Public Law 16 provides for the rehabilitation of service connected disabled veterans, and

WHEREAS, Under this law rehabilitation can be in the form of apprentice training for a maximum of four years (or 48 months) during which time the government pays the veteran a monthly subsistence allowance for the full term of training, and

WHEREAS, It is against the policy of the Veterans' Administration to place a veteran in training and in an apprenticeship which cannot be completed in four years' time, and

WHEREAS, The term of training in many trades is fixed by law and by agreement between employer and labor as more than 48 months, and

WHEREAS, The consequent result may be that either a veteran cannot be placed as an apprentice in these trades or attempts will be made to shorten the term to four years by allowing credit for one reason or another; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20 to December 1, 1944, go on record as being opposed to attempts to shorten the apprenticeship term, except in cases where the practical experience

and training is actually related to the trade for which time credit is allowed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to attempt to secure either a more liberal interpretation of Public Law 16 from the Administrator of the Veterans' Administration to permit disabled veterans to commence an apprenticeship in these trades or take immediate action to sponsor legislation which will amend the law as interpreted today.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Syndicated News Column for Labor

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Most of the daily newspapers in the United States carry as a regular feature syndicated articles by one or more columnists who specialize in smearing organized labor and labor unions and in fomenting and encouraging of racial and religious discrimination and prejudices, and

WHEREAS, The malicious and untrue propaganda contained in these syndicated columns is constantly distorted, emphasized and magnified throughout the entire nation, and

WHEREAS, There is a present and future need for the existence of a fair, liberal and pro-labor syndicated daily column, and

WHEREAS, If such a daily syndicated column were available for publication in newspapers which are willing or desirous of presenting all sides of the picture through its columns, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor presently having a statistical department which specializes in gathering the facts it is in a position to establish, sponsor and maintain a daily syndicated column for use by newspapers throughout the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20 to December 1, 1944, go on record in favor of establishing a syndicated daily news column as provided in the next four paragraphs:

1. That the present news service of the American Federation of Labor be extended to include a daily syndicated news column.
2. That such syndicated news service be made available to all news publications wishing to purchase a syndicated labor news service.
3. That the American Federation of Labor employ an outstanding news writ-

er to prepare a daily column for use by newspapers throughout the nation so that the working man and the public generally may have a true, unbiased and straight-forward picture of the facts concerning matters affecting labor and labor unions.

4. That the American Federation of Labor do all in its power to obtain the greatest possible publication of this news column in the newspapers throughout the country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Labor Unions in Metal Trades Councils

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, As now constituted under the American Federation of Labor Metal Trades Department by-laws, federal labor unions and local trade unions, even though engaged in metal trades work, cannot obtain full-fledged membership in the American Federation of Labor metal trades councils, and

WHEREAS, This means that while they may be permitted to affiliate with a local council they cannot vote nor hold office in the council, and are only permitted to pay per capita tax and give co-operation, and

WHEREAS, This old rule of the Metal Trades Department not specifically adopted to bar federal labor unions and local trade unions, nevertheless it affects them adversely and keeps out the potential backbone or nucleus for any metal trades council, and

WHEREAS, The skilled trades in the metal industry are more or less now organized in their own particular district councils, and

WHEREAS, A similar resolution had been introduced and adopted at the Sixty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Toronto in 1942 and referred to the Metal Trades Department without any known action having been taken on this resolution during the year, and

WHEREAS, Another similar resolution had been introduced and adopted at the 1943 convention in Boston and referred to the Executive Council without making known its action thereon; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New Orleans, Louisiana, goes on record urging the Metal Trades Department to amend its constitution and by-laws so as to permit full-fledged membership in metal trades councils to those federal labor unions and

local trade unions engaged in the metal industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the international unions now affiliated or eligible to full-fledged membership in metal trades councils be requested to extend their aid and influence to the end that federal labor unions and local trade unions be granted full-fledged and bona fide membership in all metal trades councils, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Metal Trades Department and the Executive Council be called upon to immediately make known to the state federations of labor and city central bodies their action on this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Legislation to Provide for Pay Increases on Longevity Service

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, William McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Kelly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Werfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, District 44, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Trade Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The principle of longevity pay is recognized and its practice well established in many industries and employments, including the military and naval establishments of the United States Government, and

WHEREAS, Government employees in top automatic salary grades have few opportunities for advancement, and a stationary salary scale in an economic world where living costs and standards are continually rising is equivalent to a steady reduction in pay; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principle of longevity pay for Government employees, and instruct the Executive

Council to support the efforts of the affiliated Civil Service Employees organizations to secure its enactment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Legislative Program American Federation of Government Employees

Resolution No. 59.—By Delegates James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Government Employees has adopted the following objectives as its legislative program:

1. Computation of overtime pay at one and one-half times actual basic rate; retention of principle of overtime pay as permanent practice in Government service.

2. Base pay increase of not less than 15 per cent; minimum compensation at \$1,500 a year for all full-time employees.

3. Automatic within grade promotions of one step for employees with efficiency rating of good or better every nine months.

4. Preservation of the present Civil Service retirement system.

5. Payment at the end of each year for accrued annual leave in excess of the maximum accumulation authorized by law.

Payment to dependents of deceased employees for all accrued annual leave at date of death.

Payment to employees separated from the service for all accrued annual leave.

Restoration of leave on leave.

6. Immediate extension of the Classification Act to the field service.

7. Amendment to the Classification Act to prevent change in duties of employees or description thereof when appeals for reallocation are pending; to afford employees unrestricted opportunity so to discuss their positions with a designated representative of the Civil Service Commission as will apprise him fully of their duties and related circumstances; to guarantee prompt adjudication of all appeals.

8. Continued extension of the provisions of the Civil Service Act and Rules to cover the entire Civil Service.

9. Establishment of a board of appeals with employee representation to hear and render decisions on appeals of employees with authority to enforce its decisions so as to protect fully the rights of employees.

10. Greater participation in personnel matters by employees and employee organizations.

11. Promotion from within the service wherever practicable with seniority as the

basis where other factors are equal; general recognition of seniority in all personnel transactions.

12. Improvement and standardization of efficiency rating system and provisions of adequate appropriation to accomplish this purpose. Establishment of local efficiency rating committees with employee representation throughout the field and departmental service.

13. Uniform night differential in all positions in all agencies where night shifts are required.

14. Uniform application to all Government positions of the longevity pay principle whereby an employee who has reached the top of his grade may, after a prescribed period of time, receive an additional pay increase.

15. Provide for pay and grade commensurate with duties performed for all employees with special reference to general revision upward of salary rates for all positions under the Classification Act; elimination of emphasis on number of employees supervised in fixing grade and pay.

16. Payment of compensation on duly authorized pay days, not on later dates, expeditious payment of expense accounts, and prompt issuance of bonds.

17. Amendment of the Hatch Act to permit the Civil Service Commission to fix penalties for violations of the Act commensurate with the gravity of such violations.

18. Creation by law of a wage board for per diem employees of the Government of the District of Columbia, with adequate employee representation thereon, such board to meet at designated times at least twice a year.

19. Shorter hours, adequate compensation and improved working conditions for custodial employees, employees in the Veterans' Administration facilities, Federal penal institutions and the Public Health Service.

20. Optional quarters, subsistence and laundry with provision of applying cost uniformly to all positions wherein it is customary to supply such services, and employees to be charged for only such meals as they actually receive.

21. Defraying by the Government of the cost of traveling by employees and their dependents and all other costs, including the transportation of household effects incidental to the transfer of employees from one duty station to another for the convenience of the Government; payment of transportation home for dismissed war service appointees and others released through reduction in force.

22. Providing all employees of the Government with uniforms and necessary equipment in those cases where the wearing of uniforms and use of special equipment are compulsory.

23. Compensation during required training and study courses when conducted on other than Government time.

24. Straight eight-hour shifts for all nurses working in Government hospitals; nurses' positions to be placed in Professional Service Classification.

25. Legislation making it possible for Government employees engaged in hazardous work to obtain insurance at normal rates.

26. Emergency medical attention and health education for civilian Government employees through an efficient health service.

27. Establishment of the United States Employment Service as a permanent Federal agency and the continuance of efforts to bring the salaries and working conditions of the employees of this agency on a par with other classified services.

28. Five-day, 35-hour week with no decrease in income.

29. Restoration of holidays at earliest possible date and actual time and a half pay for employees required to work on holidays.

30. Elimination of multiple taxation on Government employees' incomes by States or subdivisions thereof.

31. Optional retirement at full annuity after 30 years of service. Unqualified disability retirement regardless of age and continuance on the annuity rolls until reinstated, of persons who have recovered from disability.

Elimination of the tontine charge.

32. Full protection of the rights of all members of this Federation who are war service employees and their retention in the service after the emergency where such action does not conflict with existing law covering restoration of veterans and the provisions of the Executive Order under which employees transferred into war jobs are entitled to re-employment; such protection to include the establishment of a re-employment list for these employees upon separation in order to give them maximum opportunity for re-employment in the Government service wherever their skills may be best utilized.

33. Establishment of adequate transfer facilities offering employees opportunity to seek positions for which they are best suited and at locations where they can render the most efficient service, these facilities to be made available to war service employees in offices where separations are imminent by reason of reorganization or curtailment of activities.

34. Dismissal wage equal to half pay for six months for employees with five years of service who have been dismissed without prejudice; and proportionate dismissal pay for employees with less than five years of service.

35. Protection to the fullest degree of the rights of all members of this Federation

who transferred to war jobs, with respect to return to their former positions, salary advancements to which they would have been entitled, and opportunities for promotion they would have had, to insure that employees shall in no way be penalized for patriotic endeavor; reinstatement in the most nearly comparable positions if original positions are abolished.

36. Protection against loss of pay for employees suspended and later exonerated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled at New Orleans, Louisiana, endorse aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees, that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Overtime Pay for Government Employees

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, William McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Allfas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, It is a well-established fact that work in excess of reasonable standard hours is more onerous, and

WHEREAS, A punitive rate of pay for overtime service amounting to at least one and one-half times the rate of pay for regular hours is the standard for employment in industry, and

WHEREAS, Payment for overtime at the rate of one and one-half times the rate for ordinary service is required of employers in private industry by federal laws, and

WHEREAS, Government employees received compensation for overtime services at a rate so computed as to render it less

an the actual rate for regular service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of the affiliated organizations of Government employees to secure enactment of legislation providing for payment for overtime on the basis of actual time and one-half and pledge its support to that legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Thirty-Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, William McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horiback, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law, and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation, and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years' service and provisions made for widows of deceased employees and annuitants; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs, the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration made in previous conventions and instructs its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated Government employee's organizations to secure the enactment of a thirty-year optional retirement law and a widow's annuity.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Special Delivery Messengers

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, William McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horiback, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, It is our belief that an equitable merit system for all government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, is the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to the employee, and

WHEREAS, The position of Special Delivery Messenger in the Postal service still remains unclassified; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in this, its sixty-fourth convention, does unqualifiedly endorse either legislation or administrative action, the purpose of which is to promote or effect the extension of the classified service to the position of special delivery messenger in the Post Office service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, William McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horiback, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt,

International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the postal service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions, and

WHEREAS, Due to emergency conditions incident to the war, many temporary employees have been employed in the postal service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its sixty-fourth annual convention, assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the postal service except during bona fide emergencies, and be it further

RESOLVED, That prompt steps be taken to replace all temporary or non-certified employees with regular certified civil service employees not later than six months following the end of the present war.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Higher Standards in Government Employment

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, William McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horibeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalization of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements, the establishment of a Civil Service Employees' Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employees representation thereon; employees representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and extension of the Civil Service system with respect to appointment and to tenure of office; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to these groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency of rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work; liberalization of the Civil Service Retirement law and establishment of the right to optional retirement after thirty years' service; application of seniority principles to all Government employees; establishment of a system of longevity pay; and kindred betterments, and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for establishments in private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organizations of Government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Forty-Eight Hour Work Week for Firemen

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, Bert Hayman, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, The demobilization of our armed forces at the conclusion of our military victories over the totalitarian forces will necessitate the adjustment of our economic order to find gainful employment for the returning veterans, and

WHEREAS, The firefighters of these United States and Canada have been com-

pelled to work longer hours than necessary, and

WHEREAS, If the hours of the firefighters of these United States and Canada were reduced to 48 hours a week it would provide gainful employment for many of the returning veterans; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct its officers to cause to be introduced in the Congress of the United States, in the various State Legislatures, and in the Parliament of Canada, bills to provide for the establishment of a 48-hour work week in the firefighting services.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Rural Letter Carriers

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate George F. Klinker, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

RESOLVED, That rural routes serving territory adjacent to the large cities and in heavily populated sections, be reclassified to a status equal to mounted city service with overtime pay provisions for services rendered in excess of 40 hours per week.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Rural Letter Carriers' Equipment

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate George F. Klinker, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The problem of transportation, equipment and maintenance for rural carriers is serious; no new automobiles are available and present equipment is rapidly reaching a stage beyond repair and the costs for reconditioning has become excessive and far exceeds present maintenance allowances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That rural carriers be given special priorities when replacement is possible, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the present temporary equipment allowance (Cole Bill) be increased from the provided 1 cent per mile per day to 2 cents per mile per day or that the exorbitant excessive costs be fully subsidized for the emergency period.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Salary Increase for Government Employees

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, Wil-

liam McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, District 44, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Government employees have had no permanent increase in compensation in many years, and

WHEREAS, Temporary increases granted by the 78th Congress to Postal and other Government employees are inadequate to meet the increased cost of living, and

WHEREAS, Organizations of Postal and other Government employees affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are endeavoring to secure permanent upward revisions of salary; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20 to December 1, pledge its support to the affiliated organizations of Government employees in securing an equitable upward revision of salaries and wages commensurate with service rendered and instruct the Executive Council to support legislation for that purpose to the fullest possible extent.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Equal Rights to Merchant Marine

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates Lloyd A. Thrush, John Marchiando, Progressive Mine Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has adopted legislation for the post-war benefit of our millions of service men in all branches of the armed services, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor hereby heartily endorses such legislation as rightfully due to the men and women who daily risk their lives for the protection of America, and

WHEREAS, We voice our thanks to these service men and to the fortunate turn of fate which has prevented war from touching our shores with its devastating effects, and

WHEREAS, We are as deeply grateful for the existence of our Merchant Marine, without which it would have been impossible to deliver our American-made munitions, planes, tanks, foods, clothing, medicines and other material of war to the far-flung battle fronts and into the hands of our millions of American and Allied soldiers, and

WHEREAS, We feel an equally deep debt of gratitude to the thousands upon thousands of men who have risked their lives in the Merchant Marine in their battle to deliver the goods to our service men in quantity and on time, wherever they might be; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge upon the Congress of the United States of America that any and all rights accorded to the men and women in the armed services of the United States be extended with equal American justice and generosity to the men in the Merchant Marine for their valiant conduct throughout the war, in the face of serious submarine warfare waged by the enemy for many months and for the Merchant Marine's subsequent heroism under fire, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all present legislation be amended so that equal rights shall be provided for all members of the Merchant Marine on the same basis as that accorded to all members of the armed services, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the future all legislation include rights and benefits, in equal share, for all members of the said Merchant Marine.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Injury and Death Compensation for Government Employees

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Injury and death compensation in government service is based on average earnings of Government employees, and

WHEREAS, The Compensation Act was amended February 12, 1927, increasing the monthly compensation for total disability from \$66.66 to \$116.66, and

WHEREAS, Organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad believe that compensation for injury and death should follow the general trend of increases,

both in wages and cost of living; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to secure the enactment of legislation which will follow out the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Panama Canal Employees Substituting in Supervisory Positions Should Receive Standard Wage Rates

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government navy yards, arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions, and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken, and

WHEREAS, In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Legislative Representatives of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, The present National Administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and is fostering the principle of selective representation, and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their

geographical location, a long way from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes, and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure, and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912 specifically gives the Federal employees the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representative without reduction in compensation or position; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War, to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave, or quarters status.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Pay While On Leave for Canal Employees

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Panama Canal regulations provide that hourly employees on leave may receive only six days pay for every seven days of leave, and

WHEREAS, Each day per week is paid for at the regular day's earnings, except Saturday, which is considered a "G" or non-work day, and

WHEREAS, Hourly employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are being penalized to the extent of one day of leave for every seven taken, and

WHEREAS, Attempts to correct the situation through decisions from the Comptroller General have failed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do everything in their power to assist the Canal Zone Central Labor Union to obtain by legal means payment for every day of leave taken by hourly employees, or authority for granting the additional day without charge against leave credit.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Holiday Occurring Within a Work Week

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Timekeeping regulations on the Panama Canal provide that when an hourly employee is prevented from working on a holiday occurring during the regular five day work week from Monday to Friday, and then works on Saturday, he receives overtime pay for the Saturday worked at the rate of time and one-half, and

WHEREAS, When the same employee works on a holiday occurring during a regular work week, he is paid at straight time for that holiday, but when required to work the Saturday at the end of the same work week he is also paid only at straight time, and

WHEREAS, The hourly employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad desire that regulations be adopted which will include holidays in the 40-hour work week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to render all possible assistance to provide that a holiday worked within a regular work week be considered as an nine-hour period in the regular 40-hour week.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Yellow Dog Contracts

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The Federal Works Administration under the Lanham Act has the authority to grant public funds for works conducted to meet an emergency and to promote the public interest, and

WHEREAS, These funds under the present law may be granted to any agency regardless of the fact that the agency employs workers under a "Yellow Dog" contract; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take the necessary steps to prevent the use of funds of the Federal Works Administration to be paid to any agency which employs workers on a "Yellow Dog" contract or any project which is financed by Federal Works Funds.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Yellow Dog Contracts

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Certain funds such as are now available under the Lanham Act for the maintenance of schools and other activities, and

WHEREAS, These funds are being used in some states and communities to enforce the "Yellow Dog" contract against teachers, and

WHEREAS, There is danger that tomorrow such funds may be used to enforce the "Yellow Dog" contract on all the vast post-war federal, state and local public works programs, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20, 1944, go on record as actively supporting legislation which would prohibit the use of federal funds by any public or private agency for the payment of wages or salaries to workers employed by such agencies on any public works program under a so-called "Yellow Dog" contract agreement.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Fair Labor Standards Act

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Louis P. Marcante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The large majority of American workers are today sought to be protected by federal legislation with respect to maximum straight time work week, and

WHEREAS, That form of protection is to be found in the Fair Labor Standards Act, which came into effect on October 24, 1938, and

WHEREAS, Upon examination it will be found that the same legislation creates various exceptions detrimental to the best interests of a substantial number of workers who properly should be protected to the fullest extent of the law, and

WHEREAS, The said workers are those that are employed in the packing and canning of perishable food products, and

WHEREAS, The said perishable food canning and packing industry is favored under said law, in that it is not required to pay any overtime for a period of 14 work weeks in any year, and is only required to pay overtime after fifty-six hours during any additional fourteen work weeks in said year, and

WHEREAS, Such legislation tends to discriminate and place at a disadvantage the workers in said perishable food, canning and packing industry, and

WHEREAS, The best interest of the workers in the said industry can best be served by the elimination of such exemptions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby goes on record in the

support of the elimination from the Fair Labor Standards Act by appropriate federal legislation of all exemptions that the said act now allows the canning industry which have adversely affected the workers in said industry, a large number of whom are members of organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Prevailing Wages

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate E. A. Carter, West Virginia State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has been for the past several years loans from the Government financed under the F. H. A. Act to persons and real estate firms for building of homes and business property, and

WHEREAS, This money is in a large measure supplied directly or indirectly by members of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, It is hardly possible for an A. F. of L. craftsman to get work on these houses because of non-union contractors and real estate firms building with non-union labor at a rate of pay below the prevailing standard of wages, and

WHEREAS, The above mentioned system tends to lower and keep down the living standards all over the country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor through its Executive Council endeavor to have passed by the next Congress of the United States an amendment to the F. H. A. Act causing the prevailing wage to be specified in all cases where the Government insures money for the purpose of constructing or repairing by individuals, real estate firms or contractors.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Forty-Eight Hour Week for Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Much readjustment of our economic order will be necessary to gainfully re-employ the millions of men who will be released from military service subsequent to the termination of war, and

WHEREAS, This readjustment will necessarily involve a general shortening of the weekly hours of labor, and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of fire fighters in these United States are required to be on duty for as many as 84 hours per week, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby go on record as strongly urging the establishment of a maximum 8-hour day and a 48-hour week for the fire fighters of the nation as part of the post-war re-employment program.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Increased Salary for Postal Employees

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse House Bill, H. R. 4715, introduced by Congressman George D. O'Brien, which provides for an increase of salary for postal employees of \$400.00 per year; and that the same action be applied to the bill introduced by Senator Mead, Senate Bill 1882, which has for its purpose the same objective.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Forty-Eight Hour Week for Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to recognize the rights of the International Unions to formulate policy for the elevation of the standard of their own members, and

WHEREAS, The International Fire Fighters Association at its recent convention at Louisville, Kentucky, by resolution, among other things, outlined for the membership of that organization a policy of striving for the forty-eight hour week for Fire Fighters; the exemption from the national social security set-up for men engaged in fire fighting and the exemption from income tax, monies paid to Fire Fighters as Retirement Allowance, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge its support to the International Association of Fire Fighters in their efforts to secure the accomplishments of the above mentioned provisions of their national organization.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Tax Credits On Bond Purchases

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present federal tax structure provides for a withholding tax of 20% of the gross income of wage workers, and

WHEREAS, Other taxpayers, including industry, are asked to pay their taxes only on a net income basis, and

WHEREAS, the 20% withholding tax has seriously cut in to the wages of many thousands of American working people, who have been unable to get any relief from the mounting increased cost of living, and

WHEREAS, It is now evident that the employers and businessmen of America contemplate further reducing the tax burden on business, and keeping the burden on the pay envelopes of the wage worker, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor ask the United States Congress to revise the tax laws and provide that the wage worker subjected to the 20% withholding tax be given credit on defense bond purchases to the extent of 50% of the withholding tax, as this is the only way that many of them now have of providing savings for their future security.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Repeal Smith-Connolly Act

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Samuel Otto, Joseph Tuvim, Angela Bamber, David Gingold, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The Smith-Connolly Act passed in 1943 over the President's veto by an anti-labor coalition in Congress, seriously impairs collective bargaining and hampers the free operation of the National Labor Relations Act, and

WHEREAS, This Act, ostensibly passed for the purpose of curbing work stoppages in war industries, has in practice tended to increase friction leading to dislocations in many industrial plants, to the thorough dissatisfaction of both labor and constructive elements in industry, and

WHEREAS, The rider attached to this Act forbidding financial support by trade unions of candidates for federal political office at tests to the bitter anti-labor bias of the proponents of that Act, inasmuch as such a rider obviously has nothing basically to do with the purported aim of this legislation, namely, the prevention of wartime labor disputes, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this convention assembled bring its full weight and influence to bear during the forthcoming sessions of Congress for the repeal of the Smith-Connolly Act before termination of hostilities as a measure

offensive and oppressive towards labor and the general national interest.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Restoration Panama Railroad Ships

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal through the Panama Railroad has operated a government-owned steamship line since the beginning of the construction period, and

WHEREAS, It was found necessary to construct three new ships to replace those worn out in service, and

WHEREAS, These ships—modern, high speed, and the first completely fire-proof ships ever constructed—were delivered in 1939, and

WHEREAS, These ships after December 7, 1941, were immediately turned over to the military services and constituted one of the finest single contributions to the war effort at a critical time, and

WHEREAS, There have been periodic attempts by private steamship companies to dissolve this steamship line and divide the Panama Canal freight and passenger business between them, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to have legislation enacted, if necessary, so that the three vessels may be returned to the Panama Railroad Company as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities to enter again their former role as carriers of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad freight and passengers, and that said vessels be returned in a condition equal to that at the time of their being taken by the armed services as transports and that the cost of restoring them to their former fitness be borne by the Government of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Extension of Existing Forty-Hour Week Law

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, The present 40-hour week law is only temporary, with a provision that it continue in effect only until June 30, 1945, and

WHEREAS, A Similar act, known as Section 23 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act 1935 (Thomas 40-Hour Week Amendment), afforded great relief of unemployment in certain classes of positions during the depression, and

WHEREAS, Similar unemployment conditions can be expected on the cessation of the present war, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, take steps to insure a continuation of the shorter work week, not to exceed forty hours, for all Government employees on the Isthmus of Panama who are citizens of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Compensation for Death or Injury in Line of Duty for Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States vetoed H. R. 1712 (a Bill to provide relief of families of two Government employees killed in line of duty because of the war effort), and

WHEREAS, The President in his veto message stated, "If it should be the feeling of Congress that additional benefits beyond those provided by the present Employees Compensation Act should be made available to civilian employees of the Federal Government who are engaged in the performance of unusually hazardous duties, it would appear that these benefits should be provided by way of general legislation which would accord uniform treatment in this respect to all civilian employees," and

WHEREAS, It is to be expected that during the 79th session of Congress some legislation will be considered providing for the relief of families of Government employees killed under unusually hazardous conditions in line of duty due to the war effort, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to take the necessary steps so that such legislation as may be enacted covers the families of Government employees on the Isthmus of Panama.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Twenty-Five Year Optional Retirement for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun, and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undetermined, and

WHEREAS, Congress during the 74th Session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be most undesirable in all military tropical service, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of 62, and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Act but have a special retirement law approved March 1, 1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code June 19, 1934, and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, 25 years of service, and with full credit for such service, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to present legislation which will provide for an earlier retirement age with full annuity for years of service for the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Replacement of Aliens by American Citizens After the War

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, In Panama Canal, Panama Railroad, and allied positions on the Isthmus of Panama there are thousands of aliens holding positions in both "gold and silver" categories (United States citizens and aliens), in skilled, semi-skilled, and office work, and

WHEREAS, After the war emergency is over a reduction of force will be due, and

WHEREAS, A similar reduction in force will take place about the same time in Government institutions in the United States, and

WHEREAS, There would be no object in sending personnel back to the United States from the Canal Zone to swell the unemployment lists in the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to secure enactment of legislation which will give United States citizens preference in all skilled, semi-skilled, and office positions on the Isthmus of Panama when the war emergency is over.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Ex-Servicemen's Rates in Government Hospitals Applied to Employees and Retired Employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad and Their Dependents

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company become ill from time to time while on vacation in the United States, as is also true of dependent members of their families, and have been required to go to the expense of entering private hospitals for treatment, and

WHEREAS, Retired employees are receiving a pension sufficient to pay for nothing except living expenses but have had to meet large hospital bills, and

WHEREAS, All personnel of the military and naval services in the United States have the privilege of enjoying hospitalization in the United States Government hospitals at greatly reduced rates, and

WHEREAS, Employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company are engaged in service similar to that of the military and naval forces of the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to secure proper legislation which will give employees and retired employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company and their dependents the same rates in Government hos-

pitals in the United States as are enjoyed by military and naval personnel.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Free Hospitalization for Civilian Government Workers on the Isthmus of Panama

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Military personnel are provided with free hospitalization during the war, and

WHEREAS, Many civilian employees of the Government on the Isthmus of Panama are doing work considered as vital and necessary to the war effort in their Government positions, and

WHEREAS, Many of these employees, because of arduous duties, long hours of overtime, unusual working hours, and the effects of the tropical climate, are suffering from maladies not directly traceable to their occupations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, give consideration to legislation which will make it possible for all Government employees considered as engaged on war or defense work to obtain free hospitalization in Government hospitals.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Compensation for Silicosis and Dust Diseases

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Lawrence Foley, Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

WHEREAS, The members of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America have been and are engaged in an occupation which brings them in contact with silica dust, subjecting the membership to silicosis and other dust diseases, and

WHEREAS, Workmen's Compensation Laws in several States have provided liberal benefits for disabilities due to silicosis and other dust diseases and for death resulting from these same diseases, and

WHEREAS, The other States of these United States have little or no provisions in their Workmen's Compensation Laws to compensate for silicosis or dust diseases, and

WHEREAS, The lack of uniform benefits under the Workmen's Compensation Laws of the various States present an opportunity

for employers to shift their work to those states not having compensation benefits, thereby subjecting the members of the trade to disabilities arising from silicosis and dust diseases without compensation benefits, consequently involving the disabled worker in the payment of large medical bills, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use all available facilities at their command to bring about uniform silicosis and dust disease laws in the various states of the United States; that legislation be drafted and fostered in the various states for the purpose of creating a balanced relationship in connection with employment and Workmen's Compensation benefits in the trades subject to the hazards of dust diseases.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Hatch Act

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Freedom of speech and action is the inherent right under the Constitution of every man and woman, and

WHEREAS, The Hatch Act is in violation of the intent and purpose of the Bill of Rights by denying the Civil Service employee the privilege of participating in any activity connected with a political campaign, and

WHEREAS, It is essential that Labor play a part in the policies of and the legislation enacted by our local, state and national governments in order to insure the permanence of present benefits and to further improve the conditions of the working men and women, and

WHEREAS, The civil service employees as affiliated members in the Labor movement should be in a position to do their full share in the campaigns to secure the election of public officials friendly to their cause but under the provisions of the Hatch Act are forbidden membership or participation on any committee or group working toward that aim, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the repeal of the Hatch Act and other legislative restrictions placed on political activities on the part of Government employees.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Salary Increase for Postal Employees

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The postal employee has not had an increase in salary since 1925, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living has increased approximately 28% and the income of the postal employee has been advanced only 14% under the provisions of the Bonus Bill, which is only a temporary measure and expires June 30, 1945, and

WHEREAS, Because of this increase in the cost of living an upward revision of salaries on a permanent basis is now fully justified, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the enactment into law of the Mead bill, S. 1882, and the O'Brien Bill, H. R. 4715, providing for a permanent salary increase of \$400 for the postal employee.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Overtime Pay for Postal Employees

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In private industry there has long existed a system of payment of time and one-half for overtime employment, in order to justly compensate employees who forego the privileges that go with a standard work day, and

WHEREAS, Postal employees are paid overtime on a 306 day annual basis and they actually work 253 days in a year, thereby creating the great injustice of providing less for overtime than regular pay, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the enactment of the Weiss Bill, H. R. 4501, embodying the principle of time and one-half on a 253 day basis.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Voorhis Bill H. R. 118

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Article 1, Sec. 8 of the Constitution of the United States provides that "Congress shall have power to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin," and

WHEREAS, Congress has substantially failed to exercise this power and has permitted the power to create the medium exchange of the Nation to fall into private hands, thus bringing about at present a situation where the Nation, in order to supply its own credit for purposes of national de-

fense or the accommodation of increased production, is compelled to issue interest-bearing bonds and transfer ownership of such bonds to private banks in exchange for newly created credits upon their books, and

WHEREAS, There has developed in the method of conducting commercial banks in the United States the custom of lending the private credit of such institutions under the guise of lending money, and

WHEREAS, Such credit, transferable from one depositor to another by the check or order of the depositor or any other person in his behalf is now generally accepted in payment of debts, thus in effect providing an uncontrolled and privately created circulating medium of exchange which performs the functions of money in disregard of Article 1, Sec. 8 of the Constitution of the United States.

WHEREAS, The uncontrolled alternate expansion and contraction of this synthetic medium of exchange induces recurrent periods of uncontrolled and disorganizing inflation followed by disastrous periods of equally uncontrolled deflation, bankruptcy, and distress, and

WHEREAS, It has become necessary to the safety and welfare of the nation that inflation and deflation alike be prevented and that a stable buying power be maintained in the dollar, and

WHEREAS, These aims and purposes can only be accomplished if Congress acts to end the existing dependence of the United States upon a privately created and destroyed bank credit medium of exchange, and to substitute therefor a dependable medium of exchange not based upon debt, but put into circulation without increase in the public debt in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor records itself in favor of the Voorhis Bill H. R. 118.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Uniform Workmen's Compensation Laws

Resolution No. 96—By James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The workmen's compensation laws in the several states are not uniform and vary in the amounts of weekly benefits paid and total amounts paid for injuries and death, and

WHEREAS, Montana is one of the few states where the total compensations paid for injuries and death, are high, running from \$8,400 for deaths, up to \$10,500 for total permanent disability, and running up to 500 weeks for total permanent disabilities, and

WHEREAS, Labor in Montana is continually confronted with attempts to amend the compensation law by lowering its standards to meet the standards of the neighboring states, and

WHEREAS, Such attempts, if successful, are detrimental to the welfare of labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to circularize the several states urging them to amend their workmen's compensation laws so they be uniform and standardized upwards, looking towards the benefit of the workers.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Compensation for Silicosis and Dust Diseases

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Thomas E. Wilkinson, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the State of Massachusetts, members of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America have been and are engaged in an occupation which brings them in contact with silica dust, subjecting the membership to silicosis and other dust diseases, and

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts Workmen's Compensation Law provides liberal benefits for disabilities due to silicosis and other dust diseases, and for death resulting from those same diseases, and

WHEREAS, Most of the states of these United States have little or no provision for workmen's compensation for silicosis or dust diseases, and

WHEREAS, The lack of uniform benefits under the Workmen's Compensation Laws of the various states presents an opportunity for employers to shift their work to those states not having compensation benefits, thereby subjecting the members of the stone and foundry trades to disabilities arising from silicosis and dust diseases without compensation benefits, consequently involving the disabled worker in the payment of large medical bills, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use all available facilities at its command to bring about uniform silicosis and dust laws in the various states for the purpose of creating a balanced relationship in connection with employment and workmen's compensation benefits in the trades subject to the hazards of dust diseases.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Poll Tax

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record condemning the Poll Tax as undemocratic, un-American and unjust, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans, La., November, 1944, go on record as reaffirming its opposition to the Poll Tax and supporting federal legislation for its abolition.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Collective Bargaining for Government Employees

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A national law has been enacted giving a labor organization which has the majority of employees in any private industry which is engaged in interstate commerce the right to collective bargaining for all the employees in that industry, and

WHEREAS, This law does not include unions of government employees, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record instructing its national officers to prevail upon the Congress to extend the provisions of this act to government employees.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Labor-Management Committee in the Federal Civil Service

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department through Postmaster General Walker has issued an invitation to employees to contribute recommendations for the improvement of employee working conditions, and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Civil Service Commission has established a Labor-Management advisory board, and

WHEREAS, This board is merely advisory, and

WHEREAS, Federal organizations cannot undertake to place in effect official recommendations, and

WHEREAS, Private industry has organized labor-management committees contributing largely to improving and increasing war production with mutual rewards for both labor and management, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instructs its national officers to seek legislation that will create an official labor-management committee in the Federal Civil Service.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Automobile Liability Protection for Federal Employees

Resolution No. 101.—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are employees of the postal service operating government-owned automobiles in the performance of their duties, and

WHEREAS, These employees at the present time have no protection against financial loss due to civil suits involving accidents while operating a government-owned automobile, and

WHEREAS, An employer in civil employment is held responsible for the act of his agents, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse and urge the enactment of an automobile liability bill into law.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Mustering Out Pay

Resolution No. 102.—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor throughout Illinois and all over the United States have members serving in the Armed Forces of our country which make up a high percentage of the grand total serving our nation, and

WHEREAS, Many of these members have been in the Service now going on their fourth year thereby making extreme sacrifices not only on all the battle fronts of the globe, but in the separation from their loved ones at home and in most instances receiving compensation which is considerably less than received in private occupations, and

WHEREAS, Our people are fully cognizant of the great job all branches of the service are doing and who by their efforts, victory over the totalitarian oppressors is daily getting closer to the time when it will be finally achieved, and

WHEREAS, We believe the mustering out pay which, when finally agreed upon by Congress, was not commensurate with the sacrifices made, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention in New Orleans assembled enlist aid to amend the law Congress enacted so the men serving outside the continental United States or in Alaska receive \$600 instead of the \$300 authorized in equal payments of \$100 upon discharge and each month thereafter \$100 till total is received and the persons serving within the continental United States should receive \$400 instead of the \$200 authorized in the same equal payments till total is received.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Citizenship for Filipinos

Resolution No. 103.—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Chicago Post Office Clerk's Union has many members of Filipino nationality, and

WHEREAS, The Filipino Post Office employees have many years of service and their livelihood is dependent upon their continued employment as Civil Service employees, and

WHEREAS, Filipino Post Office Employees have assisted in the growth of labor unions in Government Industry, and

WHEREAS, Filipinos are denied the privilege of American citizenship and their future status as government employees is endangered, notwithstanding the fact that many of them have more than 25 years of service, and

WHEREAS, Many legislators have introduced and supported legislation for Filipino citizenship, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in New Orleans go on record as favoring the enactment into law of H. R. 4826 providing citizenship for Filipinos.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Exemption of Annuities from Income Taxes

Resolution No. 104.—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many thousands of men and women unable to work because of age or disability, are existing on modest annuities or benefits which are fixed incomes, and

WHEREAS, These fixed incomes are in most cases insufficient to provide more than a bare existence in normal times and are

entirely insufficient to provide the necessities of life at the present cost of living, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Congress has recognized this problem in at least one instance by the exemption of pensions paid under the Railroad Retirement Act from federal income tax and legislation is now under consideration in Congress (HR 4883, May 25, 1944, Keough) to exempt all annuities to the extent of \$1,440.00 per year, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, does hereby pledge its best efforts toward the exemption of annuities up to \$1,500.00 per year from federal income taxes.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Kilgore Bill

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Reuben G Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is our belief that in the aftermath of this war neither the soldier or the war worker should suffer and that adequate Federal Unemployment Insurance for both be provided, and that war plants owned by the Government be sold to only those who guarantee to operate them, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we wholeheartedly endorse the Kilgore bill in the Senate and its equivalent the Cellers bill in the House and that we hereby petition our Congressmen to support these bills.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Creation of an Insular Economic Board Through an Amendment to the Organic Act of Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Nicolas Noguera Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, Upon the recommendation of the President of the United States, the U. S. Senate passed a Bill granting the people of Puerto Rico the right to elect by popular vote its own Governor and providing for some other important changes in our Organic Act, and

WHEREAS, Economic and social problems of the Island need a more direct, effective and systematic plan, cooperation and execution to work for their solution, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council of the

American Federation of Labor be instructed to take, through its Legislative Committee, such actions and to adopt such measures before Congress as might be necessary, so that the Bill passed by the United States Senate, to amend the Organic Act of Puerto Rico and which is now pending action before the House of Representatives be amended to provide for the creation of an Insular Economic Board composed of Representatives of Congress, and representatives of Agriculture, Industry, Commerce and Labor of Puerto Rico, together with a Representative of the Federal Administration, to carry out and develop such economic and social policies as are desirable to better the social and economic conditions of the people of Puerto Rico.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Contract System for Post-War Government Construction

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, Continued employment in the post-war period is of vital importance to our members and the welfare of our organization, and

WHEREAS, The promotion of programs of construction of public works by Federal, State and City governments and subdivisions thereof will aid the construction industry and give our members employment, and

WHEREAS, Although some progress has been made in the matter of developing plans, specifications and estimates for post-war construction by Federal, State and City governments and their subdivisions, it appears that continued effort is necessary, and

WHEREAS, The promotion of programs of post-war construction should not be left to develop by itself but should receive the active support of industry and labor and all governmental agencies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse and actively support and develop programs of post-war construction by Federal, State and City governments and their subdivisions and that the resultant projects be constructed under the contract system, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its departments assist and encourage all agencies which deal with programs of post-war construction.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Contract System for Government Construction

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay,

Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The possibility exists that, in the period following the war, construction activities may fall to a low level with consequent unemployment, and

WHEREAS, There are now under consideration plans calling for the construction of public works as a means of stimulating the construction industry and/or providing some degree of protection against unemployment, and

WHEREAS, The Baruch Report urges the consideration of such plans in order to be prepared, should occasion arise, to lessen the evils of unemployment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing such plans, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention be recorded as urging that any plans for the construction of public works which may be adopted be undertaken through the contract system.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Highway Construction

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, During the years of the war the established program of highway construction has been interrupted, and

WHEREAS, Because of that interruption, together with the rapidly developing changes in the commercial and industrial needs of the country, there is today an enormous pent-up demand for highway construction, and

WHEREAS, State and national legislation looking toward the development and execution of a plan to meet those changes, is currently under discussion, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as supporting such legislation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention be recorded as urging that any program of highway construction that may be adopted be undertaken through the contract system.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Housing and Slum Clearance

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In every large city of the United States and in lesser degree in many smaller towns there are widespread slum areas where poverty, filth, boredom and despair befall the air, breed vermin, deadly germs and epidemics, and are the generators of the greatest percentage of criminals, juvenile delinquents and physical and mental defectives, and

WHEREAS, All of these evils ultimately spread over the rest of the cities and the nation and affect adversely the welfare, security, health and life of all people, destroy property values and increase taxes to meet the continuous and ever increasing costs for building and maintenance of hospitals, reformatories, asylums and penal institutions, together with the growing armies of attendants, judges, court clerks, guards, police and charitable assistance for the care of the physically, mentally and morally defective of the slum areas, the combined destructive power of which to life, property and earnings are proven to be greater than that of our wars with foreign enemies, and

WHEREAS, All of these conditions are primarily due to the deliberate failure and gross neglect to maintain the slum properties in decent living and sanitary condition thereby robbing millions of employment and thus pauperizing them, forcing them to live in slums at rentals that have paid many times over the cost of building to their owners, and compared to cost of maintenance much higher than in moderate and high class neighborhoods, paying dividends which have enabled many a junk dealer and slum property owner to rise to political czardom and social prominence in certain of our great cities, and

WHEREAS, The remedy of these conditions by local and state governments is made impossible by political and money power and the costs for caring of the sick, the destitute and the criminals of the slum areas by government and charitable agencies constitute in fact a bounty to the owners of slum properties adding to their riches and their political power to prevent the elimination of these plague spots which to them is an easy source of income but to the people a deadly peril, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the perils to health, life, property and welfare of the nations being as great and greater than in war the same rules and regulations should apply for the protection of the people. We favor the enactment of laws setting up minimum standards for decent housing, federal supervision and federal agencies duty bound and authorized to step in wherever local or state governments fail to enforce and maintain the prescribed standards for housing, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in all postwar reconversion and re-employment plans we urge that first place be given to housing needs and slum clearance before any other public works of highways, parks or little or unused field houses and public buildings are projected; projects often used to detract attention

from the main cause of unemployment to enrich certain monopolies of basic materials, raise taxes and are insufficient to meet the needs for employment and national security, and also be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor approve and present to the elected representatives of our national legislature a request to prepare and introduce a bill embodying these principles in the Congress of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Housing

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The shortage of housing throughout the nation, accumulated through the years of depression and recovery and greatly aggravated by the halt of residential construction during the war has created an acute need for dwelling accommodations among all income classes and in all parts of our land, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor estimates that to meet this need a broad and comprehensive program reaching within five years a stable level of housing construction of 1,750,000 dwelling units a year is both necessary and possible of attainment, and

WHEREAS, The attainment of this level of construction is necessary to provide full employment to building mechanics and laborers and to workers in related basic industries and to keep this employment stable, and

WHEREAS, It is the solemn purpose of organized labor that the years following victory do not become a period of mass unemployment, distress and poverty but mark the era of reconstruction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled utilize all resources and the resources of its affiliated organizations in their command to effectuate the following postwar housing program.

I. Private Housing

1. To assure attainment of home ownership and access to new, durable, well designed home in well-planned neighborhoods to the great mass of wage-earners the laws governing FHA mortgage insurance be amended to (a) limit the rate of interest to not more than one per cent above the going federal rate of interest; (b) protect the equity of the home buyer compelled to move due to loss of work or other causes by means of some form of

equity insurance; (c) prescribe more effective minimum standards of sound construction and durability; (d) extend the amortization period to 32 years; and (e) require that not less than prevailing wages be paid on all home construction subject to FHA insurance.

2. To achieve full measure of protection to wage-earners against loss of their savings as a result of home purchases without full knowledge of the nature and quality of housing bought and of the financial burden involved and to relate home ownership to stable incomes and employment every effort should be made to establish, in cooperation with the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, advisory service to our membership sponsored by every central labor union, regarding home financing, location, design, durability and other information essential for sound home ownership.

II. Public Housing

3. Resumption and expansion of the slum clearance and rehousing program of the United States Housing Authority, suspended for the duration of the war, to provide decent homes to families of low income whom private enterprise cannot reach should be pressed with the view of achieving an annual rate of 500,000 dwelling units a year to be built under local programs of properly constituted local housing authorities.

4. To perfect the slum clearance and low rent housing program provision should be made for greater reliance by the local housing authorities on private financing instead of federal borrowing.

5. Full measure of effective labor representation should be achieved on all local housing authorities and state and federal housing agencies.

III. Cooperative Housing

6. Where employment stability is assured provision should be made for mutual home-ownership by wage-earners under proper safeguards. Labor organizations should take initiative to make mutual home ownership possible of permanent war housing projects now occupied by war workers and to prevent the transfer of these projects, built with public funds, to speculators.

IV. Urban Redevelopment

7. Virtual stoppage of construction in wartime provides an unprecedented opportunity to wisely plan the rebuilding of our towns and cities for sound and stable growth. To this end provision should be made vesting the responsibility for assembly of land in properly constituted housing and planning agencies of every municipality. Local standards of development should be established, extending controls to outlying suburban areas

to prevent unchecked growth of jerry-built unplanned suburban slums at the expense of downtown areas of our cities. Labor should seek representation on city planning commissions and all agencies of local government concerned with urban redevelopment.

V. Local Housing Committees

8. Each Central Labor Union, in cooperation with the local Building and Construction Trades Council, should establish a standing local Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, to further the interests of wage-earners of the community in sound and well planned housing development and to press for the enactment of legislation necessary to that end.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Private Contract System for Government Construction

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, In many different areas along the West Coast the Government through the instrumentalities of the Department of War, the Department of the Navy, the United States Maritime Commission or other of its agencies has taken over the construction of projects which heretofore have been constructed by private contractors, and,

WHEREAS, An inevitable consequence of this transfer of construction projects into the hands of the Government has been a sharp reduction in the wages of those of our members who are there employed because of the fact that wage rates fixed by the Civil Service Commission are in many cases twenty-five to fifty per cent below those fixed for members of this organization by collective bargaining agreements, and,

WHEREAS, The maintenance of decent wage levels and thus the health of our trade depends upon the health and vitality of a construction industry conducted by private enterprise, and

WHEREAS, The entrance of government into this field has caused undue hardship to our members, has made difficult the enforcement of agreements, has brought an element of unfair competition into the construction industry and tends to reduce it to a state of chaos, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled in the sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor respectfully petition the government that the contract system be maintained in the construction industry and that wherever possible projects taken over by agencies of the government

be returned to private contractors, and be it further

RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of Labor, the Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission and to such other parties as the American Federation of Labor may deem necessary or advisable.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Construction Wage Rates

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, By reason of the war effort a large volume of construction is currently being carried forward by the Department of War, the Department of the Navy, the United States Maritime Commission and other agencies of the government, and

WHEREAS, Upon initiation by the representatives of the several agencies of the government the rates of wages fixed by the Civil Service Commission are frequently made applicable to those of our members who are employed on those construction projects, and

WHEREAS, Those rates of wages are generally substantially lower than those paid our members under the provisions of agreements entered into with employers privately engaged in the construction industry thus causing a definite loss in earnings, discontent and a deep sense of injustice, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take active and aggressive steps looking toward the discontinuance of this practice.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Post-War Housing

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The shortage of housing throughout the nation, accumulated through the years of depression and recovery and greatly aggravated by the half of residential construction during the war has created an acute need for dwelling accommodations among all income classes and in all parts of our land, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor estimates that to meet this need a broad and comprehensive program reaching within five years of a stable level of housing construction of 1,750,000 dwelling units a

year is both necessary and possible of attainment, and

WHEREAS, The attainment of this level of construction is necessary to provide full employment to building mechanics and laborers and to workers in related basic industries and to keep this employment stable, and

WHEREAS, It is the solemn purpose of organized labor that the years following victory do not become a period of mass unemployment, distress and poverty but mark the era of reconstruction, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled utilize all resources and the resources of its affiliated organizations at their command to effectuate the following post-war housing program:

I. Private Housing

1. To assure attainment of home-ownership and access to new, durable, well-designed homes in well-planned neighborhoods to the great mass of wage-earners the laws governing FHA mortgage insurance be amended to (a) limit the rate of interest to not more than one per cent above the going federal rate of interest; (b) protect the equity of the home buyer compelled to move due to loss of work or other causes by means of some form of equity insurance; (c) prescribe more effective minimum standards of sound construction and durability; (d) extend the amortization period to 32 years; and (e) require that not less than prevailing wages be paid on all home construction subject to federal FHA insurance.

2. To achieve full measure of protection to wage earners against loss of their savings as the result of home purchases without full knowledge of the nature and quality of housing bought and of the financial burden involved and to relate home-ownership to stable incomes and employment every effort should be made to establish, in cooperation with the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, advisory service to our membership, sponsored by every Central Labor Union, regarding home financing, location, design, durability and other information essential for sound home-ownership.

II. Public Housing

3. Resumption and expansion of the slum clearance and rehousing program of the United States Housing Authority, suspended for the duration of the war, to provide decent homes to families of low income whom private enterprise cannot reach, should be pressed with the view of achieving an annual rate of 500,000 dwelling units a year to be built under local program of properly constituted local housing authorities.

4. To perfect the slum clearance and low rent housing program, provision

should be made for greater reliance by the local housing authorities on private financing instead of federal borrowing.

5. Full measure of effective labor representation should be achieved on all local housing authorities and state and federal housing agencies.

III. Cooperative Housing

6. Where employment stability is assured provision should be made for mutual home-ownership by wage earners under proper safeguards. Labor organizations should take initiative to make mutual home ownership possible of permanent war housing projects now occupied by war workers and to prevent the transfer of these projects, built with public funds, to speculators.

IV. Urban Redevelopment

7. Virtual stoppage of construction in wartime provides an unprecedented opportunity to wisely plan the rebuilding of our towns and cities for sound and stable growth. To this end provision should be made vesting the responsibility for assembly of land in properly constituted housing and planning agencies of every municipality. Local standards of development should be established, extending controls to outlying suburban areas to prevent unchecked growth of jerry-built unplanned suburban slums at the expense of downtown areas of our cities. Labor should seek representation on city planning commissions and all agencies of local government concerned with urban redevelopment.

V. Local Housing Committees

8. Each Central Labor Union, in cooperation with the local Building and Construction Trades Council, should establish a standing local Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, to further the interests of wage earners of the community in sound and well-planned housing development and to press for the enactment of legislation necessary to that end.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Financial Aid for Masters, Mates and Pilots

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate E. W. Higginbotham, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, The National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America went on record at its forty-sixth national convention assembled at Washington, D. C., October 25, 1944, legalizing within its organization the establishment of the branch system, whereby two or more locals may consolidate into such system, and

WHEREAS, Experience and past history has proven that small locals not self-supporting on the Great Lakes do not make any progress because no regular paid officer can be supported by them for organizational purposes and so forth, which puts these locals in the very vulnerable position of being dissolved, as well as being impossible to expand, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor supply financial aid to the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots for an organizer for the Great Lakes District.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Organization

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The organizational efforts of the American Federation of Labor are divided among all national and international unions, and the organizational staff of the general headquarters of the AFL, and

WHEREAS, Each national and international union is operating individually in every section of the country to advance its own interests, and

WHEREAS, Representatives of each national and international union come in contact daily with possibilities to organize workers into the American Federation of Labor who are not subject to their respective jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, At present each national and international union, separately and individually, must compete with the combined strength of an unscrupulous national federation of labor which is dual to the policies and principles of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The combined interest and efforts of all officers, representatives and business agents of all national and international unions, state federations and central bodies would constitute a force superior to anything that could be produced by any dual or opposing organization, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor instruct the organizational director in each state to call a state-wide meeting each month of all national and international representatives, general organizers and officers, and representatives of state federations of labor, and request that each central body call a similar meeting once each month of all general organizers, national and international representatives and local business agents, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the purpose of such meetings shall be to collect information on all organizational possibilities, and apply the combined organizational strength of all AFL unions in assisting each national or international union, in every effort to enroll every worker into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Grain Processors International Charter

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Grain Processors Council has been functioning as a council for approximately eight years, and

WHEREAS, This council has shown itself as being capable of handling its affairs as a national organization, and

WHEREAS, By working under an international charter the American Federation of Grain Processors would be in better financial condition to organize the unorganized under its jurisdiction, because of more solidarity and increased revenue because of more dues paid into such International Union, and

WHEREAS, Other councils have been awarded national charters, with far less membership, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record in favor of granting an international charter to this council.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Auto Workers vs. Molders

Resolution No. 118—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, Joseph Steiger, Ernest Atkinson, Gustave Knuese, Charles Blame, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America and Delegate Ray Kelsey, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union.

WHEREAS, For several years the UAW-AFL has been continually raiding foundries and other work shops which do not come under their jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, Many meetings have been held with President Green who has told the representatives of the UAW-AFL that they cannot invade the jurisdiction of other organizations and inasmuch as they simply take no notice of it, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor act upon this

matter and revoke the charter of the UAW-AFL.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

International Federation of Trade Unions

Resolution No. 119.—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Samuel Otto, Joseph Tuvim, Angela Bambace, David Gingold, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The labor organizations throughout the world have proved to be the natural allies and vanguard of democracy and have contributed decisively to the collective might of the United Nations in the titanic struggle against Fascism and Nazism, and

WHEREAS, We realize that the earliest re-establishment of free trade unions in all liberated lands is an immediate task for the free trade unions in the democratic lands, and

WHEREAS, We realize, furthermore, that the closest cooperation of the trade union movements of all countries can be attained most effectively through the rebuilding of the International Federation of Trade Unions which was so badly shattered through the current world catastrophe, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we call on the American Federation of Labor to take the required steps to aid in the task of reassembling and strengthening the International Federation of Trade Unions as a central world labor organization after the war, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor initiate the raising of a substantial fund to help finance the rebuilding of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the trade unions in all countries affiliated with it.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Re-establishment and Fortification of Labor Relations Between the American Federation of Labor and the Latin American Labor Movement

Resolution No. 120.—By Delegate Nicolas Noguera Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is aware of the fact that labor in all Latin American countries needs its urgent cooperation and collaboration for the ad-

vancement of the toiling masses of said countries and to foster and support democracy and freedom among the people, and

WHEREAS, Investigations and reports submitted have proved to our satisfaction that the American Federation of Labor should take the leadership in carrying out some practical plan that would re-establish such relations as are necessary to be of service to the working people of these countries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed to take such steps as might be deemed necessary by this body to start immediately a practical plan aimed at the purpose of re-establishing sound and constructive labor relations between the American Federation of Labor and the Latin American labor movements.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

30-Hour Week

Resolution No. 121.—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Post-war production and employment foreshadow the difficulty, if not distress, of millions of young workers being demobilized from the armed forces and of additional millions being discharged from manufacture and transportation of war materials, and

WHEREAS, During the war period expressed in terms of labor saving machinery, enormous strides have been made, thus rendering more acute the task of finding jobs for all in a peace-time economy who are willing and able to work, and

WHEREAS, This technological development, constantly enriched by the discoveries of science, has already laid a foundation on which the needs of the population, including the needs for exports to other parts of the world, in a normal peace-time economy can be provided for abundantly in much less time than what now constitutes the generally accepted workday, and

WHEREAS, The problem of maintaining the American standard of living when the emergency of war production ceases is intimately bound up with the task of finding jobs for all who are willing and able to work, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, as a measure of protection against post-war unemployment, take energetic steps toward the universal establishment of the 30-hour work week of five

days of six hours each, without reduction of basic pay, for all workers.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

30-Hour Week

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The closing of defense industries and demobilization of the armed forces will create a vast amount of unemployment following the end of the present war, and

WHEREAS, New methods of production, new labor saving devices, development of substitute products requiring less labor, and other advancements of science, will tend to aggravate the amount of unemployment, and

WHEREAS, The greatly increased potential productive capacity of our country will not be utilized unless every able-bodied citizen is provided with useful work thus assuring a consumer demand with purchasing power sufficient to utilize all of our potential productive capacity, and

WHEREAS, The objective of "freedom from want" will never be attained while unnecessary unemployment exists, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of a thirty-hour week immediately following the close of the war.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

30-Hour Week

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, One of the problems uppermost in the minds of the working people of the United States, as a consequence of the curtailment of production when the fighting ceases, is the fear of unemployment which leads to insecurity and mass unemployment, and

WHEREAS, The subject of full employment and prosperity is something which concerns every union worker in America, and

WHEREAS, One of the major issues, of which the American Federation of Labor has been a proponent for many years, is the six-hour day, thirty-hour week which would spread available jobs over a greater proportion of workers and would tremendously alleviate the evils of insecurity, unemployment and poverty, and

WHEREAS, It has been proved that where the six-hour day, thirty-hour week has been made effective great benefits to the community have resulted and what benefits the community benefits the entire nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled in the sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor request that legislation be introduced before the Congress of the United States which shall embody the principle of the six-hour day, thirty-hour week to become effective immediately upon the cessation of the fighting, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to the Representatives and Senators of the Congress of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Yellow Dog Contract in Public Schools

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Oklahoma City School Board requires teachers to sign a yellow dog contract as a condition of employment, and

WHEREAS, The Oklahoma City School Board received certain funds from the federal government for the support of some school activities, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, vigorously oppose the granting of federal funds to any agency, public or private, which requires any of its employees to sign a yellow dog contract as a condition of employment.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Central Body and State Federation Affiliations

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, Detroit, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has annually urged that all local unions affiliate with the central body and state federation of labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor in the district in which their local unions are located, and

WHEREAS, There are a number of such local unions that have failed and neglected to assume their rightful place in the central bodies and state federations of labor, and

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

WHEREAS, Many international unions have written into their constitution provisions making it mandatory that local unions affiliate with their central bodies and state federations of labor, and other international unions have set up regulations to encourage local unions to affiliate with central bodies and state federations of labor, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, and international unions, frequently look to city central bodies and state federations of labor to make effective the policies of the national organization above mentioned; and this can best be done if the city central bodies and state federations of labor will build to their maximum strength, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in order to insure a more uniform observance of the policy of the American Federation of Labor and the international unions, the secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor shall make a survey and report to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor those unions and the localities in which they are located who are not in affiliation with our city central bodies and our state federations of labor to the end that the American Federation of Labor can place this information before the delegates so suitable action might be taken to insure the largest possible percentage of affiliations.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

SECOND DAY — TUESDAY MORNING SESSION**New Orleans, Louisiana, November 21, 1944**

New Orleans, Louisiana
November 21, 1944.

The convention was called to order at 9:50 o'clock by President Green.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Reverend A. L. Kirkwood, Superintendent of Baptist City Missions, will pronounce the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Reverend A. L. Kirkwood, Superintendent Baptist City Missions)

Our Father which art in Heaven hallowed be Thy name. We thank Thee for this day and for every blessing of life. We thank Our Father for this convention. We pray Thy blessings upon the President and upon all associated with him, and upon all that is to be done throughout the convention. May it be for the good of our people and for the glory of our God.

We pray Thy blessings today upon all men and women who give themselves to the war effort. Help us to realize the need of the day and to yield ourselves unreservedly to the promotion of a cause that is near and dear to all of us, because we pray in the name of Christ—Amen.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary Green, of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Delegate Green, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following supplemental report:

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Tuesday, November 21, 1944
Morning Session

In accordance with instructions received from Secretary-Treasurer William H. Cooper of the Building Service Employees' International Union, we recommend the seating of Peter Connors with 116 votes, in place of Gus Van Heck who was previously reported as a delegate to represent that organization.

In accordance with instructions received from President George M. Harrison of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, we recommend the seating of A. P. Harvey, with 408 votes, as an additional delegate to represent that organization.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates named therein seated.

Committee Substitution

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now wishes to make the following announcement. President Lindelof of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, finds it impossible to serve on the reception committee to meet Commissioner McNutt. He is occupied at a meeting of the Committee on Resolutions. The Chair will substitute the name of Delegate Rafferty of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators to serve in his place.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for communications.

Communications

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

Hamilton, Canada
November 17th, 1944

Mr. William Green, President
American Federation of Labour
c/o Convention Headquarters
Hotel Roosevelt
New Orleans, La.

GREETINGS FROM CANADA!

Dear Sir and Brother:

To the officers and delegates attending the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labour, the Trades and Labour Council of Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, extends its warmest and heartiest greetings, with best wishes for a successful session.

Fraternally yours,
W. L. O'BRIEN,
Secretary.

Anchorage, Alaska
November 20, 1944

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Convention Hall
New Orleans, Louisiana.

Please accept the most optimistic of best wishes for a very successful and progressive

convention from the Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor and all Alaska unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I know that all the many problems worked out at this convention will eventually effect Alaska and we feel we are most ably represented by Alaska's only delegate to this convention by Louise Collier from the Ketchikan Central Labor Council.

FRANK MARSHALL
Alaska Territorial Federation
of Labor.

Ketchikan, Alaska
November 20, 1944

George Meany, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor Convention
New Orleans.

Congratulations on 64th convention of AFL. May your efforts result in greater cooperation in this world.

MARGE JENSEN,
Ketchikan Central Labor Council
Acting Secretary.

November 14, 1944.

Mr. George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
Hotel Roosevelt,
New Orleans, La.

My dear Mr. Meany:

In greeting you and all the Officials and Delegates in attendance at the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor convening at New Orleans on November the 20th, we respectfully request that this communication be read at the Convention and spread in full on the minutes of our Sixty-fourth Annual Convention.

Because of the inconsiderate and unwarranted attitude of the Hon. Rexford Guy Tugwell, Governor of Puerto Rico towards our organized labor movement, as represented by the American Federation of Labor in Puerto Rico, which was deprived of all the representation it enjoyed in our Government for many years, it was my very unpleasant duty as President of our State Federation of Labor—in compliance with its resolutions—and as a Delegate to the previous Conventions of the American Federation of Labor of 1942 and 1943, to voice and present before those Conventions the protest of our State Federation of Labor against the Hon. the Governor of Puerto Rico and to demand what we thought was a remedy to that situation.

There has never been up to the present any possibility to reconcile the views and the economic and governmental philosophy of the Governor with the social and economic philosophy of our trade union movement which the Governor, apparently, still believes to be anachronous.

That being the situation as to the matters above referred to, we expressed our apprehensions and very strong doubts to several Officials of the American Federation of Labor as to having an impartial, clean and honest election in Puerto Rico under The

Hon. Rexford G. Tugwell. We should confess that we felt that way up to the eve of the general elections' day, November the 6th.

Now, after November the 7th, we feel that we would not be sincere and honest with you, neither to ourselves, if we would fail to advise the Officials and Delegates to this Convention that the General elections of November the 7th we had in Puerto Rico in our opinion—and this opinion is universally shared by all the forces in Puerto Rico opposing Governor Tugwell—were one of the most peaceful, honest, clean and impartial ever conducted in this Island, in spite of the hot political atmosphere filling the whole Island up to one week previous to the election's day.

It is true that all the political leaders to whom the Governor appealed for a peaceful, clean, honest and impartial election, did respond and cooperated, as it is also true, and to his credit, that the Governor was most fortunate in appointing a new Chief of Police several months ago and who proved all the time and in every instance, efficiency, good character, competence, integrity and impartiality.

Being our State Federation of Labor is a non-partisan organization in politics, it is the real truth that, from the political point of view, we are not counted among the political winners in these elections. But, notwithstanding that fact, in all fairness we should state most emphatically that these general elections so honestly and impartially conducted under the Hon. R. G. Tugwell and his Chief of Police Colonel Joshua Hellinger have set a most constructive and wholesome example worthy of emulation by any country in the world where real democracy rules.

These statements giving due recognition and deserved credit to the Governor of Puerto Rico in conducting so efficiently our local elections do not change our position or alter in any way our convictions in the ability, wisdom and sound philosophy of our trade union movement.

Perhaps the delegates of the Convention might think that Brother Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, being a Delegate at this time to this Convention, representing our State Federation of Labor was the proper representative to bring this message to your acknowledgment and action if necessary.

But, being the undersigned the delegate who voiced the protest of our organization against Governor Tugwell at previous Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, I felt in duty bound to do it myself, and I claimed this honor and privilege from our organization to be on record as a sincere and honest organization that fears not placing justice where it properly belongs.

We will all appreciate an official expression of the Convention on this matter of the general elections in Puerto Rico, if the Committee on Resolutions sees fit to do so.

Fraternally yours,

P. Rivera Martinez, President,
Puerto Rico State Federation
of Labor

Toronto, Ontario
November 20, 1944

George Meany, General Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
New Orleans.

Please convey to President Green and Delegates assembled our best wishes for a most successful convention.

WM. MORRISON, KC BA, Chairman,
J. F. CAULEY, Commissioner, The
Ontario Workmen's Compensation
Board.

Chungking

President William Green,
American Federation of Labor,
Care Mr. Liu Hauantui,
224 Sullivan Street, New York.

On behalf of the Chinese organized workers I extend here my most sincere greetings and all best wishes to annual convention of American Federation of Labor on twentieth November. The Chinese workers believe firmly that your success and achievement will be the bulwark of a worldly free democratic labor movement and will also influence a better world and a durable peace.

Chu Hauehfan,
President C. A. L.,
Chungking.

RESOLUTIONS

SECRETARY-TREASURER MEANY: I wish to announce the receipt of the following resolutions from the Metal Trades Department: Prisoners of War, Proposed Treaty with Mexico, Purchasing Power, Opposing Job Evaluation System, Labor-Management Cooperation, Maintenance of the American Merchant Marine, Consolidation of Department of Labor, "No-Strike" Pledge, Labor Representation at Peace Conference, Maintenance of a High Wage, Immigration, Unemployment Compensation, Compensation for Dislocated Workers.

From the Union Labor Trades Department: Proposed Industrial Feeding, Unfair Labor Policy of Colonial Press, Clinton, Massachusetts.

The above resolutions have been received within the time limit specified in the Constitution and therefore do not require unanimous consent. They are as follows:

Prisoners of War

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, One of the Service Commands of the United States Army has issued a general order on the subject, "Use of Prisoners of War"; and

WHEREAS, This general order provides that prisoners of war shall be used as follows:

"REPAIRS AND UTILITIES OCCUPATIONS PRISONERS OF WAR LABOR

"ADMINISTRATIVE:

General Clerk
Draftsmen
Stock Clerk
Timekeeper

"FIRE PROTECTION:

Clearing of grass and weeds from around buildings; making forest fire-breaks; construction of access roadway, culverts, bridges, water suction points, etc., as aids in crash fire fighting; construction of training aids for fire fighters.

"HEATING SERVICE:

Coal handling—storage and delivery.

"JANITOR SERVICE:

("Includes care of administration building, office, classrooms, chapels, etc.)

"MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR:

Bricklayers
Carpentry
Electrical
Masonry
Painting
Plastering
Plumbing
Roofing
Dismantling and Salvage

"GROUND:

Cleaning of Swimming Pools
Clearing Underbrush
Drainage Ditches
Dust and Erosion Control
Mowing Grass
Road Shoulders
Tree Removal
Maintenance of grass runways, landing fields adjacent to paved runways, lawns, bridle paths, post cemeteries (including opening and closing of graves), embankments, parade grounds, parkways, retaining walls, rip-rap, sodding, planting, etc.

"ROAD, RUNWAYS AND PARKING AREAS:

"SHOP HELPERS AND MAINTENANCE:

Carpenter
Electrical
Plumbing
Sheet Metal

"MISCELLANEOUS:

Bulldozer Operator
Car Washing
Cleaning of Utility Plants
Garbage Collection
Lumber Sorting
Maintenance and Repair of Tolls, Plants and Equipment
Quarrying
Sludge Removal
Tractor Operator
Training Aid
Truck Drive
Miscellaneous Maintenance

"Recreational facilities, flagpole, directional signs, rails, road traffic, signals, fences, guard towers, prisoner stockades, flood gates, greasing and washing racks, water storage facilities (elevated or underground), etc.," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that such use of war prisoners, if not in violation of international treaties, is definitely an imposition upon the civilian taxpayers, both workers and employers of the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to lodge a vigorous protest with the Secretary of War, and if necessary with the President of the United States and Congress, against the practices contemplated by the above quoted general order, and insist that the same be withdrawn so that injury will not be imposed upon the civilian workers and employers of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposed Treaty With Mexico

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is pending before the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate a treaty between the United States and the Republic of Mexico, relating to the waters of the Rio Grande, the Colorado River and the Tijuana River; and

WHEREAS, Said treaty authorizes an international boundary and water commission, and the American section thereof, without adequate congressional controls, to plan and construct vast works on the main stream and on all tributaries of said rivers, and to control all labor on such construction work, and expressly permits the free passage of labor into the United States for use upon such works "without any immigration restrictions, passports or labor requirements," and further expressly permits the free passage into the United States of "materials, implements, equipment and repair parts" fabricated by foreign labor for the construction, operation and maintenance of such work; and

WHEREAS, Under the method of performing such work authorized and permitted by the said treaty, low-cost Mexican labor may be used upon any job done in the United States along the International border, to the exclusion of American labor; and

WHEREAS, The pending treaty guarantees a minimum of 1,500,000 acre feet of water per year to Mexico from the Colorado River, which guaranteed minimum exceeds by 750,000 acre feet per year the quantity of water which Mexico could use from the unregulated river, and such additional water is available for use solely by reason of the expenditure of American money and the use of American labor on American soil in the construction of the Boulder Project, and

such guarantee of water to Mexico would deprive the southwestern part of the United States of water required for its growth and expansion, both industrially and agriculturally, and would curtail the opportunities of American labor in such development; and

WHEREAS, The application of such water to agricultural use in Mexico, where cheap labor is available, would enable Mexican farmers to undersell American farmers using American labor, and would tend to reduce American standards of living; and

WHEREAS, The United States has entered into solemn contracts for the use of all of the waters of the Colorado River stored by the Boulder Project, in consideration of which public and private organizations within the United States have agreed to repay to the United States the entire cost of such Boulder Project, and have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in the construction of works to utilize such water, and such contracts cannot be fully performed by the United States in the event of ratification of the pending treaty, and breach of such contracts on the part of the United States would be contrary to American principles and sound business practice and would deprive American agencies of water supplies upon which they have relied, and which have been made available to their expense; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor vigorously protest the ratification of this said treaty.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Maintaining Purchasing Power

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The maintenance of adequate purchasing power is one of the factors essential to post-war full employment, the lowering of taxes, the paying off of the national debt, and the safeguarding of existing savings and other equities; and

WHEREAS, When the war ends, in whole or in part, hours of labor are due to ultimately revert to the forty-hour week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself in approval of a wage policy being established for increases in the hourly wage to make up for the loss in total earnings due to the shortening of the hours of labor, so that weekly earnings under current wage schedules will be maintained and where necessary improved.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Job Evaluation System

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, ASF (Army Service Forces) of the War Department has established at the arsenals and certain other War Department industrial establishments, a job evaluation and wage system which, from the point of view of the shop crafts, is extremely unsatisfactory and unjust, and

WHEREAS, The job evaluation part of this system has the effect of breaking up the work of the skilled trades into specialized operations and violates long standing trade traditions, and

WHEREAS, A schedule of Wages has been established consisting of five rates of pay for each classification called grades, with these grades overlapping and arranged systematically from the bottom to the top, similar to the schedule of pay under the Classification Act of 1923 as amended, in accordance with the relative skill of the employees as determined by the management, and

WHEREAS, This system of analyzing jobs and setting wages has resulted in unfairness, favoritism, intense resentment on the part of the workmen, and is unsatisfactory to many of the managements of the arsenals, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself as unalterably opposed to this job evaluation and wage system, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor do everything in their power to have the system discontinued by the War Department.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor-Management Cooperation

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The satisfactory development of free enterprise in the industrial world depends upon the attitude of management and labor toward the problem and their willingness to cooperate, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor declare that the peace-time problem growing out of the reconversion period can only be successfully solved through the willingness and wholesome cooperation between the trade union movement and the leaders in the industrial world, and that this convention call upon the leaders of industry to confer with the leaders of our American trade union movement so that the greatest possible degree of understanding and cooperation can be established.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Maintenance of the American Merchant Marine

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Merchant Marine has always played a definite part in the na-

tion's economic and industrial welfare, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor declare, without qualification, that it is the duty of the American workers and manufacturers, and American shippers, in protecting the future safety of our Republic, to build and maintain an American owned and operated Merchant Marine sufficient in size to insure that all foreign commerce, including our export and import, shall be carried under the flag of the United States, and that we further declare, should it become necessary, that our Merchant Marine must be maintained even if it becomes necessary to extend Federal financial assistance, so that all ships of the Merchant Marine shall be built in American shipyards under American standards, and be operated by American workmen.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Consolidation of Department of Labor

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor was created through the activities of the American Federation of Labor so that all labor in the United States would have a department to which labor could go for information and assistance, and

WHEREAS, Instead of being strengthened in the passage of time many of its bureaus were transferred to other Federal agencies, and

WHEREAS, During the reconversion period it is more than ever necessary that there should be but one department dealing with the direct interests of labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that it has become imperative that the various conflicting labor controls which are now vested in numerous Federal agencies in Washington be consolidated in the Department of Labor, so that all labor problems can come under one central Federal agency as was contemplated when the Department of Labor was established, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the President of the United States and the Congress to effectuate this consolidation at the earliest possible moment so that the existing confusion of authority and conflict of opinion between Federal agencies having to do with labor can be promptly eliminated.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

"No-Strike" Pledge

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We believe in the reaffirmation of wartime pledges, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 64th annual convention

of the American Federation of Labor that we hereby reaffirm our determination to fulfill our pledges to the Government and to the people of the United States, and the members of our armed forces, that we will give every possible assistance in prosecuting the present war to a victorious conclusion. That we renew our "no-strike" pledge, and reaffirm our determination to continue assisting in financing the war, and as soldiers in the army of production give full service in the production of the implements of war. But that we also insist upon the Government and upon industry, to respect our rights, preserve our agreements, and apply them in good faith, and that our "no-strike" pledge must not be used as a subterfuge to deprive us of long established rights and privileges.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Representation at Peace Conference

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor will be vitally affected by the international peace treaties to be negotiated when war ends, and

WHEREAS, Labor can only be adequately represented by men chosen from its ranks, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention respectfully and firmly request the President of the United States to afford labor adequate representation in the delegation selected to negotiate the peace, and that such labor representatives be present at all subsequent treaty negotiations in which labor's interests are directly or indirectly involved.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Maintenance of a High Wage

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There must be a helpful balance between production and consumption if a sound national economic balance is to be maintained, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor declare its conviction that in order to avoid ultimate national insolvency or bankruptcy, that the total national income must be maintained at the highest possible level, so that necessary taxes may be raised to finance the Government's activities and largely retire its funded debt. The national income cannot be maintained or raised if there is a reduction in the total volume of wages; we therefore must insist on no reduction in wages in the post-war era, for wages constitute the livelihood of industry and commerce.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Immigration

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The question of immigration after the war definitely involves the internal national problem of unemployment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor declare its considered opinion to be that while the people of the United States must do all in their power to assist the unemployed and the destitute in other countries through loans, food, clothing, supplies and the implements of peace-time production, we are nevertheless unalterably and actively opposed to the lowering of our immigration standards which would permit an influx of the impoverished people to our country. Our most pressing problem when peace comes will be to find full employment for our citizens, and when this has been established we can then, but not until then, give consideration to the lowering of our immigration barriers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Unemployment Compensation

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized labor has officially voiced its approval of the Kilgore-Truman-Murray Bill, S. 2061 which, if enacted, would have among other things extended reasonably satisfactory unemployment compensation federally administered to employees of private industry and the Federal Government, who will be separated from their jobs in private industry or the Federal service, as the case may be, following the cessation of hostilities in whole or in part, particularly during the reconversion period, and

WHEREAS, The second session of the 78th Congress saw fit to enact the so-called "States Rights" George Bill S. 2051, which leaves the responsibility of providing unemployment compensation to the several states, many of which are either unable or unwilling to provide adequate unemployment compensation, and eliminates Federal employees from even these uncertain and meager benefits, and

WHEREAS, The Kilgore-Truman-Murray Bill, S. 2061, is still on the Senate calendar and can be revived and enacted if Congress chooses to do so, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the objective and the principles contained in the Kilgore-Truman-Murray Bill, S. 2061, and direct its officers and legislative committee to make every effort to secure the enactment of this legislation with such amendment as may seem necessary after mature deliberation, including an amendment which would assure the presence of representatives of organized labor on the administration authorities set up under the Bill. Should it prove impossible to secure the amendment which seems advisable

and the enactment of the measure during the remaining days of the present Congress, then to renew the effort in the next session of Congress to have the measure enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Compensation for Dislocated Workers

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Millions of American workers employed in war-time industry were compelled to leave their homes, and

WHEREAS, With the end of war-time contracts these same workers must return to the communities from which they came, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That to prevent workers from suffering losses due to unemployment and transportation to their home, they should not under any circumstances become public charges but should be compensated in a reasonable amount until they have been relocated and an opportunity given to them to resume their peace-time vocation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposed Industrial Feeding

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The health and welfare of America's working people is a primary concern of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The maintenance and improvement of health is dependent in a large measure on food eaten and workers generally are unaware of the importance of proper diet, and provision of complete nutritionally balanced meals while on the job has proved feasible for workers in manufacturing and other industries, and

WHEREAS, Proper eating tends to reduce industrial accident rates, and adequate industrial food services tend to improve labor-management relationship, and

Whereas, The increased consumption of food on the job will benefit the farmers of America during the post-war period when they will produce larger quantities of food than can readily be marketed in America, and

WHEREAS, Better health of workers, better labor-management relationships and expanded agricultural markets will contribute to a sound post-war economy and a healthy prosperous America, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in full support of a continuing Federal program to improve and expand industrial food services in order to provide adequate low cost meals for all workers in plants and industries where on-the-job feeding is necessary and feasible, and to inform workers and their families of the es-

sentials and importance of good diet, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention approve the establishment of a National A. F. of L. Health Committee, or designate some existing body, to cooperate with Federal and other agencies on nutrition and other health programs and to direct appropriate activities within the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated unions be urged to encourage their locals to actively cooperate in the program directly, and on the job through the medium of labor-management and union food committees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Unfair Labor Policy of Colonial Press, Clinton, Mass.

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Colonial Press, Clinton, Massachusetts, operates a non-union printing establishment. The management has steadfastly declined to accept the services of the Massachusetts State Conciliation Service and has openly defied orders of the National Labor Relations Board, and

WHEREAS, Recently, Marshall Field of Chicago, and Simon & Shuster of New York, both firms regarded as friendly and sympathetic to organized labor, are reported to have purchased a company known as Pocketbooks, Inc., said corporate body contracts its work out to the non-union Colonial Press, and

WHEREAS, Marshall Field of Chicago, and Simon & Shuster of New York, through the firm of Pocketbooks, Inc., are now beginning a vast expansion of the printing of pocket size books, known as "Pocketbooks," and

WHEREAS, The continued production of printed matter in the Colonial Press by Marshall Field and Simon & Shuster, or the Company controlled by these firms, namely, Pocketbooks, Inc., places these concerns in a most unfriendly position to organized labor, and

WHEREAS, We believe that the fair labor records of Marshall Field and Simon & Shuster warrant their being given an opportunity to have their work, or that of Pocketbooks, Inc., placed with a printing plant known to be fair to all printing trades unions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor notify Marshall Field, Simon & Shuster and Pocketbooks, Inc., that unless these firms discontinue all business relationship with the Colonial Press within 90 days of the adjournment of the American Federation of Labor convention, provided that in the meantime the officers of the printing trades unions have not reported a satisfactory adjustment of the existing controversy to the officers of the Union Label Trades Department, that these firms be declared unfair and placed on the "We do not Patronize" list, be it further

RESOLVED, That if a satisfactory collective bargaining agreement is not made effective by the Colonial Press within 90 days after the adjournment of the American Federation of Labor convention, that the officials of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to notify all of the affiliated national and international unions, state federation of labor, city central bodies and local unions of the anti-union policy of the Colonial Press and likewise the firms supporting the Colonial Press—Marshall Field of Chicago, Simon & Shuster of New York and Pocketbooks, Inc.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

RESOLUTIONS RECEIVED AFTER EXPIRATION OF TIME LIMIT

SECRETARY MEANY: The following resolutions have been received after the expiration of the time limit, but the committee of the Executive Council recommends unanimous consent for the introduction of these resolutions as follows:

To Provide U. S. Civil Service Commission Authority to Upgrade Salaries to Correspond With Private Industry

Resolution No. 141—By Delegate Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has long prided itself on the fact that it has seriously undertaken to recognize the value of the American workman and see to it that he receives a compensation adequate to his needs and for the task at which he labors, and

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Commission is now authorized by the Classification Act of 1932 to subdivide grades by classes according to kind of work, but is not authorized to subdivide grade salary ranges, when necessary, to correspond to subdivision by classes, and

WHEREAS, Good administration would make it desirable that an entrance rate be established for a particular class that is equal to one of the intermediate rate of the grade, also, it would be desirable to fix a minimum for a given class below the maximum rate for the grade in which that class is allocated, and

WHEREAS, Senate Bill S. 2060 has been introduced, referred to the Senate Committee on Civil Service and been endorsed by the Civil Service Commission and Bureau of the Budget, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, does endorse Senate Bill S. 2060 and instruct their legislative committee to work for its enactment into a law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Government Interference With Collective Bargaining

Resolution No. 142—By Delegates F. J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union.

WHEREAS, Certain officers and officials of the Army, Navy and other Government agencies such as the Defense Plant Corporation, the Defense Homes Corporation, etc., interfered with and restricted or tried to restrict the collective bargaining between the I. F. T. E. A. & D. U. or its locals and the contractors or employers holding Government contracts or orders, and

WHEREAS, Evidence of this fact has been demonstrated in cases such as the Sunflow Ordnance job (Local 30, Kansas City); the Austin Co., Chicago Aircraft Assembly Plant construction (Local 90-A, Chicago, Ill.); Knoxville, Tenn., job of Stone & Webster (Local 53); Floyd Bennett Airport construction (Local 66, New York City); Camp Kilmer construction (Local 66-B, New Jersey); construction job at Pasco, Washington, (Local 17); Farlington Housing Project (Local 28, Alexandria, Virginia); Nicaro Nickel Co., (Local 66, New York City) etc., and

WHEREAS, This official interference has resulted in prolonged negotiations, extended correspondence and endless conferences which have been discouraging to union members and creating a feeling of distrust for our Government officials, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council to take such legal, legislative or administrative action as they deem necessary to protect the rights of the membership of this and other International Unions in the matter of collective bargaining negotiations and the right of representation before Governmental agencies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Post-War Plan for City, County And State Employees

Resolution No. 143—By Delegates Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, John P. Redmond, Vincent J. Kane, International Association of Fire Fighters; Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, H. Z. Collier, Elling Munkeby, Rod-

erick MacDonald, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

WHEREAS, In anticipation of establishing greater equity in the conditions of employment of those engaged by city, county, state, provincial or other employe groups with those employed in U. S. Federal service, and

WHEREAS, The granting of adequate leaves of absence from work will tend to assure employes of needed vacations, permitting time and means for extended travel which helps create a more homogeneous nation, and

WHEREAS, A 26-day vacation period would increase employment both directly and indirectly, and

WHEREAS, Steps should be taken now, and not after the war, to provide for the meeting of such a post-war problem as that presented by the necessity of spreading employment, and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Government has already granted to the majority of its employes leaves of absence totaling 26 days per year, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record as favoring and adopting as part of post-war planning the establishing for all employes, whether in federal, state, county, municipal, provincial or other governmental or private services, an annual leave with pay of not less than 26 working days, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all state federations and central labor councils be asked to inform each of their affiliates of this action with the recommendation that they present such leaves of absence provisions in negotiations of contracts and inclusion therein and work for the adoption of the 26-day vacation principle by municipal, county and state governments.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Maintenance of High Wage

Resolution No. 144—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The Executive Order on wage stabilization reads in part as follows: "No increases in wages, rates granted as a result of voluntary agreement, collective bargaining, conciliation, arbitration, or otherwise, and no decreases in wage rates shall be authorized unless notice of such increases or decreases shall have been filed with the National War Labor Board and unless the National War Labor Board has approved such increases or decreases," and

WHEREAS, Labor cannot receive wage increases without the approval of the War Labor Board, and

WHEREAS, Employers have, in many instances, reduced wages without such War Labor Board approval, and

WHEREAS, Wage cutting is detrimental to the morale of the workers and uninterrupted war production as well as being detrimental to industrial peace when hostilities cease and war orders are cancelled, and

WHEREAS, The National War Labor Board has no established policy for controlling such

wage stabilization violations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand that the National War Labor Board immediately adopt and publish a policy or regulation whereby employers cannot reduce wages or rates of pay unless such wage or rate reductions are mutually agreed upon by the union and the company through collective bargaining or by an order of the NWLB, after the facts have been established by the utilization of the same machinery and procedure that are now being used in dispute cases, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event that the National War Labor Board refuses to adopt such a policy the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall be authorized and instructed to refer the matter to the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Racial Discrimination

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianta, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly condemned discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin, and

WHEREAS, There are disturbing manifestations and tendencies in our nation that indicate that organized activities toward discrimination against peoples because of race, color, religion or national origin, and particularly toward anti-semitism are gaining a headway, and

WHEREAS, Such tendencies are definitely of Nazi technique, and if permitted to go unchecked, will endanger the internal unity of our nation, for the world has learned at heavy cost that organized anti-semitism is, in reality, Fascism's secret weapon and the beginning of the establishment of dictatorial control, and

WHEREAS, We have witnessed only too well the consequences of persecution of the Jewish people and its extension to the persecution of Catholics, Protestants, and to all minority groups as well as to native-born leaders with democratic ideals and principles, and

WHEREAS, We also know from the sorry experiences of our fellow trade unionists overseas that if the poison of race hatred and discrimination continues, it ultimately becomes an opening wedge toward the destruction of the ranks of organized labor itself, and

WHEREAS, It is most imperative that we be on guard against not only any disquieting influence that would seriously hamper the war effort so that speedy victory may be realized, but also the establishment of these vicious, undemocratic forces in the post-war era under the guise of false patriotism and so-called "protection" for Americans, which would tend to tear down the gains heretofore made by the labor movement through a disruption in its ranks, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the American Federation of Labor re-affirms its past position as a patriotic force in the life of our country and condemns any persecution of mankind in any form whatever and forewarns all

Americans to be on guard against individual or collective groups that would breed disruption, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call for the enactment of federal legislation as a war-time measure and as a post-war measure, which will make organized discrimination, such as anti-semitism, a criminal offense, punishable by imprisonment. We believe that such a law is essential for the preservation of our great democratic principles and for the protection of our Americans, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin, and for the ultimate protection of the trades union movement itself, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded by the Secretary to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate of the United States, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to the Majority and Minority Leaders of the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Veterans' Rights in Defense Housing

Resolution No. 146—By the Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, California.

WHEREAS, The housing situation is still acute and occupancy of Defense Housing is now limited to war workers, and

WHEREAS, The families and dependents of the men and women now serving in our armed forces, or the families and dependents of men and women who have died in combat or from sickness or wounds received while defending the homes of these same war workers, are not considered on equal terms with war workers insofar as being allowed to rent or buy into Defense Housing, and

WHEREAS, Veterans who are unable to secure a job in war plants, by reason of disability, cannot qualify for a "V" card admitting them to the same status as war workers with regard to renting or buying into Defense Housing, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor Veterans' Employment and Rehabilitation Service Overall Committee believes that the families and dependents of the men and women who are now risking their lives for us and the disabled veterans should be afforded the same privileges as war workers, and

WHEREAS, These facts should be brought to the attention of the proper authorities, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor direct the attention of the proper authorities to the facts surrounding the situation and request that dependents of men and women now serving in the armed forces, and veterans with dependents, even if receiving compensation for disability and/or education at government expense, or any other recompense for his services as is now or will be in the future made into law, be granted equal rights to Defense Housing as war workers.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I wish to submit a supplemental report of the Executive Council under the title, "War Production Board."

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL War Production Board

The general activities and functions of the War Production Board have been directed by three main influences. First, the nature of the job of the War Production Board has changed from one of concern over the whole war production program to a problem of selective concern over a few lagging and highly critical programs. Such procurement programs as textiles, heavy trucks, rubber tires, forge and foundry have been the major concern of the WPB. The largest part of war production schedules have been successfully met. With a few exceptions the causes for the lagging war production programs can be traced to the problem of low wages.

Secondly, a sizeable cutback problem has developed as the result of changing military requirements. Flexibility in military production schedules is an essential element in modern warfare. The labor offices in WPB, the Office of Labor Production and Office of Manpower Requirements, recognized and accepted the inevitability of cutbacks. What the labor offices did not reconcile themselves to was that cutbacks had to be made without adequate notification to labor or without appropriate planning for the conversion of facilities and the orderly transfer of workers.

On May 25, 1944, the War Production Board set up the Production Executive Committee Staff to review necessary changes in production schedules. It is composed of representatives from the War Department, Navy Department, and Maritime Commission as well as members from the Smaller War Plants Corporation, the War Manpower Commission, and the War Production Board. The Byrnes' Directive of June 5, 1944, instructed the Staff to (1) establish uniform policies for the cancellation of contracts; (2) give "reasonable" notice of cutbacks to labor and management and (3) clear all cutbacks prior to their being put into effect.

The Staff reviews in detail each cutback of a prime contract involving a reduction of \$1 million or more in the value of shipments in the current month or in any one of the six succeeding months. In addition the PEC Staff is notified of each change in any single contract which reduces the value of items to be delivered during the current month and succeeding three months by \$200,000 or more. Most frequently Military necessity, convertibility, and type of ownership—i.e., whether publicly or privately owned—also serve as criteria. By far the most troublesome problem encountered in the handling of current cutbacks is the determination of the impact of a given cutback upon subcontractors.

The long range planning of the PEC Staff is largely concerned with the incidence of VE-Day cutbacks. Full employment during the period between VE-Day and VJ-Day (Victory in Japan) will be attained not only by a proper distribution of military contracts but also by a resumption of civilian production. In this regard, the PEC Staff has pre-

pared for the use of the procurement agencies in planning cutbacks a list of plants showing those which the WPB regards important in the resumption of civilian production.

The third main influence which has affected WPB activity has been the realization that the end of the European phase of the war is in sight.

The War Production Board plans to remove practically all controls over manpower and production. WPB Committees have drawn up detailed plans setting forth the particular orders which will be revoked after VE-Day.

In addition the War Production Board has issued the following reconversion orders:

Priorities Regulation 23 permitted the manufacture of experimental models under certain restrictions. Priorities Regulation 24 permitted the placing of advance purchase orders for machine tools, manufacturing machinery and similar equipment by companies who decided to resume or expand civilian production. Priorities Regulation 25 provided a method by which manufacturers could obtain materials and produce articles which were otherwise restricted, and although restricted could be made available in limited quantities. This latter regulation has come to be known as the "spot authorization order" and in terms of its effect on the production of goods has been the most important.

In all of these orders it was specifically noted that production could not be undertaken if it interfered with the maintenance of military procurement schedules.

There have been changes in the high administrative offices of WPB: both Chairman Donald M. Nelson and Executive Vice-Chairman C. E. Wilson have resigned and J. A. Krug was made Chairman of the WPB.

The Office of Labor Production

The 1943 Executive Council Report indicated in some detail the structure and functioning of the Office of Labor Production in the WPB which is headed by a Vice Chairman from the ranks of labor, namely Joseph D. Keenan.

The major units in the Office of Labor Production are Plant Productivity Division, Plant and Community Facilities Service, Division of Shipbuilding Stabilization and the Division of Industrial Relations.

Plant Productivity Division

The work of this Division is divided into two overlapping periods. When the OLP was first established, the Division assumed responsibility for working out the labor production problems arising in the various Industry Divisions of the Board, either independently or through other parts of the two labor offices, as appropriate. The Plant Productivity staff were assigned to different Industry Divisions to perform these operating functions, illustrated as follows:

1. Consultation with labor unions on changes in the basic orders and regulations of the Industry Division, in order to anticipate for the Division the effects upon labor and production and in order to secure labor advice in the administration of the order.

2. Plant investigations wherever production is lagging because of labor diffi-

culties, followed by efforts to solve the difficulty directly or to secure action on the part of other Divisions in the labor offices or other agencies involved in the problem.

3. Preparation of wage cases for presentation to the War Labor Board on behalf of companies whose production is of critical importance to the war effort.

4. Handling of problems which involve more than one Industry Division.

At the same time that the Division was doing the operating job in the Industry Divisions, it was securing the appointment of men from the labor unions to labor assistant positions. The objective was to turn over to these men the daily operating responsibilities, leaving the Plant Productivity Division with a reviewing and coordinating responsibility. The majority of Divisions have labor men on their own staffs to engage directly in both labor production and manpower work.

The labor offices in WPB have been active in promoting the organization of Labor Advisory Committees. After considerable discussion within the WPB, General Administrative Order 2-160 legalized the position of the labor advisory committees within WPB. In all, 18 labor advisory committees have been established and it is proposed to establish 20 additional committees.

The functions of the Labor Advisory Committees stem from the problems which confront the WPB. Depending on the nature of the industry one group of advisory committees seeks to advise the WPB on meeting labor problems in critical military production programs. The other group deals with the problems affecting cutbacks and reconversion which their industries face. The appointment of labor assistants has changed the emphasis of the Division's work. The Division is now more a reviewing and coordinating staff than an operating staff. The Division also performs a number of technical services for the labor assistants.

Labor Assistants to ten industry divisions recruited on the recommendations of the appropriate unions have been appointed from the ranks of A. F. of L. Unions. The ten industry divisions which have such labor assistants are as follows: Building Materials, Chemicals, Containers, General Industrial Equipment, Paper, Plumbing and Heating, Power, Printing and Publishing, Tools and Lumber.

Plant and Community Facilities Service

The Plant and Community Facilities Service concerns itself with plant and community problems affecting the ability of war workers to make their maximum contribution to the war effort.

The Service is divided into four sections: the Industrial Health and Safety Section, the Industrial Feeding Section, the Community Services Section, and the Office of Women Consultants.

The Industrial Health and Safety Section has an overall objective of reducing the manpower loss resulting from accidents and unhealthy conditions in war plants. The Industrial Feeding Section has for its objective, the installation of restaurant facilities in plants where they are needed, and the improvement of existing facilities which are

below standard. The Community Services Section deals with community problems affecting workers adversely, and particularly those which are of concern to unions, such as housing and related needs. The Office of Women Consultants Unit was established to give particular attention to the problems of the many women who have entered American war industries. This office brings together the various agencies concerned with child-care, resulting in the establishment of a number of child-care centers.

The women attached to this office have also worked on many problems of general interest to women, such as adequate locker and restroom facilities, dormitories, work clothes and others.

In all of these activities the Service works closely with the various technical services throughout the government affecting its work, such as, Department of Labor, U. S. Office of Education and the War Food Administration. In addition the Service advises the procurement agencies on particular problems in its sphere of activities.

Division of Shipbuilding Stabilization

Zone standards set by the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee are now applicable to yards employing more than 90 per cent of the nation's shipyard workers. During the year covered by this report, the zone standards were applied to 33 additional yards, making a total of 221 which these standards now cover.

The line of demarcation between the Shipbuilding Commission of the National War Labor Board and the Stabilization Committee has now been more clearly defined and it has been agreed between the chairmen of the two respective organizations that the Commission would be guided by the Interpretative Rulings of the Committee.

A number of sessions of the respective zone conferences were held. Four separate sessions of the Public Zone Conference (A. F. of L.) and one week conference each were held for the Great Lakes Zone and the Gulf Zone.

Office of Manpower Requirements.

The Office of Manpower Requirements performs its functions of critical products work, aid to labor assistants, and organization of labor advisory committees jointly with the OLP. Tasks in connection with reconversion have to some extent been divided, with the OLP concentrating on problems of current cutbacks and the OMR, on the long range studies of ways to handle readjustment problems that will follow VE-Day. In addition, the OMR has had the technical job of assuring effective coordination between manpower supply-requirements conditions and WPB policies for controlling war and essential civilian production.

The OMR has throughout served as WPB liaison to the WMC. The office represents the WPB on the WMC's National Manpower Priority Committee, which gives clearances for interregional recruitment. It represents the WPB on the Essential Activities Committee, which is charged by Selective Service with the responsibility of drawing up lists of essential activities and critical occupations for the guidance of local draft boards in deciding questions of deferment;

and it advises Industry Divisions of the WPB on Selective Service policy and, where possible, helps them obtain deferments for men needed in plants under their jurisdiction.

Industrial Relations Division

The Industrial Relations Division is composed of an Operations Branch and a Labor Relations Branch.

Field Staff

Labor relations representatives are stationed in every regional office and in many important districts offices of the War Production Board. Their major responsibilities are (1) to serve as a central point of information and assistance to the unions in their areas (2) to advise the regional director of the WPB on war production matters which concern labor.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I am pleased to present to you one who is held in high esteem and high regard by the delegates who attend conventions of the American Federation of Labor. I refer to Secretary Frank Duffy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. He has attended forty-two annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor in consecutive order. This makes the forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor he has attended. For years he has read the abbreviated report of the Executive Council to the officers and delegates who attend the convention. He will discharge his duty this morning by reading the convention report.

Now I present to you a man whom we all love and hold in high regard to read to you the summary of the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor—our good friend and delegate, Frank Duffy.

SUMMARY OF REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

In the opening section of its annual report, your Executive Council directs attention to the fact that while continuing in our efforts to give full support to the war effort of our government and her allies we are not unmindful of the fact that we must face the far-reaching problems of peace in a relatively short while. Concern is expressed that released production and manpower facilities which are already experiencing cutbacks from peak war production needs, shall immediately be used for production of civilian articles in which there are critical shortages. We are in effect facing problems of reconversion from war-time to peace-time levels even before our military difficulties are realized. Great concern is felt by your Executive Council that unless broad and effective plans are made at once to provide the machinery for guiding the principles of reconversion we shall not be able to initiate an orderly recovery that will lead into full employment and our resources will be utilized in dealing with large-scale unemployment. In addition attention is called to the fact that we must exert all our energies to prevent peace terms and conditions which

will create controversies that may lead to another war hence we must establish international agencies which will assume responsibility for finding solutions and working out procedures for problems and relationships involving both conflicting and mutual interests. The workers of America must seek most earnestly to prevent our again being involved in war and we dedicate ourselves to sustained efforts to obtain adequate machinery for dealing with problems that result in wars. We have a double responsibility—as citizens and as workers—for developing constructive relationships and agencies in the post-war period. In view of these important facts, your Executive Council urges that special care and deliberation be accorded their report of the past year's activities and in formulating plans for the months ahead.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report

Secretary-Treasurer Meany has presented a most comprehensive and encouraging report of the financial condition of our organization. At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$2,049,690.97. In his accounting for the past year we find that receipts exceeded expenses by \$369,614.59. Of the amount expended, \$1,534,315.23 was accounted for by organizing expenses and assistance to our affiliates.

During the 12-month period ending August 31, 1944, there were 244 charters issued to state, central bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

The total paid-up membership of the American Federation of Labor at the close of the fiscal year was 6,806,913. The membership trends during the history of our movement are graphically set out in a chart which is a part of your Council's report.

Gompers Memorial Fund

Under this caption there is an accounting of funds contributed for the Gompers Memorial Fund together with amounts expended up to the close of the fiscal year.

Report of Trustees of A. F. of L. Building

The trustees of the A. F. of L. Building present their annual report showing amounts received and expended. It is noted that there was a balance on hand at the close of the fiscal year amounting to \$28,543.51.

Organizing Activities

The wide range of services rendered by the organizing staff of the American Federation of Labor is indicated in the report of your Executive Council under this caption. In addition to rendering assistance to the directly affiliated locals of the Federa-

tion, our organizers are instructed and required to assist the representatives of national and international unions in organizing the unorganized, assisting in the negotiation of contracts and in the settlement of controversies which may arise. Assistance is rendered also in organizing drives conducted by many of our affiliated national and international unions. Much valuable assistance has also been rendered by our organizers in creating a more favorable public opinion through participation in civic affairs, talks to business men's clubs, before church organizations, community forums, etc.

A report is also included in this section of the report covering the National Councils of the Federation.

Tribute is paid to central bodies for their valuable cooperation in carrying forward organizing campaigns.

There is also submitted information of value on new Federal labor unions organized during the year, as well as showing yearly membership of all Federal labor unions during the past eight years.

New International Unions Chartered

Your Executive Council authorized the issuance of two new international charters during the past year—the International Chemical Workers' Union, and the Office Employees' International Union. The first of these new international unions has already received a charter and the charter of the Office Employees will be issued as soon as conferences can be held and final arrangements are completed.

Peace Negotiations With the C.I.O.

No meetings have been held since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor between the committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. for the purpose of discussing the question of labor unity and the establishment of labor solidarity on a nation-wide basis. The committee representing the American Federation of Labor has stood ready to meet with the C.I.O. committee, but there has been no indication of willingness to meet and confer shown by the committee representing the C.I.O. Meanwhile, discord, division and disunity prevail within the ranks of labor. Your Council expresses grave apprehension as to the results of such disunity among the workers of our country should the post-war period find us still disunited and it is only reasonable to assume that we will be forced to face a severe test when the war is over. The enemies of labor will not be slow to seize on the weakness of a movement divided when the war is over and reconversion plans are made. Your Council expresses the belief that the leaders of the C.I.O. who are responsible for the division within the ranks of labor should abandon the destructive pol-

icy which they have followed in the years since the formation of the C.I.O. and that they should unite with the representatives of the American Federation of Labor in order to establish unity, cooperation and solidarity within the ranks of labor.

Failure of United Mine Workers To Reaffiliate

In this section of their annual report, your Executive Council relates the several steps which were taken in the past year to effect a reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers with the American Federation of Labor. Every effort was made by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to find a solution to the problems which stood in the way of a mutually satisfactory agreement, but without avail. The president of the United Mine Workers requested a return of the application for reaffiliation which had been filed on behalf of his organization, and his request was complied with immediately, thus ending negotiations which had been carried on between the committee representing the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers.

Reaffiliation of International Typographical Union

The membership of the International Typographical Union by referendum taken on May 17, 1944, decided to again become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. A hearty welcome is extended to this international union and the hope is expressed that nothing will ever again occur to interfere with the friendly and mutually helpful relationship now re-established between the American Federation of Labor and the members of the International Typographical Union.

Change of Title—Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers

The Executive Council complied with the request of the National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers whereby their title was changed to "National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers." In granting permission for this change of title it was distinctly understood that no change in jurisdiction to this organization was extended.

Retirement Plan for A. F. of L. Employees

During the past year your Executive Council continued its study and consideration of a retirement system for employees of the American Federation of Labor. This subject will be given further study and the hope is expressed that some practical and constructive plan may be evolved and approved during the coming year.

Benefit Services of Standard National and International Unions

As has been the practice for a number of years, your Council has included in its report a compilation of benefit services of affiliated nationals and internationals which replied to a questionnaire sent out to secure this information. It is noted that a total of \$18,919,801.19 was reported as paid out in benefits during the past year by those international unions which responded to our questionnaire.

Wages

Under this title your Council has presented a factual and informative study of wage rates in the United States. This section is commended to your special consideration and attention both because of the efforts being put forth to secure an adjustment of our war-time wage policy and in expectation of the post-war period. Attention is called to the fact that full production and full employment are necessary to a stable and prosperous national economy and that a high level of wages is absolutely essential to a realization of such an economy. Your attention is directed to the statement of your Council contained in this section of the report as follows:

"The American Federation of Labor has a definite part to play in the national effort to bring full production and full employment. Our task is to see that wage rates are high enough to provide a good living and furnish the necessary power which alone can make full production possible."

Your attention is also called to the graphic chart showing straight-time wages in American industry as of March, 1944.

Union Research

Union research provides information on facts and conditions which will help the union and its officials to determine policies. The control and policy making functions must be retained by the union and delegated only to elected officers, but the union needs also the advice and counsel of persons who can keep the union and its responsible officials informed as to facts of local employment, unemployment, existing production and potential production, etc. It is also necessary to be fore-warned of production and technological changes that must be met so that when such changes are imminent the union may provide its members with such educational and training opportunities as will best fit them to do the new work or meet the new conditions. Attention is called to the need for extending opportunities for training in the field of union research.

Consumers Cooperatives

The increasing interest of wage earners in consumers cooperatives is noted in the report of your Council. In the years just ahead the American workers will need to build up

their buying power and thus create jobs, to stabilize employment and prevent price profiteering. To this end your Council suggests the creation of a Department of Consumers Cooperation within the Federation so that information on consumer cooperatives can be collected and assistance given especially to central bodies and local unions interested in learning how to set up study clubs and buying clubs and how to manage consumer cooperatives.

Credit Unions

In this section of your Council's report there is presented a thought-provoking report on credit union activity. Your Council welcomes the growth in this service to union members and urges affiliated organizations to assist in the formation of credit unions to serve their membership. Such credit union organizations, however, should be undertaken only with the advice and guidance of the proper representatives from the government or from the Credit Union National Association.

Social Insurance

Since the preponderant number of our citizens depend upon current earned income in the form of wages and salaries to meet their obligations and to pay the costs of living, whatever interferes with income earning upsets the order of their lives, creates insecurity and hardship. In recognition of this fact the major industrial countries have some form of social insurance available to low income workers. Under the title "Social Insurance" your Council has presented a very interesting survey of social insurance proposals in our country, covering old age insurance, unemployment compensation, and medical care.

The Federation Committee on Social Insurance has been studying the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill as well as the social insurance systems of other countries and proposals to reorganize them. All of these systems are agencies to achieve freedom from want and fear for the most of the people but each must work out the machinery and techniques to conform to their national ideals and habits. The Federation committee is endeavoring to get the best judgment and experience on revisions to our present Social Security Law so as to improve our proposals for permanent legislation.

Fair Labor Standards Act

In this section of its report your Executive Council calls attention to the fact that the maintenance of established minimum wage and overtime standards is essential to the prevention of mass unemployment in the post-war period. It is to be expected that with the appearance of even temporary and local unemployment in areas now dominated by large war-time production powerful pressure will be exerted to reduce the

compensation paid workers employed in civilian production as soon as war production ends. Such reductions in wages mean reduction incomes which alone can support employment after the war.

Your Council calls for utmost vigilance on the part of all organized labor in guarding against any attempt to weaken by amendment or otherwise the firm minimum standards established to date.

Special consideration should also be given in the future to specific measures designed to prevent a reduction in established full-time earnings as a result of the curtailment in the hours of work. The post-war goal in our wage policy must be the greatest attainable stability of the weekly, monthly and annual earnings of wage earners as the most important guarantee of future stability of production and employment.

Labor Standards on Government Contracts

Your attention is directed to the fact that the volume of awards under the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act has increased tremendously under the impact of war production. In the past year over 100,000 contracts valued at \$30 billion have been awarded. Approximately 1,000 new firms a month are receiving public contracts for the first time in addition to those firms receiving further contracts. It is urged that minimum labor standards required by statute be given full application on all Government contracts and that provision be made for permanent posting of such standards in every establishment covered, to make sure that the workers are fully informed of their rights.

National Labor Relations Board

Under this caption your Executive Council submits a very interesting account of the policies and practices of the National Labor Relations Board during the past year. Special mention is made of the difficulties encountered in relations with this board by the Teamsters, Carpenters, United Garment Workers and others.

It is pointed out that now, more than ever, it is imperative that the amendments to the National Labor Relations Act previously proposed by the American Federation of Labor shall be enacted into law.

A history of the amendment to the 1944 Appropriations Act which sought to limit the power of the board to destroy existing contracts, is presented for your information and consideration.

Post-War Housing

In preparing this section of its annual report your Council was fully conscious of the fact that residential construction offers the major generator of maximum employment not only in the building industry but

throughout the industry and trade of the nation. There are presented proposals for post-war housing for guidance in considering this vitally important subject. It is recommended that a continuing program be developed by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor to assist in the establishment of local labor housing committees by our central bodies and to encourage the establishment of housing committees by the affiliated national and international unions.

Taxation

The war has increased the number of persons paying income tax from 4 to 50 millions and the size of payments has risen both because of changes in exemptions and increases in rates. These tax rates make a heavy burden on wage earners and small salaried persons who, in addition pay direct income tax into old-age insurance and have plans for more adequate social insurance in order to provide against dependency. The needs of government will remain high after the war. It is obvious therefore that we must have a permanent federal tax program to reduce our national obligation which can remain in operation with minor changes in the difficult years ahead.

It is most important that tax rates paid by low income families do not deprive them of the essentials of living and that such taxes shall be adjusted so that these families can also make contributions to social insurance. The Tax Committee of the American Federation of Labor is studying proposed post-war tax programs for the purpose of making recommendations.

National Legislation

In the section of your Executive Council's Report under this heading there is presented a very comprehensive report on national legislative matters submitted under their several headings for your information and guidance.

State Anti-Labor Laws

The efforts of the foes of Labor in the several states to enact anti-Labor legislation is presented under this caption. The procedure being followed to limit prosecutions under anti-trust laws and to prevent enactment of other objectionable measures is presented for your information and guidance.

Legal Activities

It is noted that problems affecting the American Federation of Labor which come within the field of legal activities have increased greatly since the beginning of the war. This section of the report presents an accounting of the work of the General Council of the Federation for the past year.

Publicity, Radio and the Labor Press

The volume and variety of attacks against Labor have made it apparent that the publicity and information service of the American Federation of Labor must be extended in order to counteract these onslaughts and to anticipate them by effectively organized informational activities. Your Council has approved plans for broadening and extending the public relations program of the Federation which will enable Labor to take the offensive instead of being forced to remain on the defensive. The Council takes opportunity through this section of its report to express sincere appreciation to the Labor Press of America and pledges full cooperation in the furtherance of every practical step to provide future opportunities for growth and development of the bona fide labor press.

American Federationist

In furtherance of its established policy ever since Pearl Harbor, the major portion of every issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST has been devoted to the world conflict and the tremendously important role which American Labor has played and is playing not only on the production front at home but in the actual fighting overseas. In addition, much space has been given in the past year to post-war aims and proposals of America's workers and their organizations. Your Council recommends that efforts shall be made to increase news stand sales of the official publication of the American Federation of Labor.

Labor's Monthly Survey

This publication makes available to our members continued factual information on such subjects as wages, living costs, increasing productivity, profits of American industry, and interpretations of current happenings which affect them. This service has been helpful in counteracting false anti-Labor propaganda. The Survey is made available without charge to local union officers, and at 50 cents per year to local union members. There is a slightly higher charge to persons not members of the Federation.

North American Labor News

Since January of this year the American Federation of Labor has been publishing a semi-monthly clip-sheet in the Spanish language. This publication has served as an effective instrument to inform the trade union movement in all the countries of Latin America of the work and efforts of the American Federation of Labor in this country. Your Council expresses gratification over the enthusiastic manner in which this publication has been received in all the coun-

tries to which it is sent. The Council recommends that the publication be continued and expresses the hope that further efforts may soon be realized to more fully acquaint the trade union movement of Latin-America with the work of the American Federation of Labor.

Education

Under this title there is presented a comprehensive report on the general subject of education. Hope is expressed that there will be substantial progress, both in the quality of teaching and in the adjustment of the curriculum to life needs. This includes, of course, higher standards for the selection of teachers accompanied necessarily by higher compensation, better school facilities so as to restrict size of classes to numbers facilitating the best instruction and learning.

Vocational Education

Under this caption there is presented a brief but informative report of the wartime programs of the Vocational Division of the U. S. Office of Education—vocational education for war production workers, and war training for food production.

It is noted that a study for the needs for vocational-technical training has been made during the year by a representative committee of Labor, Management and educators. This report has been printed and is available at the U. S. Office of Education. The committee has recommended the further development of vocational-technical courses for wage earners.

Workers Education Bureau of America

Under this title there is presented a report of the year's activities of the Workers Education Bureau. It is noted that the Bureau is now totally dependent upon the trade union movement for support.

Overtime on War Work

This section of the report deals with Executive Order 9240 which had for its purpose the regulation of overtime wage compensation in all work relating to the prosecution of the war. Numerous complaints have been received from unions whose membership is employed in various phases of war production regarding the inequitable operation of this Order and its arbitrary interpretations by the Office of the Secretary of Labor. In view of experience under this Executive Order it is the conclusion of your Council that operation of the Order has served to impede rather than further the prosecution of the war and that it has failed

to serve effectively the purpose for which it was formulated. It is recommended, therefore, that Executive Order 9240 be rescinded at the earliest possible date.

National War Labor Board

This section of the report gives a comprehensive report on the National War Labor Board during the past year. Because of its vital importance to the workers of America this section is commended to your thoughtful consideration.

Manpower and Production Achievements

The magnificent contribution of the working men and women of America in meeting our nation's war needs is set forth briefly in the section of your Council's report under this caption. Our nation has been able to do what no other country has done in the production field. Moreover, that record amounting to \$186,500,000,000 in the year 1943 was achieved after drawing off from the potential manpower for production more than 10 million men.

War Manpower Commission

The structure and functions of the War Manpower Commission are carefully set forth in this section of your Council's report. It is noted that experience throughout the past year has emphasized repeatedly that the manpower programs which are most effective are those which are developed with the full understanding and the maximum participation on the part of representatives of management and labor who serve on the management-labor committees.

It is gratifying to note that throughout the year there has been in the War Manpower Commission an increasing recognition of the positive contribution that the management-labor committees can make toward development of adequate manpower programs through genuine consultation. This represents an important development in government administration and holds great promise as a means toward the solution of the complex post-war employment problems.

Price Control and Rationing

During the past year the American Federation of Labor continued to give its support to the price control and rationing programs administered by the Office of Price Administration. The Labor Policy Committee of the O.P.A. maintains close touch with the Administrator who has lived up to his assurance that the committee would be consulted on all major policy issues concerning the agency. Since many price policy decisions originated with the Director of Economic Stabilization the Labor

Policy Committee on a number of occasions had made representations directly to him.

Price control is of vital importance to the wage earners and those with fixed incomes and efforts of labor representatives to control upward trends in price fixing is noted. Your Council expresses the belief that there is a grave threat of curtailment of real income of workers through price increases. It is recommended that all central bodies form consumer committees to maintain informational services and otherwise aid affiliated unions and their families with their cost of living problems and that all possible advice and counsel be extended to such consumer committees by the American Federation of Labor.

President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice

Under this caption there is submitted for your information and consideration a report of the activities of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee for the past year. The progress which has been made toward meeting the stated objectives of this committee is noted.

War Housing

Experience in the past year has borne out stated apprehensions regarding the insistent need for providing adequate shelter for war workers. It is pointed out that lack of housing accommodations was primarily responsible for difficulty experienced in recruiting needed labor and of retaining such labor supply as could be secured. It is noted with regret that when the balance sheet of America's war production record is completed, provision of war housing for workers will not be on its credit side.

Your Council calls attention to the fact that war-time experience in housing activities of the federal government are intimately related to the success of the nation in meeting accumulated need for housing after the war. Your Council is convinced that labor can make an important contribution to the national housing policy in the days of transition from war to peace. It recommends, therefore, that the Housing Committee of the Federation and our local labor housing committees continue to press for a full measure of effective labor representation on all housing agencies, nationally and in every community.

War Bond Campaign

The American Federation of Labor has continued to cooperate in our nation's war bond campaigns.

It is gratifying to learn that there are now very few members of the American Federation of Labor whose names are not included in the honor list of those participating in our nation's war bond drives and payroll savings plans.

Post-War Planning Committee

The report of your Executive Council under this caption sets forth the year's activity of the Federation's committee charged with evolving post-war policies and plans. There is included in the report a program adopted by the Post-War Forum held in April, 1944, and approved by the Executive Council.

There has been set up under the Post-War Committee of the Federation a Committee on Post-War Wages. We must also be prepared to counsel workers by industries and by areas on fluctuations in employment and unemployment in order that localities and industries may expand or contract plans. The Council feels it imperative that the Post-War Committee undertake this further responsibility and that means shall be provided to this end.

International Labor Organization

The Federation has continued to participate in the I.L.O. during the past year. Since our last convention the outstanding activity of the International Labor Organization was the 26th Session of the International Labor Conference held in April-May, 1944. The agenda for this conference had been determined at a meeting of the Governing Body held in London the previous December. The declaration of the Philadelphia conference is included in its entirety in the report of your Council in addition to a report of the general work of the Organization for the year.

International Federation of Trade Unions

The report of this organization calls attention to the increasing membership of the I.F.T.U. which now numbers more than 16 million members. A brief report of the work of the International Federation of Trade Unions is presented for your consideration.

Relief Activities And Accomplishments

Relief funds which go to every front in Labor's name and in the name of the American people, are by no means the least important or the least significant of the contributions made to the war effort. The section of your Council's report dealing with this phase of our war contribution summarizes what is being done both nationally and internationally. This work has served a two-fold purpose since it not only provides channels for organized relief but it also has brought representatives of Labor into direct and friendly contact with elements in our society to whom organized labor had previously been an almost unknown quantity. The understanding born of such direct contact

has had a beneficial effect in counteracting the anti-Labor trend which has been evidenced in the reactionary press of the country.

Fraternal Delegates

This section of the report concerns the selection of fraternal delegates made by the Executive Council to represent our movement at the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Proposed World Trade Union Conference

This title reports an attempt which was made by Sir Walter Citrine to call a conference of representatives of the organized workers of all countries. The American Federation of Labor declined the invitation to participate in this conference because it was felt that international trade union matters should be dealt with through the International Federation of Trade Unions. Objection was also registered to the fact that invitations were also extended to certain organizations which the Federation does not consider as bona fide labor organizations. The plan for the conference was abandoned.

World Peace

In considering plans for the establishment of world peace, labor believes that the United States has a responsibility for helping to plan and operate agencies to keep the peace between nations; to determine policies in the promotion of world welfare; to develop an adequate body of international law with a world court of justice. Any world organization responsible for keeping the peace must have the means to prevent aggression. The Federation believes that regional organizations should be formed to deal with regional problems and to promote regional welfare covering such areas as the Pacific, Asia, Pan-America, Africa, Continental Europe, or federations thereof. This would give small countries more effective protection and participation in progress. The rights of individual nations must be safe-

guarded while promoting international security.

Labor, like all other functional groups in our national life, shall need representation in those international economic conferences and agencies dealing with matters that affect our welfare. In connection with international labor conferences or agencies under government auspices, the American Federation of Labor reserves the right to select our own delegates.

Special Reports From Departments And U. S. Territories

Under this general title there is submitted for your information and consideration reports from the Building and Construction Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, the Union Label Trades Department and the Railway Employees Department.

Special organization reports from the Territories of Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico are also to be found in this portion of the report of your Council.

Conclusion

In concluding its report to this Sixty-fourth Convention, your Executive Council directs attention to the complex and varied problems of today and of the future. Many of these problems press urgently for solution and in some cases special reports on more recent happenings will be submitted. We of our country still have opportunities and responsibilities of freedom and it will require all our energy and experience to meet the obligations which our free institutions lay upon us. Labor in America needs to meet the challenge of the future, advance the welfare of all individuals in our progress toward peace and assure to each and all the institutions and responsibilities of freedom. The American Federation of Labor has a special service to perform to this end.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We thank Brother Duffy for the service he rendered this morning in the submission of the condensed report of the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor. The report will appear in the proceedings of today's convention. (The complete report of the Executive Council follows).

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA,

NOVEMBER 20, 1944.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-fourth Annual
Convention of the American Federation of Labor,*

GREETINGS:

INTRODUCTION

In this third year of our participation in the world war, the combat on the fighting front in Europe has entered its last phase while great progress has been made in the Pacific. On the production front we are also in the last phase: we have extended and converted our production facilities, stepped up production of strategic commodities, accumulated stock-piles of materials, developed substitute materials, organized our control of scarce materials, built up agencies for relocation of our production force and for the selection of those for military service. The beginning of 1944 found us past the stage of preparatory planning and blueprints and geared to an economy of a new high level, with an unprecedented amount of scientific research under way. Our national work force has reached the peak level of more than 65 millions, 12 million of whom are in the military forces, and 18 million of whom are women.

Having achieved the necessary production capacities and developed and improved technical procedures we have already accumulated many stock-piles of supplies in accord with military goals of maintaining production at a satisfactory rate. Cutbacks clearly foreshadow lessening of war production. Our concern is that released production facilities and manpower

shall immediately be used for production of civilian articles in which there are critical shortages. In other words, the problems of reconversion become urgent even before our military goals are achieved. There can be no large scale reconversion until military objectives are gained, but every effort should be made to utilize available surplus materials, facilities and workers to supply civilian needs more adequately.

It is obvious that unless broad and effective plans are immediately made to provide the machinery for guiding the principles of reconversion, we shall be unable to initiate an orderly recovery that will lead into full employment and our resources will be utilized in dealing with large scale unemployment. This is, of course, but one phase of winning the peace. We must also prevent terms and conditions of peace which create controversies that may lead to another war, and seek to establish international agencies which will assume responsibility for finding solutions and working out procedures for problems and relationships involving both conflicting and mutual interests.

We are now in a crucial period of the world's history potential for great achievements for human welfare by peaceful development or for tendencies that will result in stupendous destruction of the human population. The citizens of democratic countries have a personal responsibility for the decision as to which course the world will follow. Practically everyone understands that any major war in the future as in the past will inevitably involve the whole world. If we want to prevent the whole world, including our own nation, from again being involved in war, we shall have to dedicate ourselves to sustained efforts to obtain machinery for dealing with problems that result in wars and insist that representatives in those agencies perform their functions.

In addition to our responsibilities as citizens, we have the equally important responsibility, as workers, for developing constructive relationships and agencies in this new period.

Mindful of these facts, we urge special care and deliberation in considering our report of the past year's happenings and in making plans for the coming months.

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SECRETARY-TREASURER MEANY'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates to the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past 12 months, beginning September 1, 1943, and ending August 31, 1944.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$2,049,690.97. Of this total, \$1,603,658.95 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and the balance, \$446,032.02, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$2,703,183.89; the total expenses, \$2,333,569.30. Amount of receipts over expenses, \$369,614.59.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1944:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1943.....		\$1,680,076.38
Per capita tax	\$1,543,760.04	
Paid subscriptions, American Federationist	2,382.71	
Per capita tax subscriptions, American Federationist	536,134.69	
Per capita tax from locals allocated to Defense Fund	303,839.92	
Initiation fees	213,967.15	
Reinstatement fees	7,830.47	
Supplies	20,849.32	
Interest	26,319.68	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	26,056.54	
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts	22,043.37	
Total receipts		2,703,183.89
Grand total		\$4,383,260.27

EXPENSES

Organizing expenses	\$888,503.89	
Organizers' salaries	645,811.34	
Office employees' salaries	236,511.97	
Administrative salaries	66,995.39	
Miscellaneous general bills	338,489.66	
Printing and publishing American Federationist	127,854.67	
Defense Fund	7,500.00	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	21,902.38	
Total expenses		\$2,333,569.30
Balance on hand, August 31, 1944.....		\$2,049,690.97

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund	446,032.02	
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	1,603,658.95	
Balance on hand, August 31, 1944.....		\$2,049,690.97

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1944:

Rent	\$27,317.76
Refunds, charter and outfit, per capita tax, supplies, etc.	407.77
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions	21,902.38
Secretary-Treasurer's bond	202.50
Insurance, Workmen's Compensation	4,118.28
Forgery, robbery	62.81
D. C. personal property tax	240.54
Social Security old age benefit tax	8,019.28
State and D. C. unemployment tax	8,689.46
Federal pay-roll tax	11,200.75
Expressage, freight and drayage	798.68
Legislative salaries and expenses	16,677.83
Newspapers, magazines and books (library)	2,415.72
Research-Statistical Service (supplies and miscellaneous)	1,772.12
Postage stamps	17,255.18
Supplies for resale	10,652.03
Printing:	
General	\$27,025.04
Convention roll call	153.00
Convention daily proceedings	6,743.92
Convention bound proceedings	3,485.00
Convention miscellaneous	201.25
A. F. of L. Weekly News Service	8,099.05
	45,707.26
Office equipment and supplies	10,170.84
Miscellaneous expenses	10,469.17
Paper supply and envelopes (Mailing Dept.)	1,714.30
Mailing equipment	1,500.04
Office furniture and fixtures	140.10
Telegrams and telephone	16,134.41
Fraternel delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	354.77
Boston Convention:	
Entertaining fraternal delegates	773.92
Messengers, sergeant at arms, assistant secretary, roll-call clerk and proofreader	651.68
Supplies	52.15
Stenographers' expenses	6,990.72
Official stenographers	1,924.00
Rental of office furniture	333.50
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, handling convention mail, porters, etc.	1,815.97
Auditing and Credential Committee	786.00
Delegates', guest, committee and officers' badges	835.98

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Salaries:

President	\$20,000.00
Secretary-Treasurer	18,000.00
Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus	6,000.00
Office employees	236,511.97
Executive Council meetings—(Boston, Miami, Philadelphia, Chicago)—all expenses	32,208.12
President, traveling	7,278.53
Secretary-Treasurer, traveling	5,443.75
Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus, traveling	248.42
Defense Fund	7,500.00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department	839.79
Union Label Trades Department	307.88
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	609.88
Affiliation fee, International Federation of Trade Unions	12,663.03
*Organizers' salaries and expenses	1,534,315.23
American Federationist:	
Cost of printing	118,684.46
Postage	7,608.93
Story for Junior Federationist	240.00
Photographs	728.00
Miscellaneous	593.28
Legal services	54,492.98
Publicity salaries and expenses	13,208.91
Special committees and conferences	13,696.24
Contributions to:	
Armed Forces (cigarettes)	5,252.00
Endowment (Harvard University)	5,000.00
D. C. Tuberculosis Association	50.00
Total	<u>\$2,333,569.30</u>

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

*During the twelve (12) months ending August 31, 1944, the American Federation of Labor expended in organizing activities \$1,534,315.23. Of this amount, \$788,855.61 was spent in organizing and services for directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions; the balance, \$745,459.62, was incurred in the formation and assistance of newly formed local unions of national and international unions and in activities in behalf of state federations of labor and city central bodies.

DEFENSE FUND
for
LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

The following is a statement of the amounts received from our local trade and federal labor unions for the defense fund and amount paid for related purposes for the past 12 months, beginning September 1, 1943, and ending August 31, 1944.

RECEIPTS

Receipts from local trade and federal labor unions for the Defense Fund	\$303,839.92
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EXPENSES

Workers' Education Bureau	<u>\$7,500.00</u>
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RECAPITULATION

Balance in Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1943	\$1,307,319.03
Receipts for 12 months ending August 31, 1944	303,839.92
Total	<u>\$1,611,158.95</u>
Affiliation fee (Workers' Education Bureau)	7,500.00
Balance in Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1944	<u>\$1,603,658.95</u>

STATEMENT OF MONTHLY RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER; ALSO STATEMENT OF HOW BALANCE ON HAND IS DEPOSITED AND INVESTED

INCOME		EXPENSES	
1943		Warrants paid:	
		1943	
September 30	\$200,606.59	September 30	\$181,852.41
October 31	238,363.32	October 31	189,263.75
November 30	213,202.57	November 30	188,929.02
December 31	226,981.49	December 31	186,958.11
1944		1944	
January 31	223,325.14	January 31	184,813.07
February 29	198,680.44	February 29	198,968.16
March 31	244,713.90	March 31	206,102.36
April 30	196,642.97	April 30	183,920.93
May 31	219,075.29	May 31	186,605.79
June 30	262,390.59	June 30	212,974.38
July 31	202,430.90	July 31	187,909.44
August 31	276,770.69	August 31	225,271.88
Total income for 12 months	\$2,703,183.89	Total expenses for 12 months	\$2,333,569.30
Bal. in hands of Sec'y-Treas. Aug. 31, 1943.	1,680,076.38		
Grand total	<u>\$4,383,260.27</u>		

RECAPITULATION

Total balance and income	\$4,383,260.27
Total expenses	2,333,569.30
Balance on hand August 31, 1944	<u>\$2,049,690.97</u>

Secretary-Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:

*Total investment in bonds	\$1,887,795.32
Riggs National Bank (subject to check)	604,499.65
Union National Bank (subject to check)	10,000.00
City Bank (subject to check)	5,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., New York (subject to check)	2,000.00
300 shares Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (stock)	15,000.00
396 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock	396.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., New York (collateral deposit)	25,000.00

Secretary-Treasurer's balance August 31, 1944 \$2,049,690.97

*Listing and description of bonds owned by the American Federation of Labor:

U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, maturity February, 1954, 2½ %	\$50,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, maturity June, 1953, 2½ %	50,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, maturity July, 1954, 2½ %	50,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1964-1969, 2½ %	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1950-1952, 2 %	50,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1963-1968, 2½ %	200,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1945, 3¼ %	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1956-1959, 2¼ %	100,000.00

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U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1962-1967, 2½ %	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1955-1960, 2½ %	100,000.00
Premium on 1955-1960 2½ % Bonds	1,531.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1946-1949, 3½ %	225,000.00
Premium on 1946-1949 3½ % Bonds	2,070.32
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1952-1954, 2 %	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Certificate of Indebtedness, ⅞ %, due February 1, 1945	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Certificate of Indebtedness, ⅞ %, due June 1, 1945	100,000.00
Dominion of Canada Bonds, 1943-1945, 2½ %	9,912.50
Total investment in Bonds	<u>\$1,387,795.32</u>

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31, 1944.

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1944, there have been issued 244 charters to state, central, local trade and federal labor unions.

Central Bodies as follows:

Arkansas	North Carolina
Crossett	Gastonia
	Reidsville
Florida	Ohio
Broward County	Piqua
Sarasota	Oregon
Illinois	Roseburg and Vicinity
Randolph County	Pennsylvania
Kentucky	Athens, Sayre-Waverly, N. Y.
Frankfort	Wisconsin
Michigan	Sturgeon Bay
Albion	
Montana	
Glendive	

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year:

	1943-1944
Central Labor Unions	13
Local Trade Unions	132
Federal Labor Unions	99
Total	<u>244</u>

Directly Chartered Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

On August 31, 1944, we had 1,625 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 299,931, and a defense fund of \$1,603,658.95.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Federation has 1,973 volunteer organizers, as well as 199 paid organizers and the officers of the 749 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$303,839.92; initiation fees, \$213,967.15, and reinstatement fees, \$7,830.47.

Charters Revoked, Cancelled, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 22.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 22; suspended, 95; joined national and international organizations, 18; revoked, 1; cancelled, 1; reinstated, 30.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 9; suspended, 36; joined national and international organizations, 9; cancelled, 2; reinstated, 15.

INTERNATIONAL UNION: Reinstated, 1 (International Typographical Union).

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP
of
AFFILIATED UNIONS

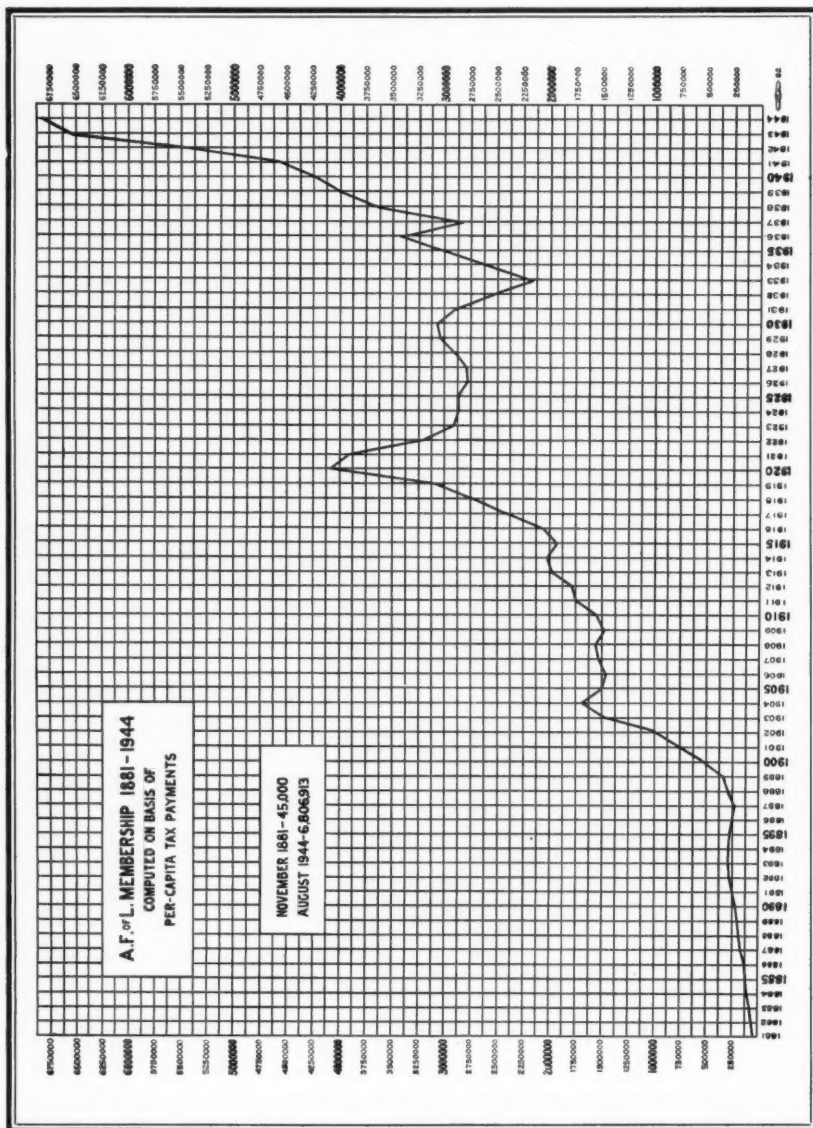
The total paid membership of the affiliated national and international organizations and the directly chartered trade and federal labor unions as of August 31, 1944 is 6,806,913.

This is based on the actual per capita tax received at our office in Washington from our affiliated unions.

The following is the yearly membership in the past 48 years:

Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897	264,825	1921	3,906,528
1898	278,016	1922	3,195,635
1899	349,422	1923	2,926,468
1900	548,321	1924	2,865,799
1901	787,537	1925	2,877,297
1902	1,024,399	1926	2,803,966
1903	1,465,800	1927	2,812,526
1904	1,676,200	1928	2,896,063
1905	1,494,300	1929	2,933,545
1906	1,454,200	1930	2,961,096
1907	1,538,970	1931	2,889,550
1908	1,586,885	1932	2,532,261
1909	1,482,872	1933	2,126,796
1910	1,562,112	1934	2,608,011
1911	1,761,835	1935	3,045,347
1912	1,770,145	1936	3,422,398
1913	1,996,004	1937	2,860,933
1914	2,020,671	1938	3,623,087
1915	1,946,347	1939	4,006,354
1916	2,072,702	1940	4,247,443
1917	2,371,434	1941	4,569,056
1918	2,726,478	1942	5,482,581
1919	3,260,068	1943	6,564,141
1920	4,078,740	1944	6,806,913

So that the delegates and membership at large may visualize the membership record at a glance, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership, based on per capita tax payments received, for each year since 1881 up to and including 1944—a total of 64 years.



VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1936 up to and including 1944. This table is based upon the average membership paid upon to the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year.

ORGANIZATIONS	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.	44	55	176	201	146	148	190	177	160
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assn. of Heat and Frost Insulators.	25	25	35	40	40	40	40	40	40
*Automobile Workers of A. Int'l Union United	190	†	†	42	191	261	368	431	507
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs., I. U. of A.	261	325	621	730	811	844	919	869	897
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	323	408	465	475	490	490	490	492	500
Bill Posters.	14	14	16	18	29	30	30	16	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.	50	50	50	50	50	50	92	100	100
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.	155	180	280	290	332	426	903	2,867	3,369
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.	270	293	308	308	308	308	390	400	400
Bookbinders, Int'l Brotherhood of.	161	131	174	177	187	219	271	271	289
Brewery Workmen, International Union.	420	420	420	420	420	420	†	†	†
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	10	55	50	100	100	115	130	100	100
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
Bridge & Struct. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Assn.	160	227	413	395	413	520	861	1,124	1,056
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	3
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union.	350	420	658	700	700	700	700	700	700
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,667	6,000	6,000	6,000
Carmen of A., Bro. Railway.	588	650	650	650	650	700	300	958	958
Carvers' Union, International Wood.	4	4	4	3	3	3	†	†	†
Cigarmakers' International Union.	70	70	70	70	70	87	100	100	100
Cleaning & Dye House Wkrs.	48	159	164	164	164	169	171	171	171
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail.	103	185	467	653	737	854	1,000	1,000	1,000
Clerks Post Office, Natl. Federation of.	320	360	380	400	400	400	450	429	400
Clerks, Bro. of Rwy.	875	892	910	910	970	1,100	1,558	1,917	2,042
Cement, Lime & Gypsum Wkrs.					132	168	211	190	180
Circus, Carnival, Fairs & Rodeo Intl. Union.					3	11	†	†	†
Clothing Workers of A., Amalgamated.	1,220	†	†	†	14	14	†	†	†
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.	20	20	19	14	14	14	†	†	†
Coopers' International Union.	25	26	36	41	42	45	51	51	50
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	4	3	3	3	3	4	6	6	6
Distillery Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union.						33	70	94	100
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.	12	14	18	19	19	22	34	47	71
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	1,700	1,712	1,750	2,003	2,097	2,010	2,079	2,529	3,129
Elevator Constructors.	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating.	350	420	420	708	800	800	800	933	1,000
Engravers, Intl. Union, Metal.	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	†	†
Engravers Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.	88	91	102	104	105	105	108	108	109
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of.	255	291	300	307	389	371	382	360	405
Firemen and Oilers, Intl. Bro. of.	207	236	254	268	312	343	411	475	527
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of.	37	35	35	35	†	†	†	†	†
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C.	150	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Garment Workers of America, United.	406	395	400	400	400	400	400	400	400
Garment Workers, Intl. Ladies.	1,967	†	†	†	375	2,250	2,250	2,250	2,375
Glass Cutters League of A., Window.	12	13	12	12	8	16	16	16	16
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.	60	62	108	200	200	200	203	240	240
Glass Workers of A., Fed. of Flat.	116	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Glass Workers, American Flint.	48	53	179	178	186	203	237	217	256
Glove Workers.	22	17	7	9	16	19	28	31	31
Government Employees, Am. Fed. of.	222	214	212	226	223	240	236	242	268
Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A., The.	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	43	40
Hatters. Cap and Millinery Wkrs. Int. Union, United.	221	239	225	300	320	320	320	320	320
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers.	654	996	1,477	1,544	1,619	1,837	2,887	4,202	3,331
Horsehoers of United States and Canada.	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	738	1,071	1,759	1,848	2,025	2,141	2,420	2,328	2,245
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn.	9	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Jewelry Workers' International.	53	60	45	40	45	55	83	81	69
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. of Metal.	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81
Laundry Workers, International Union.	60	70	194	292	400	404	450	500	500
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.	25	25	25	25	25	29	33	32	28
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural.	500	525	600	600	600	600	600	600	600
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Assn.	6	5	6	6	5	5	4	4	4
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Assn.	69	72	112	123	124	129	139	136	137
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	406	614	624	663	621	615	631	539	610
Machinists, International Association of.	1,137	1,380	1,901	1,900	1,901	2,218	3,285	4,584	6,659
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of.	357	418	523	576	633	657	969	1,185	1,169

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

ORGANIZATIONS	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Marble Polishers, etc., Intl. Asso. of	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	48	45
Masters, Mates and Pilots	25	29	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, Nat'l Asso. of	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	3
Messengers, Special Delivery Nat'l Assn.			11	9	9	9	9	9	9
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	194	300	521	629	709	849	948	971	1,005
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet	160	162	198	200	200	200	204	250	250
Mine Workers of America, United	4,000	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of	159	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Mine Workers of A. Intl. Progressive	159	222	350	350	350	350	350	350	350
Molders Union of North America, Intl.	1,000	1,000	277	233	304	421	621	619	657
Musicians, American Federation of	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Newspaper Guild, American	5	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Oil Field, etc., Workers	405	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Painters of America, Brotherhood of	665	801	994	1,002	1,002	1,049	1,226	1,328	1,397
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of	66	116	163	206	243	258	271	262	344
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	26	42	68	70	74	80	97	107	110
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of	31	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.	20	20	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.	†	8	9	10	10	11	14	17	27
Pilots Assn., Air Line, (Intl.)	8	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & C., Oper.	180	184	191	194	191	212	250	250	250
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.	330	330	377	400	400	454	525	650	1,300
Polishers, Intl. Union of Metal	46	56	70	70	70	70	100	100	100
Porters, Pro. Sleeping Car	12	55	60	60	66	72	77	87	90
Pocketbook & Novelty Wkrs.		5	100	100	100	100	122	144	150
Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, Nat'l Assn.			12	15	15	15	15	15	15
Potters, National Bro. of Operative	104	110	120	130	140	160	178	215	215
Powder and High Explosive Workers	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	d	d
Printing Pressmen, International	320	337	372	396	437	457	476	485	493
Printers', Die Stammers' & Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Plate	13	10	9	9	7	10	8	9	11
Pulp Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.	91	157	300	322	400	442	567	600	613
Quarry Workers, International	20	20	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Railway Employees, Amal., S. & E.	757	767	790	797	800	807	878	988	1,048
Railway Mail Association	193	210	217	217	221	227	229	218	218
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn.									
United Slate, Tile and Composition	40	40	40	40	40	44	57	70	80
Rubber Workers of Amer., United	85	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
B-Seafarers Intl. Union of N. A.	200	142	22	110	187	200	292	300	300
Sheep Shearers Union of N. A.	9	8	8	7	6	6	†	†	†
Siderographers, Intl. Assn. of	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
State Count & Municipal Emp.		114	200	257	297	337	356	360	460
Spinnners Union Intl.			5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Stage Employes, Intl. Alliance Theatrical	240	242	278	420	420	420	420	420	420
Stereotypers & Electrotypers of U. A.	81	83	87	83	83	86	88	89	88
Stonecutters Association, Journeymen	52	50	42	41	41	41	20	19	19
Stove Mounters' International Union	23	30	36	42	49	53	80	80	80
Switchmen's Union of North America	85	89	83	78	81	80	85	88	93
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	59	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Teachers, Am. Fed. of	127	154	221	256	300	267	229	229	252
Teamsters, Chauffers, etc., Intl. Bro. of	1,610	2,109	3,092	3,500	3,937	4,083	5,056	6,029	6,292
Telegraphers, Commercial	20	20	29	35	35	40	71	107	187
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad	350	350	350	350	350	333	300	300	300
*Textile Workers of America, United	1,000	†	†	*	36	152	353	408	372
Tobacco Workers Intl. Union of America	85	110	143	147	180	178	182	210	220
*Typographical Union, International	733	755	794	792	†	†	†	†	53
Upholsterers, International Union of	85	102	110	110	148	160	160	160	250
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.	5	9	30	31	31	31	31	31	28
Wire Weavers' Protective, American	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4
Centrals	734	735	792	806	816	80	780	758	740
State Branches	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	50	50
Directly affiliated local trade and Federal labor Unions	1,246	1,925	2,314	2,465	2,471	2,587	2,939	3,301	3,633
Total vote of Unions	35,420	29,943	36,656	39,267	41,146	45,282	53,029	63,359	68,184

† Suspended. a Merged with Hod Carriers and Common Laborers. c Withdrew affiliation.

* Reinstated. B-Title Changed from Intl Seamen's Union of America.

e Charter revoked.

d Disbanded.

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26, 1928, for the collection of funds for the erection of a memorial to Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1944	\$133,736.04
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1944	122,728.87
Balance on hand August 31, 1944	<u>\$11,007.17</u>

Funds deposited as follows:

1,266 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock	\$1,266.00
Riggs National Bank checking account	2,241.17
United States Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000)	7,500.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1944	<u>\$11,007.17</u>

CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation for the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the National and International Unions and of all our affiliated bodies, and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

George Meany

Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES

of

A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1944:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand August 31, 1943.....	\$22,182.26
Rents	\$41,494.11
Dividends	36.54
Insurance (refund)	40.87
Taxes (refund)	53.54
Sale of waste paper.....	159.17
Total receipts	41,784.23
Receipts and balance.....	\$63,966.49

EXPENSES

Maintenance:

Pay roll (building employees).....	\$23,551.85
Taxes	2,558.44
Electricity	1,908.51
Fuel (coal)	1,039.41
Supplies	817.37
Upkeep and repairs.....	2,215.44
Plastering and painting.....	753.04
Cleaning windows	540.00
Insurance (liability)	402.64
Water rent	138.60
Hauling ashes and trash.....	224.00
Safe deposit (rent).....	3.60
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	975.36
Social Security Tax:	
Unemployment insurance	70.12
Old age benefits.....	224.60
Total expenses	\$35,422.98
Balance on hand August 31, 1944.....	<u>\$28,543.51</u>

RECAPITULATION

Receipts and balance	\$63,966.49
Expenses	35,422.98
	<hr/>
Balance on hand August 31, 1944	\$28,543.51
	<hr/>
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:	
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation (1,218 shares)	\$1,218.00
Riggs National Bank	19,825.51
U. S. Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000)	7,500.00
	<hr/>
Balance on hand August 31, 1944	\$28,543.51
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This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council, and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Faternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,

GEORGE MEANY,

JOHN P. FREY,

Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES

Definite progress has been achieved in organizing work through the valuable service rendered by organizers employed by the American Federation of Labor. As usual, many difficulties were encountered but these were overcome and, as a result, many workers have been organized and are taking an active part in the affairs of organized labor. This fact is reflected in the substantial increase in the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

The services rendered by the organizing staff of the American Federation of Labor have been varied. This is largely due to the war emergency. Many organizers have given service to local unions in the adjustment of wage controversies, participating in the preparation of briefs submitted to regional War Labor Boards and to other government agencies, and have served as representatives of Labor functioning as members of government agencies, in an advisory capacity. In addition, they have served the Government through participation in war bond drives. Because of the raiding tactics employed by dual organizations they have been required to protect and defend established bona fide American Federation of Labor unions.

More than 196 new federal labor unions were organized during the past year with a membership of 11,510. The membership in these newly organized unions plus new members in unions previously organized brings the total membership of federal labor unions to an all-time peak with an average of 299,931 in the twelve months ending August 31, 1944, compared to 259,344 in the fiscal year 1943, a gain of more than 40,000. This is a much larger gain than last year and larger than any other of the last six years except for the fiscal year 1942 when the gain was 43,000. Our organizers deserve much credit for this achievement in the face of the unusual difficulties they have had to meet.

Organizers for the American Federation of Labor are instructed and required to assist the representatives of international and national unions in organizing unorganized workers, assisting in the negotiation of contracts and in the settlement of controversies which may arise. In many instances, organizers have been assigned to special service at industrial plants where national and international unions have launched organizing drives. Decided progress has been made in organizing unorganized workers into international and national unions in many industrial communities and in many sections.

Much valuable service has been rendered by organizers through their participation in public relations work. They have delivered radio addresses, given talks to business men's clubs, church organizations, shared in community forums, addressed classes at universities and colleges, worked for Community War Fund drives, Red Cross, USO, Labor's League for Human Rights and infantile paralysis prevention. They have shared in community efforts for better housing, family welfare, child care and recreation centers, vocational education, better race relations, and planning for war veterans. Particularly important has been their activity in community post-war planning

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efforts. They have represented Labor in local meetings of the Committee for Economic Development, and local Chamber of Commerce committees on post-war planning. We regard this as commendable service.

Councils of Federal Labor Unions

Chemical Workers. The number of members in local unions affiliated with the Council has increased 77 per cent during the year. Substantial progress has been made in organizing new unions and a number of previously organized unions have also joined the Council during the past year. Total membership of chemical workers in all directly affiliated unions increased 36 per cent over 1943. The Council prints an eight-page monthly newspaper bringing to the membership information on Labor's progress in general, gains of chemical workers, important rulings of government boards, and instructions in wartime procedures. In the past year the Council has been able to establish uniform wages and working conditions in the Florida phosphate field, with the major proportion under closed-shop contract. Wage increases to these sub-standard workers averaged about 20 per cent. The Council has also handled a number of War Labor Board cases in which wage increases were awarded according to wartime regulations. Marked progress has been made in organization in Canada.

Office Employees. The Council has done good work in unifying the office employees group and bringing unaffiliated locals into the Council. While the total membership of all office employees locals in the Federation has increased 29 per cent during the year, membership in the Council rose 77 per cent; and the Council today includes more than three-fourths of all directly affiliated local union members in office work. A monthly paper is issued to the membership, reporting progress. Organizing literature has been written and used with excellent results. A number of War Labor Board cases have been handled during the year, bringing gains for members and substantial salary increases. Improvements in working conditions have also been won.

Grain Processors. Progress has been made in unifying the locals in this industry throughout the United States. They are learning to cooperate on a national basis rather than to act individually as in the past. Membership of the Council has increased 12 per cent. A monthly bulletin is published, and proves a valuable service in bringing closer unity and information on problems and activities.

Railway Patrolmen. The Council has won substantial increases in wages and vacations with pay for patrolmen on all railroads. A number of cases have been handled before courts and the National Railway Adjustment Board because of discrimination or refusal to recognize patrolmen's unions. Membership in the Council has increased 45 per cent and the Council now includes 91 per cent of all patrolmen who are members of directly affiliated unions. Railway patrolmen in the South are showing a desire to become members.

Insurance Agents. Membership in the Council has increased 21 per cent. The Council includes all but two directly affiliated unions in its field and 95

per cent of all membership among insurance agents. A news letter is printed and goes to all members, almost every month, reporting progress and containing useful information from affiliated local unions. During the past year the Council has signed fifteen contracts with eight insurance companies. Of the three largest companies in the country, the Council already has contracts with two and is negotiating with the third. An important principle was established through a War Labor Board case with the Prudential Life Insurance Company which resulted in giving transportation expenses to some four hundred life insurance agents in the territory extending from Virginia through Maryland, Delaware and the District of Columbia.

Sugar Workers. The beet sugar industry of the Middle West and Rocky Mountain states has already been strongly organized. Although a large proportion of the employees in this area are already members, the Council has been able to increase its membership by 16 per cent during the past year.

Aluminum Workers. Membership in this Council has increased 58 per cent since 1943.

Fabricated Metal Workers. Membership in this Council has increased 33 per cent since 1943. Notable progress has been made during the year for three very substantial newly organized local unions have been added since January 1, 1944. All of the local unions with one single exception are working under fair trade agreements with their employers.

Central Labor Unions. Special mention is due central labor unions for their cooperation in launching and carrying forward important organizing campaigns. We urge the continuation and further development of full and complete cooperation on the part of central bodies and state federations of labor in organizing work and in the promotion of special organizing campaigns.

Federal Labor Unions. We submit the following figures on new federal labor unions organized during the year and on average yearly membership of all federal labor unions during the last eight years. In the table on the left are included only those unions organized, transferred, suspended, etc., during the eleven-month period ending July 31, 1944.

New Federal Labor Unions Chartered from September 1, 1943, through August 31, 1944		Average Yearly Membership of Federal Labor Unions during Fiscal Years Ending August 31:	
Total organized	228	1936	83,153
Transferred	4	1937	114,956
Suspended	21	1938	181,236
Disbanded	6	1939	171,207
Never functioned	1	1940	185,707
Consolidated	0	1941	198,605
Cancelled	0	1942	241,677
Total now active	196	1943	259,344
		1944	299,931

The 196 Federal Labor Unions active on August 31, 1944, had an average membership of 11,510 during the period.

NEW INTERNATIONAL UNIONS CHARTERED

The Executive Council granted charters to two new international unions, the International Chemical Workers Union and the Office Employees International Union.

The jurisdiction of these international unions was clearly defined and established in a very careful way. It was stipulated by the Executive Council, and agreed to by the representatives of the two international unions, that the jurisdiction of international unions already chartered by the American Federation of Labor would be protected, respected and observed. A stipulation further provided that in granting the charters to these two international unions, there would be no transgression upon the jurisdiction of international unions previously chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

The membership of these two international unions was, in the opinion of the Executive Council, sufficiently large to guarantee the establishment and maintenance of said international unions upon a sound and self-sustaining basis.

The charter of the International Chemical Workers Union was issued on September 11, 1944.

The charter of the Office Employees International Union will be issued to the representatives of the Office Employees Unions who will come under the jurisdiction of said Office Employees International Union just as soon as a conference can be held. It was impossible to fix the date upon which such a conference could be convened at the time when this report was prepared.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE C.I.O.

Since the Executive Council last reported to the Sixty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, no meetings have been held between the committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. for the purpose of discussing the question of labor unity and the establishment of labor solidarity on a nation-wide basis.

The committee representing the American Federation of Labor, composed of Vice-Presidents Harry C. Bates, Daniel J. Tobin and William L. Hutcheson, have been ready to meet with the committee representing the C.I.O., but no indication of a willingness to meet and confer was shown by the committee representing the C.I.O. during the past year.

In the meantime, division, discord, and disunity prevail within the ranks of Labor. The situation has grown worse; confusion, distrust and bitterness have increased. We fear that if this situation continues, the working people will pay heavily and suffer greatly, because unity, solidarity, and cooperation have always been the chief assets of Labor.

The C.I.O. continues its pursuit of a raiding policy and seeks to destroy American Federation of Labor unions and establish instead C.I.O. organizations. Tactics resorted to in many instances by representatives of the C.I.O. in their efforts to raid well established American Federation of Labor unions, are reprehensible. Deception and fraud are practiced by representatives of

the C.I.O. in their attempts to raid well established American Federation of Labor unions.

The cause of Labor will not be well served if we face the post-war period divided, disunited and fighting each other. It is reasonable to conclude that we will be forced to meet a severe test when the war is over. No doubt the enemies of Labor will unite against us. That means we will be compelled to face united opposition on the part of our enemies and changed economic conditions which will seriously affect our efforts to maintain American wage standards and conditions of employment.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the leaders of the C.I.O. who are responsible for the division within the ranks of Labor should face the facts, abandon the destructive policy which they have followed for years, and unite with the representatives of the American Federation of Labor in a sincere and constructive effort to establish unity, cooperation and solidarity within the ranks of Labor.

UNITED MINE WORKERS FAILURE TO BECOME REAFFILIATED

Immediately after the adjournment of the Sixty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the following letter was transmitted to the President of the United Mine Workers of America:

BOSTON, MASS., October 16, 1943.

MR. JOHN L. LEWIS, President,
United Mine Workers of America,
United Mine Workers Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lewis:

The Sixty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which convened in Boston on October 4th and completed its work and adjourned on October 14th, decided through adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions to which the application of the United Mine Workers of America for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor was referred, that it could not accept your request for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor upon the conditions proposed to the committee representing the Executive Council on or about July 20, 1943.

However, the Convention instructed the Executive Council to continue negotiations with the United Mine Workers of America upon the question of the reaffiliation of said organization with the American Federation of Labor. Following the decision of the convention as herein stated, the Executive Council directed that a committee representing it be authorized to meet with representatives of the United Mine Workers on some date within the near future which will be convenient and accommodating, for the purpose of carrying out the instructions of the convention. The committee will be prepared to meet with representatives of the United Mine Workers on some acceptable date following the expiration of a thirty-day period.

I enclose a copy of the report of the Committee on Resolutions dealing with the subject of the application of the United Mine Workers of America for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

I earnestly request that you advise me if you and your associates representing the United Mine Workers of America will meet with a committee representing the Executive Council of the American Federa-

tion of Labor for the purpose of continuing negotiations upon the question of reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers with the American Federation of Labor, on some date following a thirty-day period stipulated by the convention as set forth in the report of the Committee on Resolutions which I repeat was decisively adopted by the delegates in attendance at the convention.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) WM. GREEN,
President, American Federation of Labor.

In addition, a letter was sent to the officers of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, calling upon them to file a statement regarding transgression which may have been made upon their respective jurisdictions by the United Mine Workers of America, through District No. 50 or otherwise. The replies received from representatives of national and international unions whose jurisdiction had been invaded by the United Mine Workers through District No. 50 or otherwise, were all placed in the hands of the committee appointed for the purpose of negotiating with representatives of the United Mine Workers of America upon the question of reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The officers of the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America renewed their protest against the readmission of the United Mine Workers into affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. This protest was based upon an understanding on the part of the officers and members of the Progressive Mine Workers of the jurisdiction extended them when they were chartered as an international union by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The protest of the officers of the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America was kept in mind and given consideration by the committee representing the American Federation of Labor in all the negotiations which were carried on with the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America.

The members of the committee representing the American Federation of Labor were: Vice-Presidents Daniel J. Tobin, George M. Harrison, Matthew Woll, Harvey W. Brown, and Secretary-Treasurer George Meany. They met with the President of the United Mine Workers and his associates at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., on December 10, 1943. No agreement was reached at this meeting. The committee representing the American Federation of Labor reported that it was impossible to arrive at an understanding which would provide for a proper recognition of the jurisdictional rights of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor committee reported to the Executive Council of its failure to reach an agreement, at the meeting which was held at Miami, Florida, beginning January 17, 1944. The Executive Council advised the President of the United Mine Workers as follows:

The Executive Council has considered the report of its committee, the letter submitted by President Lewis and the application of the United Mine Workers of America for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor in a sympathetic way. The Council proposes that the United Mine Workers return with the jurisdiction they had when

they left the American Federation of Labor. The Council instructs its committee to again meet with a committee representing the United Mine Workers of America for the purpose of clarifying all questions that have not been settled.

Further conferences were held by the committee and representatives of the American Federation of Labor with President Lewis and his associates representing the United Mine Workers of America. At these conferences President Lewis proposed that the United Mine Workers of America, which includes District No. 50, should be readmitted to affiliation with the American Federation of Labor as they were. He agreed to settle any jurisdictional dispute which might arise, after reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers with the American Federation of Labor had been consummated. Your committee proposed that jurisdictional questions be settled before said reaffiliation took place. It was impossible to reach an agreement upon this disputed question.

Finally, President Lewis proposed that if the United Mine Workers were taken back as they were, that he would meet with representatives of any international union who might present a jurisdictional claim and endeavor to settle it. If no settlement could be reached by direct negotiation he would be willing to submit the jurisdictional claim to the Executive Council for consideration and abide by its decision. Exception was taken, however, on the part of President Lewis, to the application of this plan and proposal to chemical workers, many of whom have been organized into the American Federation of Labor and others into District No. 50 of the United Mine Workers of America. President Lewis insisted that all chemical workers organized into District No. 50, United Mine Workers of America, should remain there without change and without regard to any claim which might be made by any organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for jurisdiction.

During the discussion of this subject, President Lewis was asked if he would agree to waive jurisdiction over chemical workers who were not regarded as related to or connected with coal and coke production and processing. President Lewis stated that he would not agree to such a proposal. He was asked if he would agree that chemical workers organized into unions by the American Federation of Labor and those organized by District No. 50 United Mine Workers of America, be merged and united in an international union to be chartered by the American Federation of Labor. He answered "no" to this inquiry.

The committee representing the American Federation of Labor reported to the Executive Council at its next meeting which was held at Philadelphia, beginning May 1, 1944. The members of the Executive Council, after giving consideration to the report made by the committee representing the Executive Council, decided that the Council reaffirm the action taken at the January meeting. An official communication was sent to President Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America immediately after the foregoing action was taken by the Executive Council, which read as follows:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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PHILADELPHIA, PA., May 8, 1944.

MR. JOHN L. LEWIS, President,
United Mine Workers of America,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Reports were submitted to the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor now meeting in Philadelphia, by myself and Secretary-Treasurer Meany, of the conference we held with you on March 14, and by Vice-President Tobin, chairman of the committee appointed by the Council to confer with you and your associates regarding the application for reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers with the American Federation of Labor, of correspondence which passed between you and him.

Following careful and thorough consideration of these reports the Executive Council voted to reaffirm its former decision taken at a meeting held at Miami, Florida, January 17-27, 1944. The decision referred to reads as follows:

"The Executive Council has considered the report of its committee, the letter submitted by President Lewis, and the application of the United Mine Workers of America for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor in a sympathetic way. The Council proposes that the United Mine Workers return with the jurisdiction they had when they left the American Federation of Labor. The Council instructs its committee to again meet with a committee representing the United Mine Workers of America for the purpose of clarifying all questions that have not been settled."

Please note that the Executive Council proposes "that the United Mine Workers return with the jurisdiction they had when they left the American Federation of Labor." I hope and trust you will accept this proposal of the Executive Council which can be clarified and interpreted at a meeting or meetings between you and your associates and the committee appointed by the Executive Council, of which Vice-President Tobin is chairman.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN,
President, American Federation of Labor.

At about the same time this letter was sent, a communication was received from President Lewis of the United Mine Workers which read as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 8, 1944.

MR. WILLIAM GREEN, President,
and Members of the Executive Council,
Adelphia Hotel,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen:

Press reports reveal that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has again with characteristic servility to the Roosevelt Administration failed to take affirmative action with respect to the pending application for reaffiliation by the United Mine Workers of America, dated May 17, 1943.

Solely with the desire to make a contribution toward the constructive unification of American labor, the United Mine Workers of America, a year ago, filed its application for reaffiliation with your Council. Throughout this period of a year, the majority of the members of your Executive Council have lacked the courage to either vote "Yes"

or vote "No" on the question of acceptance. Instead they have constantly muttered and mumbled and indulged in fearsome incantations over the fallacious and hoary question of jurisdictional rights. It is an amazing exhibition of base hypocrisy approximating moral turpitude.

It is, of course, publicly known that certain members of the Executive Council have been given imperative instructions to refuse admittance of the United Mine Workers of America to the American Federation of Labor by the New Deal politicians who are opposed, for political reasons, to unity in the ranks of labor. This is a continuance of the opposition of the New Deal managers as exemplified when the United Mine Workers of America proposed merger of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. in February, 1942.

Every well-informed person in Washington knows the identity of the New Deal executives and the members of its Palace Guard, as well as the identity of the individual members of the Executive Council, who from time to time during the past year have clandestinely counselled together to insure the consummation of their shameful plans to betray the interests of the men and women of labor. The members of the Executive Council by their dishonorable intrigue have permitted the American Federation of Labor to become the puppet of a political organization, and, in fact, to achieve the status of a political company union.

Will you please without further procrastination or hypocrisy return to the United Mine Workers of America the application for reaffiliation dated May 17, 1943, together with check for per capita tax which accompanied the application.

Yours truly,

(Signed) JOHN L. LEWIS.

The request of President Lewis for the return of the application for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor, dated May 17, 1943, together with the check for per capita tax which accompanied the application, was complied with immediately.

Thus ended negotiations which had been carried on between the committee representing the American Federation of Labor and representatives of the United Mine Workers upon the application of said organization for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

REAFFILIATION OF INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

The members of the International Typographical Union voted to become reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor through a referendum vote taken on May 17, 1944.

The Executive Council interprets this constructive action taken by the members of the International Typographical Union as evidence of a desire on the part of Labor to become united. It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the reaffiliation of the International Typographical Union will prove to be of mutual advantage and help both to the American Federation of Labor and to the officers and members of the International Typographical Union.

The International Typographical Union was formed in 1850. That means that the membership, through training and experience, have become well established in the field of trade unionism and collective bargaining.

The Executive Council extends a hearty welcome to the International Typographical Union and to its participation through chosen delegates, in the deliberations of the Sixty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

We express the hope that nothing will ever occur which will interfere with the friendly and mutually helpful relationship now established between the American Federation of Labor and the officers and members of the International Typographical Union.

CHANGE OF TITLE, POST OFFICE AND RAILWAY MAIL LABORERS

An application was made by the National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers for approval of a change in the title of the organization, substituting the word "Handlers" for the word "Laborers". The title of the organization read "National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers" and the change asked for provided that it would read "National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers".

The application for this change was based upon an Act of Congress which classified Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers as "Handlers" instead of "Laborers".

The Executive Council granted this application for a change of title with the distinct understanding that it would not in any way be interpreted as meaning a change in the jurisdiction previously granted the organization.

RETIREMENT PLAN FOR A. F. OF L. EMPLOYEES

In conformity with the decision of the Sixty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor relating to the establishment of a retirement plan for the employees of the American Federation of Labor, a brief report upon consideration which was given to this matter and action which was taken by the Executive Council, was made to the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council continued its study and consideration of a retirement plan for American Federation of Labor employees during the past year. The Council plans to give this subject further study and consideration with the hope and expectation that some practical and constructive plan may be formulated and approved during the coming year.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1943

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Basic 40-Hour	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Actors and Artists of America	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Air Line Pilots Association	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Automobile Workers of America, International Union of Workers' International Union of America	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bakers and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America	\$ 56,336.41	272,233.46	.....	.....	.....	400.00	338,989.87	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists International Union of America, The Journeyman Barbers and Billers of America, International Alliance of American	\$ 173,737.85	47,605.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	219,342.85	.....	.....	48 hours	.....	.....	.....
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of Builders International Brotherhood of Bookbinders International Brotherhood of Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	\$ 72,300.00	25,237.50	505.00	.....	.....	1,343.54	74,238.54	137½ per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	.....	.....	1 & 2 wks.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America, Bricklayers and Masons of America, The United Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International Building Service Employees' Union	\$ 235,654.36	.....	.....	534,128.21	.....	.....	709,782.57	\$1.59½ per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	.....	.....	.....
Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, The United Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International Building Service Employees' Union	3,200.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,200.00	80¢ per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	10,000	7,000	1-2 wks.
Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, The United Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International Building Service Employees' Union	61,900.00	.....	.....	104,850.00	.....	.....	166,750.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International Building Service Employees' Union	225,000.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	225,000.00	.....	8 hours	44 hrs., 6 days	.....	55,000.00	2 weeks
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	\$ 251,050.00	.....	.....	.....	4,550.00	.....	255,600.00	97¢ to \$1.05	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	.....	100,000	1 week

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1943—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Basic 40-Hour	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of											NONE		
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union, United	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS		90c per hr.	7½ hours	39 hrs., 5 days	19,000	18,000	1-2 wks.
Cigar-makers International Union of America	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS		Piece week	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	7,500	7,335	1 week
Clinical and Dental House Workers International Association of													
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office	\$60,000 00	17,282 20					77,282 20	\$2,000 basic	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	50,000	50,000	15 days
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	\$35,660 00						535,660 00		8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	5,000	225,000	Depends on length of service
Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail	10,050 00					38,851 07	48,901 07	Men, \$35.00; women, \$27.50	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days		90,000	1-2 wks.
Coopers International Union of North America	7,021 50						7,021 50	\$38-45	9 hours	54 hours	5,000	4,500	1-2 wks.
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America	5,350 00						5,350 00	\$125 per wk.	7 hours	33 hrs., 6 days	600	600	1 week
Dietery, Rectifying and Welding Workers International Union													
Draftsmen's Unions International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and													
Electrical Workers of America and International Brotherhood of	\$900,775 25			773,941 35			1,674,713 50	\$1.52 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	310,000	125,000	2 weeks
Elevator Constructors, International Union of	105,350 00						105,350 00						
Engineers, International Union of Operating	\$219,276 94	56,128 11				110 00	498,429 12	1.94 per hr.	7½ hours	36½ hrs., 5 days	2,000	9,000	1-2 wks.
Engravers Union of North America International			222,914 07					\$2,590 per yr.	12 hours	76 hours		45,000	14-30 day
Fire Fighters, International Association of	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS		\$1.00 per hr.	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	30,000	45,000	1-2 wks.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	36,100 00						36,100 00						

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1943—(Continued)

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Basic 40-Hour Pay	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Garment Workers of America, International Ladies' Union, International Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada	30,775.00 \$ 69,180.00 \$ 30,250.00	527,364.69	92,691.92	2,340.46		1,579,620.93	30,775.00 2,298,857.54 52,590.46	70c, \$2.00 per hour \$35-40 per wk.	8 hours 7 and 8 hours 6-8 hours	40 hours 37½ hrs., 5 days 36-40 hours	40,000 50,000 25,000	40,000 225,000 25,000	1 week 1 week 1-2 wks.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of America, League of America, Window Glass Workers' Union, American Flint Glass Workers' Union, American Glove Workers' Union of America, International Government Employees, International Federation of Granite Cutters, International Association of America, The Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies' Union, Hatmakers, Cap and Millinery Workers' Union, International Union of United Hat Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen Embroiderers, Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America	11,580.00 29,100.00 1,150.00 NO 28,692.50						11,580.00 55,230.70 1,150.00 PAID 2,250.00	\$300 per mo. Skilled \$2.542; Misc. \$1.345. Men, \$45; Women, \$30. \$1.800 per yr. \$9 per day	7 and 8 hours 8 hours 8 hours 8 hours 8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days 40 hrs., 5 days 44 hours 48 hrs., 6 days 40 hrs., 5 days	1,200 18,666 2,325 27,350 4,000	1,200 18,666 2,200 27,350 4,000	1 week 1-2 wks. 1½-2 wks. 26 days
Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies' Union, Hatmakers, Cap and Millinery Workers' Union, International Union of United Hat Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen Embroiderers, Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America	16,750.00 151,750.00						16,750.00 151,750.00	65c to \$2.75 per hr. 85c per hr.	7-8 hours 8 hours	35 hrs., 5 days; 40 hrs., 5 days; 36 hrs., 5 days 40 hrs., 5 days	16,000 249,750	8,500	1 week
Jewelry Workers' Union, International Laundry Workers' Union of America, International Laundry Workers' Union, Leather Workers' International Union, United	\$ 89,169.10 NO \$ 72,861.52	80,191.97	INTERNATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID	43,317.07 ^a	212,678.14 76,190.52	\$1.35; 1.10; \$.80 per hr. \$1.55 per hr.	9 hours 7 hours	45 hrs., 54 hrs.	4,000 4,406	6,500	1-2 weeks

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1943—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Basic 40-Hour	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Letter Carriers, National Association of	222,295.51	187,517.77					409,813.28	\$2,100 per yr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 6 days	60,000	60,000	15 days
Letter Carriers, National Federation of	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENE FITS				\$2,100 per an.	8 hours	44 hours		32,000	15 days
Lithographers' Rural Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada	72,000.00	24,822.04	25,786.00	6,377.50		17,694.34	146,670.88	\$50 per wk.	8½ hours	44 hours	14,000	14,000	1-2 weeks
Longshoremen's Association, International													
Machinists, International Association of	282,954.48			7,583.94			270,568.42		8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	600,000	600,000	1 wk. to 26 days
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of	300,186.70						300,180.70	60c to \$1.04 per hr.	8 hours	48 hours		250,000	1 week
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers, and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters, Helpers and Terrazzo Workers, International Association of	3,950.00						3,950.00	\$8 per day		40 hrs., 5 days	5,000		
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization of													
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stores, National Association of	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENE FITS		PAID		\$19.50 per day	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	280	280	26 days
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	85,242.60			1,690.00		3,842.49	133,775.09	Retail \$45 per wk.; packing 80c per hr.	Retail 8½ hrs. packing 8 hrs.	Retail 50 hrs. per wk. packing 8 hrs. per day	70,000	120,000	1-3 weeks
Metal Workers, International Association, Sheet Metal Workers, International Union Progressive	52,500.00					8,950.00	61,450.00	\$1.42 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days			
Molders and Foundry Workers, International Union of North America, International	61,950.00						61,950.00	\$7.00-9.50 per day	7 hours	42 hrs., 6 days	500	10,000	Waived for Duration
Musicians, American Federation of	337,454.15	113,873.50	16,618.10				467,945.75	Journeymen \$1.25 per hr. Non-journeymen 75c per hr.	8 hours		67,205	67,205	1-2 weeks

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1943—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Basic 40-Hour	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of	\$332,338.62				14,050.00		346,388.62	\$1.13½ per hr.	8 hours	39 hrs., 47 min., 5 days	141,262		
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of	\$30,205.05			637.50		1,312.50	32,155.05	\$1.05 per hr.	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	38,000	40,000	1-2 weeks
Patent Makers, League of North America	\$12,650.00	13,974.80				13,372.60	39,997.40	\$1.85 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	11,000	6,570	1-2 weeks
Plasterers' International Ass'n. of the United States and Canada, Operative	89,022.00						89,022.00						
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the U. S. and Canada, United Association of	\$301,350.00	13,090.00					314,430.00						
Polish American Bagmen, Platers and Helpers International Union, Metal	5,800.00						5,800.00	\$1.25 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	10,000	9,000	1-3 weeks
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car													
Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, National Association of													
Porters, National Brotherhood of Operative													
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, Int'l Plate													
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International	\$43,308.44 \$432,385.00	\$43,308.44	\$34,557.00	\$301,637.20		243,595.50	1,035,483.14	Commercial, to \$2.30 per wk.; newspaper, \$3.13 per wk.; to \$53.20 per wk.	Commercial, 8 hrs.; newspaper, 6-8 hrs.	Commercial, 40 hrs., 5 days; Newspaper, 35-40 hrs., 5 days	65,000	35,350	1-2 weeks
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the U. S. and Canada, Int'l Bro. of						22,377.00	22,377.00	92¢ per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	65,100	60,700	1-2 weeks
Railway Mail Association, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	\$1,139,929.62	\$109,311.71		\$16,500.00	4,350.00		1,270,091.33						
Railway Mail Association	\$39,800.00				120,050.00		159,850.00	\$2.750 per yr.	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	24,296	24,296	15 days
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition	20,500.00						20,500.00	\$1.56 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	7,500		

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1943—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Ratio 40-Hour	Vacations with Pay	Vacation Period
Seafarers International Union of North America	\$ 18,103.85	4,995.50				1,802.00	24,934.35	Women, \$75 per month; Men, \$250 per mo. \$76.40 per wk.	Women, 4 hrs.; Men, 9 hrs. 7½-8 hrs.	Women, 24 hrs.; 6 days; men, 54 hrs., 6 days 37½-40 hrs., 5 days	4	2,085 2 weeks	43 1-2 weeks
Sidographers, International Association	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID						
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID						
Spinners Union, International	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID						
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the U. S. and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID	\$1.50 per hr.	6 hours	36 hrs., 6 days	35,000	20,000 2 weeks	
State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of													
Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' union of North America, International	36,500.00						36,500.00	\$30 per week	8 hours	40 hours	4,000	3,000 1-2 weeks	
Stenographers' Association of North America, Journeymen	10,100.00						10,100.00	\$1.25 per hr.	8 hours	40 h., 5 days			
Stove Mounters' International Union	14,075.00						14,075.00	60c per hr.	8 hours	48 hr., 6 days	1,000	6,400	Depends on length of service
Switchmen's Union of North America	1,222,650.00					8,500.00	232,000.00	\$8.54 per day	8 hours	56 hrs., 5 days		9,000 1 week	
Teamsters' Association of America, Federation of						2,335.00	2,335.00		9-10 hours	45-50 hrs.; 5 days		NONE	2-4 months
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE			\$75 to 1.20 per hr.	8 hours				1 week
Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad	1,234,801.00					1,455.00	236,256.00	90 c per hr.	8 hours	54 hrs., 6½ days		45,000	Depends on length of service
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial Textile Workers of America, United	4,624.80						4,624.80		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	32,000	32,000	2-3 weeks
Tobacco Workers International Union	\$ 4,100.00	74,516.00		1,730.00		2,401.50	82,747.50	67c per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	29,000	29,000	1-2 weeks

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1943—(Continued)

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Basic 40-Hour	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Typographical Union, International	65,130.21	10,963.54	4,073,574.32			66,875.24	5,023,130.60	\$ 51.99 per wk.				51,200	1-2 weeks
Unions of International	797,587.29												
Union of North America													
Wall Paper Craftmen and													
Workers of North America,													
United													
Weavers Protective Association	1,400.00	2,141.31					3,541.31	\$45 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	362	206	1 week
tion, American Wire													
Total	8,761,560.60	1,656,807.71	413,025.63	5,824,960.68	132,955.00	2,110,491.57	18,919,801.19				3,869,144.08	2,779,968.00	

* Includes disability benefits
 * Includes old age pension
 * Includes unemployment benefits
 * Paid by local union
 * Includes sick benefits
 * Includes unemployment benefits

Recapitulation:

Death benefits 8,761,560.60
 Sick benefits 1,656,807.71
 Unemployment 413,025.63
 Old Age Benefits 5,824,960.68
 Disability 132,955.00
 Miscellaneous Benefits 2,110,491.57
 Total 18,919,801.19

WAGES

Because of wage freezing through the Little Steel Formula, hourly wage rates in the United States are at a level so low as to cause alarm. Wages have been held down while prices of living necessities have soared. We know that hours will be reduced to 40 per week after the war to create full employment, and that weekly pay envelopes will contain only the straight time hourly wage rate paid for 40 hours.

At today's prices and today's straight time hourly wage rates paid for a 40 hour week, only 8 per cent of all American workers employed by private industry will have enough income to support a family of four in health and efficiency (according to the Heller Committee Budget), and 60 per cent will be below even the Labor Department's Maintenance Budget, which provides a bare subsistence living level for a family of four. This conclusion is evident from a study of straight time average hourly earnings in January 1944, made by the War Labor Board, Research and Statistics Branch, and shown in Table I on page 33 of this report. The figures show that approximately 25 million workers or 92 per cent of all employed in private industry receive less than \$1.30 an hour, and 16,600,000 or 60 per cent receive less than 85 cents an hour. At today's prices, measured by the Mitchell Committee estimate of increased living costs since January 1941, \$1.30 an hour is the minimum amount on which a man can support a family in health and efficiency if he works full time for 52 weeks per year; 85 cents is the minimum required for the bare subsistence level. The Heller Committee Budget estimates \$52.15 per week and \$2,712 per year, and the Labor Department Budget \$34.00 per week or \$1,770 per year. It is significant that the Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics stated early this year that it has been ably demonstrated "that at a level even as high as \$50 a week there is at the present time a very narrow margin of living."

The above estimates of the number of workers who will be unable to give their families a decent living at current wage levels is distinctly conservative. The Mitchell Committee living cost estimate, on which they are based, is substantially below that of the Labor members of the President's Cost of Living Committee.

Today's low wages are of the greatest significance for two reasons:

(1) They mean that after the war more millions of workers and their families will be condemned to live in poverty unless wage rates are raised, for we cannot expect that today's high living costs will decline in the post-war period. In fact, living costs are more likely to rise after the war.

(2) These low wages also mean that consumer buying power will fall far short of the amount necessary to maintain full production and full employment in the United States.

The shortage of workers' buying power which will result from today's low wage rates can be roughly measured by referring to the U. S. Commerce Department study, "Markets After the War." In this study the Commerce Department shows the amount of production that would be necessary to keep our total work force of 55.5 million persons fully employed throughout the

TABLE I.—STRAIGHT-TIME AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS OF WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES AS OF JANUARY 1944
Number of workers by wage group. Figures shown in thousands.

Hourly Wage	Manufacturing	Min- ing	Con- struction	Transporta- tion, Com- munication & Public Utilities	Retail Trade ¹	Wholesale Trade	Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	Services ²	Grand Total	Cumulative Total	Wage for Full-Time Year ³
									Number	Percent	
Under 20 cents	.....	.....	.....	.....	17	.....	.....	79	96	3	Under \$408
\$.20 & under	.....	.....	.....	.....	477	.....	.....	217	696	2.5	\$408- 612
.30 " " .40	122	.....	.....	26	1,462	194	12	395	2,211	8.0	612- 816
.40 " " .50	965	4	8	108	1,279	147	136	379	3,026	10.9	816-1,020
.50 " " .60	1,461	9	40	630	635	292	255	163	3,475	12.6	1,020-1,224
.60 " " .70	1,479	10	43	293	944	238	273	127	3,900	14.5	1,224-1,428
.70 " " .80	1,561	13	39	410	169	196	151	96	2,635	9.5	1,428-1,632
.80 " " .90	1,691	36	22	627	183	154	53	148	2,914	10.5	1,632-1,836
.90 " " 1.00	1,585	84	23	396	46	122	65	67	2,388	8.6	1,836-2,040
1.00 " " 1.10	1,291	74	44	593	23	126	97	62	2,310	8.3	2,040-2,244
1.10 " " 1.20	1,017	152	26	160	20	40	69	75	1,559	5.6	2,244-2,448
1.20 " " 1.30	890	112	51	92	17	32	29	18	1,241	4.5	2,448-2,652
1.30 " " 1.40	672	57	31	39	9	3	3 ⁴	17	1,831	8.0	2,652-2,856
1.40 " " 1.50	384	27	14	48	7	15	.....	18	513	1.9	2,856-3,060
1.50 " " 1.60	538 ⁵	3	66	71	2 ⁶	10	.....	2	692	2.5	3,060-3,264
1.60 " " 1.70	.....	.....	37	58	.....	2 ⁷	.....	10	107	.4	3,264-3,468
1.70 " " 1.80	.....	.....	44	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	51	.2	3,468-3,672
1.80 " " 1.90	.....	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	12	.1	3,672-3,876
1.90 " " 2.00	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	10	.1	3,876-4,080
2.00 " " 2.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	.2	4,080-4,284
2.10 & over	.....	.....	7 ⁸	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	14	.1	4,284 & over
TOTALS	13,656	581	516	3,641	4,689	1,563	1,145	1,897	27,688	100.0	100.0

NOTE: The distribution excludes agricultural and governmental employees, professionals and domestic servants. All employees are included except in manufacturing, mining and construction; in these cases only wage earners are included. ¹ "All employees" means all workers except clerical, technical and supervisory employees. In a retail store, for instance, office workers are excluded but men and women who sell behind the counter are included. ² Includes all persons over \$1.60. ³ Includes all persons over \$1.30. ⁴ Wage for 52 weeks of 40 hours. ⁵ Source: National War Labor Board, Wage Stabilization Division, Research and Statistics Branch. ⁶ Includes all persons over \$1.50. ⁷ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁸ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ¹⁰ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ¹¹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ¹² Includes all persons over \$1.60. ¹³ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ¹⁴ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ¹⁵ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ¹⁶ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ¹⁷ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ¹⁸ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ¹⁹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ²⁰ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ²¹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ²² Includes all persons over \$1.60. ²³ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ²⁴ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ²⁵ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ²⁶ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ²⁷ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ²⁸ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ²⁹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ³⁰ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ³¹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ³² Includes all persons over \$1.60. ³³ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ³⁴ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ³⁵ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ³⁶ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ³⁷ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ³⁸ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ³⁹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁴⁰ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁴¹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁴² Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁴³ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁴⁴ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁴⁵ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁴⁶ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁴⁷ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁴⁸ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁴⁹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁵⁰ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁵¹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁵² Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁵³ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁵⁴ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁵⁵ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁵⁶ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁵⁷ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁵⁸ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁵⁹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁶⁰ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁶¹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁶² Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁶³ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁶⁴ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁶⁵ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁶⁶ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁶⁷ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁶⁸ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁶⁹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁷⁰ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁷¹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁷² Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁷³ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁷⁴ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁷⁵ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁷⁶ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁷⁷ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁷⁸ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁷⁹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁸⁰ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁸¹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁸² Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁸³ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁸⁴ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁸⁵ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁸⁶ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁸⁷ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁸⁸ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁸⁹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁹⁰ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁹¹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁹² Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁹³ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁹⁴ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁹⁵ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁹⁶ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁹⁷ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁹⁸ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ⁹⁹ Includes all persons over \$1.60. ¹⁰⁰ Includes all persons over \$1.60.

post-war year, basing their estimates on the nation's experience over a long period of years. The work force of 55.5 million workers includes 40 million wage and small salaried workers, and 15.5 million farmers and business proprietors. The Commerce Department points out that, in order to keep our industrial plants and our labor force fully employed, consumers' goods and services worth \$116 billion (at 1944 prices) would have to be produced and bought by the people of the United States in the first year after post-war readjustments.

To create a demand for this quantity of consumer goods production, American consumers, including all groups, must spend \$116 billion and buy that quantity of goods.

Commerce Department figures show that when overtime is eliminated, and surplus workers leave their wartime jobs, and servicemen are reabsorbed into industry, the buying power of workers at today's wage rates will be short of the necessary amount by about \$11 billion. That is, the amount of income in the hands of consumers will be only \$105 billion to buy \$116 billion worth of goods. These figures are based entirely on Commerce Department reports of the national income in 1944 and on the taxes, savings, etc., recorded in "Markets After the War." The loss of buying power due to the ending of overtime alone will be about \$15 billion.

The \$11 billion shortage in buying power represents the shortage in workers' income alone. Figures are not available to show whether the anticipated income of farmers, small business men, or any other group will be adequate. The workers' deficit, however, is much the most important, for workers must be counted on to buy 75 per cent of all the consumers' goods sold on the market. Farmers, business men, professionals and all others together buy only 25 per cent.

Full employment cannot possibly exist when production of \$116 billion dollars' worth of consumer goods is necessary to keep everyone at work, but only \$105 billion of buying power exists to buy these goods. To make up the workers' \$11 billion deficit in buying power would require a wage increase averaging 14 cents an hour to the nation's 40 million workers. (In round numbers, 40 million wage and small salaried workers work 2,000 hours per year each, or a total of 80 billion manhours. Adding 14 cents per hour for 80 billion man-hours would give a total increase of \$11.2 billion. If this deficit is not made up it will create a nation-wide depression with unemployment mounting to millions.

In planning wage increases it is important that increases for the lowest paid groups be particularly emphasized for two reasons: 1. They are greatly in need of increases to give them even a bare subsistence living level. 2. Any increase in the wages of low income workers will create an immediate demand for the products of industry for workers whose pay is so low they spend everything they have for food, clothing, housing, furnishings and other necessities. Their income does not permit savings.

If industry continues to operate at full-production and full-employment levels, it should unquestionably be able to pay the wage increase of 14 cents

per hour necessary to make up the shortage of workers' buying power. A small part of the increase might be given in the form of reduced prices, if price declines are not so great as to cause economic collapse.

Increased productivity will make substantial wage increases possible. Amazing new techniques and machines have been developed, greatly reducing manual labor and replacing the work of millions. The Commerce Department estimates that between the years 1940 and 1946, 8 million workers will have been displaced by improvements in efficiency. These same improvements make it possible to pay substantially higher wages, and to sell products at lower prices.

Also, full use of plant capacity brings large savings in overhead. The proportion of sales income spent for general administrative costs was reduced by almost half when sales doubled, from 1939 to 1942, in more than a thousand companies reported by the Securities and Exchange Commission. This alone represents a saving of several billion dollars when industry in general operates at full capacity.

The enormous savings available for wage payments are shown in the profit figures for 1943, when profits of all companies before taxes amounted to \$22.8 billion, an increase of \$17.5 billion since 1939. The major part of this increase was absorbed by federal taxes in 1943, but even after the highest taxes in history had been paid, American corporations earned more net income than in 1939 and also earned a higher percentage return on net worth.

It is significant that *Fortune Magazine* (January 1944) in proposing a plan for full employment says: "1943 profits even after taxes seem high enough" and suggests that the profits released by lower post-war corporation taxes be given to wage and salaried workers to increase their income.

To raise workers' income sufficiently to give decent living standards to all and to create a full-employment economy, our unions will need to cooperate with management to improve efficiency, particularly in those industries where labor costs are relatively high and efficiency is low. This can only be done on a basis of restored collective bargaining, under conditions assuring the workers commensurate improvement in wages and work conditions in return for their efforts to increase efficiency.

Your Executive Council cannot impress too strongly on the convention the following facts: Full production and full employment make possible a high level of wages. Increased costs of government and payments on our war debt will require large revenues from taxes. If production and national income are at high levels a relatively low tax rate will bring in the necessary funds. However, if industry operates at low levels, using only part of its capacity, high wages will become a burden which many companies cannot pay, and the necessary taxes on corporations and individuals will also be burdensome at low levels of production. Such burdens tend to discourage the business initiative on which employment depends.

The American Federation of Labor has a definite part to play in the national effort to bring full production and full employment. Our task is to

see that wage rates are high enough to provide a good living and furnish the necessary buying power, which alone can make full production possible.

At today's wage rates there is a shortage of workers' buying power. This shortage is so serious that it will undermine the very basis of our future prosperity, threatening to plunge the country into a disastrous business depression.

To correct this shortage, substantial wage increases for all union members must be secured. But our task will not be ended there. Millions of low paid, unorganized workers must also have their wages raised. Full production and full employment will not be possible unless they too receive very substantially higher wages. To secure the necessary wage increases throughout industry we recommend the following program:

1. That all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor make a concerted drive for wage increases for all workers.

2. That the necessary legislative action be taken to raise substantially the wage floor provided in the Fair Labor Standards Act.

3. That a concerted drive under Federation leadership be carried out during the coming year to assist international unions in organizing workers in their jurisdictions in the low paid industries and in raising their pay; and where there are no international unions having jurisdiction that the workers be organized in federal labor unions and the necessary wage increases secured.

Table II and the chart herewith show the industries in which wages are lowest. They employ 9 million workers and include the following:

Power laundries, tobacco manufacturers, textile mill products and other fiber manufactures, retail trade, cleaning and dyeing, lumber and timber basic products, furniture and finished lumber products, leather and leather products, paper and allied products, apparel and other finished textile products, food, quarrying and non-metallic mining, and stone, clay and glass products.

Table II.

AVERAGE WAGES IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY, MARCH 1944

Number of Employees	Industry	Straight- time Hourly Earnings	Full-time Yearly Earnings (52 weeks of 40 hours)
249,000	Power Laundries	\$.60	\$1,248
84,000	Tobacco Manufactures	.66	1,373
1,152,000	Textile-Mill Products & Other Fiber Manufactures	.66	1,373
4,112,000	Retail Trade	.68	1,414
79,000	Cleaning & Dyeing	.71	1,477
432,000	Lumber & Timber Basic Products	.73	1,518
349,000	Furniture & Finished Lumber Products	.75	1,560
313,000	Leather and Leather Products	.75	1,560
310,000	Paper and Allied Products	.77	1,602
808,000	Apparel & Other Finished Textile Products	.77	1,602
941,000	Food	.78	1,622
53,000	Quarrying and Nonmetallic Mining	.83	1,726
339,000	Stone, Clay & Glass Products	.83	1,726
Minimum Wage for Bare Subsistence, Family of Four		.85	1,770
626,000	Chemicals and Allied Products	.87	1,810
389,000	Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries ¹	.87	1,810
750,000	Electrical Machinery	.93	1,934
232,000	Street Railways & Buses	.93	1,934
404,000	Nonferrous Metals and Their Products	.96	1,997
1,763,000	Wholesale Trade	.97	2,018
1,691,000	Iron and Steel and Their Products	.99	2,059
87,000	Metal Mining	1.00	2,080
1,219,000	Machinery, Except Electrical	1.01	2,101
200,000	Rubber Products	1.01	2,101
336,000	Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	1.01	2,101
127,000	Products of Petroleum and Coal	1.08	2,246
204,000	Electric Light & Power	1.09	2,267
93,000	Crude Petroleum Production	1.13	2,350
2,213,000	Transportation Equipment, Except Automobiles	1.15	2,392
69,000	Coal Mining—Anthracite	1.16	2,413
725,000	Automobiles	1.16	2,413
366,000	Coal Mining—Bituminous	1.18	2,454
Minimum Wage for Health and Efficiency, Family of Four		1.30	2,712
339,000	Private Building Construction	1.30	2,704
21,054,000			

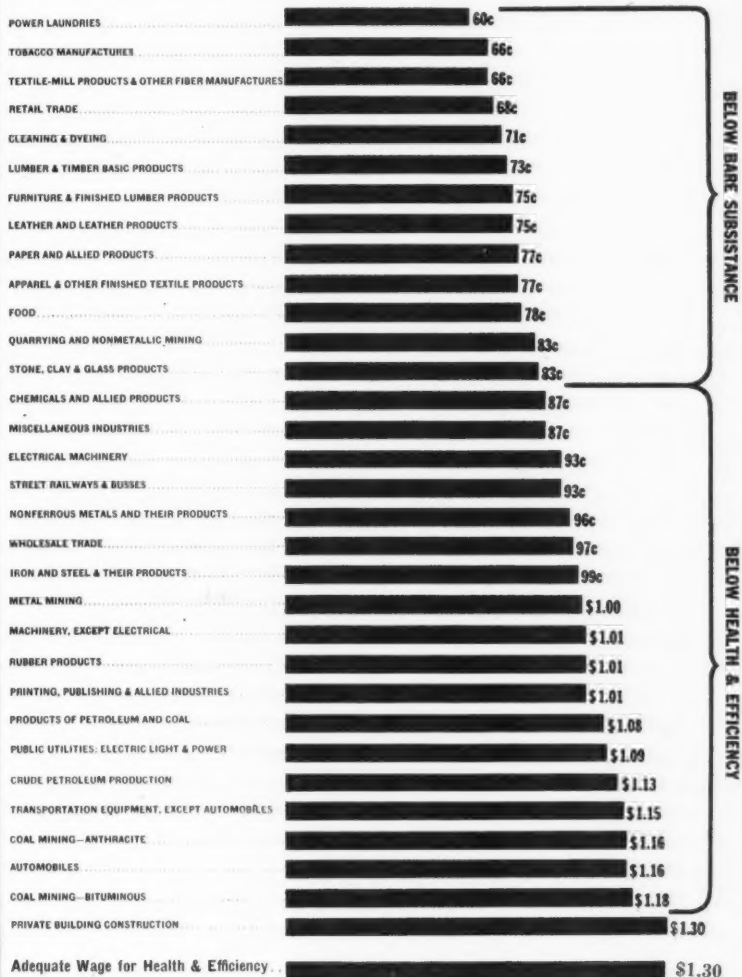
Source: Wage figures are from U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

¹ These are: Photographic apparatus, pianos, organs and parts, games, toys and dolls, buttons, fire extinguishers, professional and scientific instruments.

Bare Subsistence: Labor Department "Maintenance Budget." Health and Efficiency: Heller Committee Budget. Brought up to May 1944 prices by Mitchell Committee figures as described above.

BLS index is used to calculate the increase in living cost from December 1943 to May 1944 (latest figure). Since the BLS figure shows less than the actual rise in living costs, it is likely that the increase of 0.5% which it shows from December 1943 to May 1944 is a little too low. And the resulting figure of 28.3% is certainly conservative.

STRAIGHT-TIME WAGES IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY, MARCH 1944



UNION RESEARCH

The post-war period will be characterized by two dominating forces: the effort to achieve full employment and revolutionary technical changes as new progress in industrial chemistry and other applied sciences is put into production.

The first—full employment—will require active and informed cooperation of workers and management based on the facts of local employment, unemployment, existing production and potential production by locality, by industries and for the nation. There will be needed technically trained persons who understand how to measure efforts and interpret measurements. Technicians should report to union executives responsible to the union wage-earners.

The union also needs the advice of persons who can keep them forewarned of production and technological changes that they must meet. When such changes are certain and imminent the union needs to provide its members with such educational and training opportunities as will fit them to do the new work. A notable illustration of how a union can prepare for changes in production is the school in electronics which the International Brotherhood of Electric Workers has arranged to train its membership in the new principles of lighting.

We commend to national and international unions provisions for meeting their fact-finding needs, either through their own staff or by joint arrangement with other unions or with the Federation.

In arranging for research services, it is important to base all arrangements on the principle that research is a service to the union and to its officers. Research provides information on facts and conditions which help the union and its officials to determine policies. The control and the policy-making must be retained by the union and delegated only to elected officials.

It is inevitable that unions will increasingly use research services and hence it is important that more persons have opportunity to train for this specialized field or opportunities for "training on the job." We could encourage interrelationships between research workers and American Federation of Labor unions.

CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVES

With the high prices and poor quality goods furnished by stores and markets this year, workers have turned in increasing numbers to consumers' cooperation. They are recognizing that, in order to control quality and price of the goods they need for living, they must combine their buying power in cooperatives, just as they combine their labor power in unions to control their conditions of work. Grocery sales by cooperatives have more than doubled in the last two years. This growing interest in cooperatives comes at a time when Labor faces concentration of power in the hands of powerful anti-union interests, when the need of a strong consumers' cooperative movement, closely allied to organized labor, is greater than ever before.

The number of local retail cooperative stores has increased so that today

there are more than 5,000, all owned and controlled by workers, farmers and other consumers. The retails in turn have combined their buying power into cooperative wholesales, so as to buy quality goods in huge quantity at great saving in price. There are today 24 regional cooperative wholesales serving the local retail cooperatives throughout the country and owned by them. They maintain laboratories where they test and grade label goods to assure quality; they made advantageous bargains with manufacturers to supply them with quality goods at low price; and when the demand from cooperative retails is great enough, they manufacture the goods required.

Consumers' cooperatives in the United States today own 102 factories, a coal mine, 10 gasoline refineries, 296 oil wells and 800 miles of pipe line. They manufacture flour, canned foods, roast coffee, sausage, butter, cheese, bread, gasoline and lubricating oils and greases, lumber, paint, printing. They mine coal; and to supply farmers they manufacture feed, fertilizer, farm machinery, and operate chick hatcheries. It should be noted that these are not producers' cooperatives, but factories owned by consumer cooperatives. They are controlled by consumers and manufacture only the goods for which consumer cooperatives' members have already created a demand. They produce for an assured market. This is true Rochdale cooperation, the only type endorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

Progress of consumer cooperatives into manufacture has been greater in the last year than ever before. During 1943 alone, cooperative wholesales bought 25 factories worth \$15,000,000.

Cooperative savings from manufacture represent the "profit" between production costs and what the cooperative paid for the product when it bought from private manufacturers. Experience has shown these savings to be so great that the entire cost of the factory is paid for in a relatively short time. Cooperators therefore use the slogan "Factories are free." As examples, Southern States Cooperative bought a flour mill in North Carolina and paid for it in one year's earnings; National Cooperatives bought a cosmetic plant and paid for it in six months; a plant to manufacture milking machines was paid for out of 10 months' earnings, and the oil refinery bought by the Consumers Cooperative Association of Kansas City at a cost of \$750,000 was paid for out of savings ("or profits") from 27 months operation.

When workers and other consumers through their cooperatives control the means of production in any line of goods, they can prevent monopolies and powerful interests from exploiting them by charging excessive prices. American farmers broke the fertilizer trusts and forced them to reduce prices, and thus saved millions of dollars. In Sweden, workers' cooperatives broke powerful monopolies in flour, rubber goods, electric light bulbs and margarine by manufacturing these products in competition with the monopolies and selling at a price workers could afford.

All the savings from cooperative retails, wholesales and factories are returned to members of the retail cooperatives, thus increasing their buying power. There are today about 2,500,000 members of consumer cooperatives,

doing a business of about a billion dollars a year and saving themselves about \$25 million yearly.

In countries where consumers' cooperatives have been particularly effective in increasing workers' buying power and controlling prices and quality, the cooperatives have always existed side by side with private business. This competition between cooperatives' business and private business has been healthy.

Consumers' cooperatives can be, and already are a very healthful influence in improving the position of the member of organized labor in his efforts to improve wages and working conditions. The cooperative, as employer, because it is owned by the members of organized labor and others, can establish a yardstick of higher wages and better working conditions and thus compel other employers to raise their standards. This has happened, until it is the established rule in other countries. Despite the fact that the consumer cooperatives of this country have not yet developed controlling influence in our economic world, we hear reports of several instances where this practice and rule has already been applied in the United States.

What Labor can accomplish by consumers' cooperation is shown in Waukegan, Illinois. The three cooperatives there are 33 years old, and today have a membership including nearly one-third of all families in Waukegan and vicinity, most of whom are members of unions. American Federation of Labor union members sit on the board of directors, and nearly all of the 115 employees of the cooperative belong to their respective American Federation of Labor unions. Their wages are well above average. In 1943, when many private stores furnished shoddy goods at exorbitant prices, these cooperatives sold \$1,541,000 worth of high quality products to their 4,400 members at fair prices and saved a total of \$79,000.

In many European countries before the war consumer cooperatives handled from 25 to 40 per cent of the entire retail business of the country and were manufacturing a large number of living necessities such as food and clothing. Cooperative housing had also been successful. In these countries the cooperatives had great influence in bringing about full employment, minimizing business depressions and preventing unemployment. By returning to their members all savings (or "profits") they keep buying power at a high level so that members can buy what they produce. In Finland in 1938, 40 per cent of the country's business was handled by cooperatives. In that year, 10,000,000 persons were out of work in the United States, but there was no unemployment in Finland. During the depression of the '30's, when American workers were on WPA or relief, consumer cooperatives in England gave back to their members \$600,000,000 in patronage refunds. With this buying power English workers bought shoes, clothing, bread, radios and automobiles, creating jobs in English factories.

Successful operation of consumer cooperatives by members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has increased greatly in the last 12 years. Today we have a record of 46 successful cooperative stores where our members sit on the board of directors or otherwise take an active

part in directing policies. Their sales in 1943 totalled about \$10,780,508. Total membership in 25 of these cooperatives increased from 15,647 in 1941 to 19,710 in 1943. Most of these stores are selling groceries, meats and produce, but a number also sell gasoline, oil, auto supplies, insurance, coal, clothing, and hardware. Sales records for 25 of them show an increase from \$5,485,901 in 1941 to \$7,549,101 in 1943.

Such reports as these are typical, showing good management and growth: Store "completely modernized"; "steady growth in sales"; "planning larger stores"; "moved into big store and increased sales 300 per cent"; "modernized stores, and added milk routes." We know this record is very incomplete and that there are other cooperatives in which Federation members are participating but of which we have no report.

This new vigor in the cooperative movement comes at a most opportune time. American workers look into a very uncertain future. While there is general agreement among all elements in our country—employers, workers, and farmers—that a high level of production and employment must be maintained when the country returns to peacetime work, no definite steps have been taken to bring this about. Reactionary employers are bringing pressure to keep wages down, and there is no evidence that any enlightened leadership exists in American industry which would promote a sane policy of building up workers' buying power.

In addition to increasing wages, workers will have to depend on growth of the consumers' cooperative movement as one of the most vital steps in bringing full production and jobs for all in the United States. A strong cooperative movement, existing side by side with individual enterprise, can act as a balance wheel in the American economy. By returning to their worker-members all savings from the joint enterprise, cooperatives can help to create the buying power to maintain full production.

Consumers' cooperation is basic, too, in the effort of workers in all nations to bring about lasting peace in the world. Durable peace must rest on a broad basis of right economic relations between nations, and the kind of international trade which serves the people of all countries concerned. Before the war, the world cooperative movement had already created a world-wide organization which was beginning to promote trade between cooperatives in different countries.

The International Cooperative Alliance united 100,000,000 cooperative members in 39 countries. Trade between cooperatives in these countries was carried on for one purpose only, to serve the peoples of the countries concerned. There was no exploitation of people for profit, no struggle for markets, no planning for scarcity and high prices, no seeking after power and domination. International trade of this type does away with the causes of war.

Today cooperatives have been destroyed in Fascist-dominated countries, but their members are ready to revive them as soon as liberation permits. Cooperatives and trade unions are the two most important organizations of the people which can be counted on to revive democracy in these countries.

Cooperatives can also help greatly in rehabilitation, in getting the people of these countries back to a self-supporting basis.

In America, farmers have made far more progress in meeting their economic needs through consumers' cooperation than have workers.

Our unions went through a bitter period of failure in cooperative enterprise in the early 1920's. Between that time and today, however, methods of organizing cooperatives have been revolutionized. No intelligent group today ventures into the highly competitive field of retail store operation without careful study and preparation, and guidance from someone with experience in cooperative enterprise.

The method today is first to inform local union members about the cooperative movement, through literature, radio and personal interviews. Next study clubs are formed by those who are interested so that they learn the fundamentals of cooperation. After that, small buying clubs are started, giving members experience in buying a few staple foods at wholesale so they can learn to buy quality goods at low cost.

In study clubs and buying clubs there is practically no possibility of financial loss. The buying club will also serve as a testing ground to show whether the group has what is necessary to succeed in cooperative business. If sufficient interest and responsibility are lacking, the club closes without financial loss to anyone, for they have no investment except a small quantity of food purchased at wholesale and this is distributed to those who paid for it. If the group shows ability, they can, after further study and guidance, proceed to set up a modest cooperative store. They will then need a supervisor who can give them experienced information on operating the store.

The process of training may take about two years. It can be best carried out if responsibility is vested in a cooperative committee of the central labor union which works closely with a representative of the Cooperative League. It can be greatly aided if the central labor union can employ a full-time man, trained in cooperative organization and methods. One of their own local union members may well serve if he takes the necessary training. Such training should be had through the Cooperative League. The Chicago Federation of Labor has cooperated by giving radio time on Station WCFL and the Council for Cooperative Development has supplied a full-time organizer. Five new cooperatives serving Federation members have been organized this year (1944). In all, Federation members sit on the boards of directors in 21 Chicago cooperatives, which do a \$2.5 million business yearly, with earnings of more than \$100,000.

Through cooperatives American workers can reduce the cost and raise the quality of the things they need for living, just as farmers have done. Thus far we have missed this great opportunity to raise our living standards, largely because the methods of training our members in successful management of cooperatives had not been developed. Today we need no longer be held back, for these methods are known and understood. Some assistance in organizing cooperatives can be had from the Cooperative League of U.S.A., and many cooperative wholesales have field men to assist beginners in learning

cooperative management. With guidance and supervision of a responsible director in the Federation, a strong consumers' cooperative movement could gradually be built up among our membership.

Your Executive Council recommends that the Convention provide a Department of Consumers' Cooperation within the Federation with a full-time executive and the necessary staff, so that information on consumer cooperatives can be collected and assistance given to central bodies and local unions interested in learning how to set up study clubs and buying clubs and how to manage consumer cooperatives. Because many of our organizations interested in consumers' cooperatives know very little about them, it is essential to have some responsible person at headquarters to direct them and make sure that they follow the proper course. We recommend also that the *Federationist* and Labor's Monthly Survey continue to carry articles on consumers' cooperation.

The serious economic problems ahead of us call for close collaboration between the American Federation of Labor and the Cooperative League of U.S.A. These two great democratic movements are both working to raise living standards; they should go forward hand in hand and strengthen each other in this common effort. American workers will need consumers' cooperatives as never before in the years ahead, to build up their buying power and thus create jobs, to stabilize employment, and prevent price profiteering.

CREDIT UNIONS

There are more than 11,000 credit unions in the United States with a total membership of over 3,000,000 and a yearly loan business of about \$210,000,000. Their growth in recent years has been sound and steady under the careful supervision of federal and state agencies that have provided a safe place for their members to invest money and make loans at very reasonable costs. Most credit unions give their members a higher rate of return on money invested than they could receive by investing their money in savings banks.

The Federation has made special studies of credit unions serving our members. Questionnaires forwarded to our central labor unions in 1944 and previous years show a total of 674 local unions in 200 cities which have credit union services available to their members. We have, however, received reports from only about one-quarter of our central labor unions and this figure is only a partial record of credit union services.

A special study covering 115 credit unions serving union members was made for the year 1941. This study showed a total membership in these credit unions of nearly 62,000, of which two-thirds or more than 40,000 are union members. These credit union members were doing an annual loan business of nearly \$9,000,000 in 1941 and had a total of \$8,243,000 invested in share capital.

Practically all these credit unions pay substantial dividends to their members on savings invested. Dividends usually range from 3 to 6 per cent, with a substantial number paying 6 per cent.

Of these 115 credit unions, 69 are chartered by state charters and 43 were

chartered by the Federal Government (3 unknown). Usually these credit unions follow the practice of including in their membership all the members of a plant or government department, whether they belong to the union or not.

Our members have in general found that this basis of organization is satisfactory and in most cases union members are especially active in carrying on the business of the credit union and holding official positions in it. In 39 credit unions, membership is limited to union members.

Unions which have had experience with credit unions express a general view that the credit union preserves the benefits of hard-won union gains by giving members security in emergencies and a higher financial and credit status in their communities. It means much to union members to know that in time of need they can have immediate help from a friendly source in their own credit union, and this knowledge gives a new sense of independence, security, peace of mind and freedom. It is sound policy to keep members' savings in their own credit union to serve their own needs, for in borrowing they feel obligation to no one but their fellow members.

In general, interest rates on money invested in the credit union are higher and rates on loans are lower than can be had elsewhere; and the credit union forms a convenient place for members to build up savings by small weekly deposits or to make small loans which banks will not handle.

Unions emphasize the important service of the credit union in making thrift easy and popular. In a well-managed credit union, officers help members to set up a systematic saving plan, teach them wise spending, help members to budget their income so they can pay off indebtedness and stay out of debt in the future. Thousands of dollars are saved by freeing members from loan sharks.

Unions report that credit union loans are used for: Consolidating and paying off debts; medical, hospital, dental care; legal and burial expenses; to buy homes, automobiles, furniture, or for home improvements; to pay cash for purchases and avoid the high cost of installment buying; for education and summer courses; vacations; to save by buying coal in summer; for Christmas Clubs; to pay taxes; rent; union dues. Many credit unions insure all borrowers so that the loan leaves no burden on families in case the borrower dies or is disabled.

Where trade union and credit union work closely together, the credit union strengthens the trade union in many ways. It shows what can be done by cooperation, brings members closer together and cements the ties to their union by giving a new and valued service. It helps members keep in good standing, saves them from garnisheeing and so keeps them on the job and in the union. By meeting members' financial needs, the credit union wins respect and influence for the trade union and also gives officers a field of contact with members' problems and a chance for helpfulness that promotes better understanding. One union reports: The trade union and the credit union go hand in hand. Another states: Savings through the credit union built our Labor Temple.

In war time, credit unions have an outstanding record of war bond buying.

About one-third report that they are agents to sell bonds and are urging their members to buy. Some have sold \$30,000 to \$40,000 worth. About half have invested surplus funds in war bonds and hold from \$3,000 to \$125,000 in bonds.

Credit unions form an important part of the Rochdale consumers cooperative movement. The facilities of federal and state governments and the Credit Union National Association now available to assist unions in organizing credit unions provide safeguards against faulty organization and inefficient management. Experience has proved that over a period of years losses to members who invested their money in credit unions in the United States have been so rare and so small in amount as to be almost insignificant. Under the careful supervision of government banking examiners thousands of union members have proved their ability to manage credit unions and benefit by them.

In view of the experience of our members with credit unions, we welcome the growth of this service to union members and urge our affiliated organizations to assist in the organization of credit unions to serve their membership. Credit union organization should be undertaken only with the advice and guidance of the proper representatives from the government or from the Credit Union National Association.

SOCIAL INSURANCE. The preponderant number of our citizens depend upon current earned income in the form of wages and salaries to meet their obligations and pay costs of living. Whatever interferes with income earning upsets the order of their lives and creates insecurity and hardship. Persons whose incomes are large enough to enable them to accumulate investments and buy life insurance and annuities, have greater security. To protect workers against some of the emergencies that prevent income-earning and to help employers in meeting their security obligations to large groups of workers, commercial insurance companies have developed the principles and actuarial tables of group insurance. However, costs even of group insurance covering limited numbers, are too high for the method to become universal. Small salaried persons and wage earners cannot accumulate property or buy insurance on an individual basis. Rates of commercial companies are too high.

The major industrial countries therefore made social insurance available to low-income workers. By law, coverage is defined on a wide enough basis to put rates within the reach of all. Pooling risks over a wide base lowers costs. The law requires employers to make necessary deductions from wages and contributions from the company. By putting insurance on a contributory basis, it is made essentially different from relief. Workers have equities and rights.

The frequent, recurrent emergencies that interfere with income earning are: short-time disability due to sickness or accidents; loss of job or unemployment; long-time disability due to chronic illness, mental disease, or physical disability; old age and lowered ability to meet production requirements. These are things which can happen to everybody and are calamities for wage earners and their families if there is no income to tide them over the periods of adjustment. The family and the workers exhaust their usable

funds and become dependent—an experience that overshadows the rest of life.

Old Age and Survivors' Insurance. The Old Age and Survivors provisions (amended in 1939) set up a federal system, thereby simplifying administrative problems. By the end of 1943, 76 million accounts were established in the Division of Old Age and Survivors' Benefits, representing 66 per cent of the population 14 years of age or older.

Workers in occupations covered by the law, have the right to accumulate old age insurance to protect them from dependency after a lifetime of self-dependence, and their dependents from a similar fate. But old age dependency happens also to self-employed persons and others not covered—farm laborers, domestic workers, et cetera. There is no good reason why this provision should not be extended to this wider coverage.

In 1943 benefits under old age and survivors' insurance totaled \$16 million monthly, paid to 885,400 beneficiaries—an increase of 28 per cent over 1942 in numbers and amounts.

The number of widow benefits increased 62 per cent; primary benefits 21 per cent; children's benefits 35 per cent. The number of suspended benefits rose from 11 to 13 per cent of all benefits.

For these purposes \$155 millions were certified—an increase of 25 per cent over 1942.

The old age and survivors' insurance fund had risen to \$4,820 millions.

Financing Old Age Insurance. There are two current proposals for financing old age insurance: one, on a contributory basis, and the other by appropriations from taxes. The American Federation of Labor has stood uncompromisingly for the contributory basis as the way to assure workers rights and equity in the system and to afford them a dignified, self-respecting way to meet their own problems. Wage earners are counting upon this insurance for the years when they are no longer able to work. If this insurance is financed out of taxes it will irresistibly be pulled down to relief standards and away from insurance for an emergency.

The responsibility of seeing to it that benefits are available as needed, rests upon Congress. For the past two years Congress has voted not to put into effect the two per cent contribution provided in the law. Some Members of Congress hold that the 1939 amendments were intended to adjust contributions to current needs, while the Social Security Board believes that this was not the case, and that the increased rate is necessary to provide the reserves to meet obligations incurred. There should be no misunderstanding on this basic issue. If the law is ambiguous, policy should be determined and the necessary amendments enacted.

The benefit load will not develop to its normal demands until after several decades of operation. Experience will indicate normal demand for benefits. We believe the rate of contribution should not be kept high just to pile up reserves when it is possible to go on a current pay-as-we-go basis. If too large reserves are frozen outside our productive economy, employment is endangered. However, the present benefit payments are low in comparison to contributions and earnings. The age at which the wife of an insured person

becomes eligible for supplementary benefits should be lowered to 60. The basic primary benefit should be increased also for those who temporarily return to work and benefit rates should be recalculated on a basis of new earnings and contributions for old age beneficiaries. In addition, compensation should be provided for a related problem—permanent or long-time disability. The benefits should be the same as for old age.

Unemployment Compensation. Expenditures for unemployment under state laws and the Federal Railway Act declined from \$11,700,000 for December, 1942, to \$4,300,000 for December, 1943. In 1943, for the first time annual benefit payments were less than \$100 million. They dropped to \$80,100,000. The number unemployed had dropped to 900,000. While labor shortages were acute in some areas, time was required to find jobs for those laid off. Reserves had mounted to \$4,700,000,000.

However, even under the approach to full employment of 1942, unemployed workers had exhausted their benefit rights before getting jobs. Obviously provision for short duration of payments may defeat the purpose of the legislation. The benefit formulas of the state follow two patterns. One provides a uniform duration for all workers who meet the financial eligibility requirement. The variable duration relates payment of benefits to the amount of employment or earnings the worker had in a previous period with a specified maximum.

A study of duration of payments in 47 states for benefit years ending in 1942, showed that in 32 of 47 states, one-third of all beneficiaries exhausted their benefit rights before finding work; in 6 states with variable duration formula, more than one-half exhausted their rights, and in one state nearly three-fourths.

Present duration provisions are inadequate even for a period of high employment as in 1942.

We question whether a system should be called unemployment insurance when eligible claimants have less than four potential weeks of benefits as in 5 states and large numbers of workers exhaust benefit rights before securing jobs. Rate of exhaustion rises as the weekly benefit rate drops—that is, workers unfortunate in holding jobs are unfortunate in getting compensation.

The trend toward more rigid disqualification provisions is becoming pronounced. Unemployment compensation is intended to cover involuntary unemployment. Disqualifying provisions are intended to screen out persons voluntarily unemployed and they properly impose a longer waiting period. When in addition they cancel credits, they are amending eligibility—not merely penalizing voluntary unemployment.

There are many problems arising out of the legal provisions of disqualification and administrative decisions upon them. Decisions of appeal boards and courts should also be watched carefully. A bad precedent started in one jurisdiction tends to spread throughout the fifty-one. Unemployment insurance funds are not the property of employers and should not be administered as such. They are to pay compensation due workers under prescribed conditions and should be administered as a public trust for the benefit of workers.

Standards for state laws should provide benefits for at least 26 weeks and include provision for extension in emergency periods, with benefit amounts ranging from 65 to 75 per cent of full-time earnings.

Disqualifying provisions should carry no further penalty than delaying benefit payments.

Experience rating which has developed into a popular form of reducing employers' rate of payment, should be either abolished or safeguarded by increasing the rates of companies responsible for irregular employment so that an assured unemployment compensation fund would be available. When standards are raised so that the unemployment compensation system can perform its real function of enabling workers to maintain self-dependence between jobs, then adjustment of the rate of contribution paid by all can be reconsidered.

Medical Care. Neglected disease and physical defects are recorded plainly in the results of physical examinations under Selective Service. The rejections among the 22-year old men amounted to 42 per cent and rose to 86 per cent among the 37-year olds. Teeth were responsible for 16 per cent of rejections and eyes for 12 per cent; hernia 6 per cent; venereal disease 6 per cent; ear, nose and throat 5 per cent; feet 3 per cent; underweight 3 per cent. All are difficulties that might have been prevented or minimized by timely and adequate medical care.

The physical condition of these younger citizens is typical of the health of the nation. It is disquieting as we know that physical condition below par limits the total capacity of individuals. It is safe to assume a connection between the depression years and this coincidence of physical defects. There are studies which show that sickness comes oftener and lasts longer in lower income families. Because family income does not permit the calling of physicians except for serious illness, often disease is neglected in its incipient stages and develops into unnecessarily serious physical consequences.

Illnesses are unpredictable for the individual who may escape for a year or two and then have a series of illnesses or a lasting disability. An individual may have a long interval with no physical ailment requiring medical care, but dental aid and oculist bills may consume all his savings.

Back in the '30's there was a broad study of the costs of medical care that demonstrated plainly that high costs kept persons from getting the care needed and showed the relationship between average income and adequate local provisions for medical care. During the depression a study directed by the United States Public Health Service gave more information on the extent of illness and time lost through it. Sickness rates are averages which give a frequency rating for the total population and helps individuals collectively to make plans to care for illness and to pay the costs.

In the depression began the development of pre-payment plans intended to save hospitals from bankruptcy as well as to serve people. The idea was extended to medical care in some localities. However, the costs of pre-payment plans have kept them from being extended to families that need medical services most. Costs can be reduced only as coverage is extended—reaching lowest terms for universal coverage pooling all risks.

It is regrettable that the responsible officials of the American Medical Association have rigidly opposed health insurance without considering the problem of how to provide adequate medical care for those who need it. Medical care is so intimately connected with life itself that denial of care often means denial of the right to life. That this right to life should be limited to the ability of the person to pay, places society in a very unenviable position.

On the other hand, even the seriousness of the problem does not justify the conclusion that we should turn to state medicine. The sound way is to give citizens the opportunity to provide against future need and by legislation pool risks and thus reduce prices. This can be a cooperative undertaking when the American Medical Association helps to work out the plans. It is possible to give workers an effective right to a doctor of their own choosing and to provide medical services without encroaching on the professional freedom of doctors, surgeons and technicians by setting up the machinery for cooperation. Since workers and their families will be the recipients of the medical services and their health and lives will be affected, they also have a right to participate in determining the rules of their cooperative endeavor.

Other preparation must be made in order to provide adequate medical care. There should be an adequate number of physicians located so as to meet needs. Under existing medical care distribution of doctors is determined by capacity of the locality to pay, as is true of distribution of hospitals, diagnostic facilities, nurses, et cetera. Facilities and provisions for adequate medical care require progress along two lines—education of more professional persons and building of needed hospitals and medical centers. Distribution of hospitals depends in a large measure upon local incomes and transportation facilities. After the war hospital plane transportation for acute cases will be a factor in determining location of rural hospitals.

In addition to training more doctors, medical schools and the medical profession should take forthright action on this problem—how to make medical services available to those who need them. This involves more and continuously available information services on new developments in healing and diagnosis as well as organization of medical services.

The American Federation of Labor believes the best results require personal relationship between individuals and their family physician. At present there is little opportunity for the majority of persons to choose a doctor or to consult him as they need advice. When ways are provided for individuals to have access to medical care, they make use of them.

A recent very useful study of two Canadian communities by Dr. L. Richter covered Glace Bay on Cape Breton Island, where an insurance plan has been in effect for 80 years providing medical care, and Yarmouth—without such a plan. The study disclosed these important conclusions:

Under health insurance, calls for the doctor were almost double those without insurance. Health insurance increases demand for medical services.

Permanent Program. In 1942 we urged legislation to provide an adequate social insurance program with equal standards for all the nation's workers

as the first step in post-war planning. It is everywhere accepted that an adequate system of social insurance is essential to maintain full employment and that an adequate social insurance system cannot be maintained without full employment. Congress has as yet failed to consider the legislation introduced in both Houses of Congress on our request.

An insurance system to be adequate must provide incomes for those emergencies which most commonly interfere with income earning; sickness, loss of job, long-time physical disability and disability due to old age. By including all wage earners and small salaried persons under the system and pooling risks, pre-payment amounts may be reduced to the lowest terms.

The goal is clear and simple. The legislative and administrative problems in reaching that goal are not so simple. They are further complicated by the fact that parts of the program are already in existence and have developed certain vested interests and reluctance to change. What American workers want is equal insurance opportunities for all—a policy that would promote mobility and willingness to seek jobs wherever they might exist. Present differences in state unemployment benefits make workers hesitate to accept jobs where their chances for insurance benefits are less.

The principles written into our permanent program should be guided by the understanding that social insurance serves workers employed in industries that are nationally organized and are supplying national and international markets. But insurance is only supplementary to employment. Workers first of all want jobs in which they can use their best skills, so that their maximum production will bring them good incomes. They prefer that job where their homes are, if possible; but if not possible, they must weigh change against a less satisfactory job. Consequently they want their union and the local U. S. Employment Bureau to gather information with a national scope. Because they are reluctant to move, they want the local Employment Bureau to give all possible clues to jobs with the local industrial area, which draws on the local labor market. The labor market operates without regard to political lines or governmental jurisdictions. An effective national employment service needs to coordinate information from local areas, making information on jobs in one area available to all. Whatever slows down this free flow of information and services, reduces the effectiveness of the services and interferes with workers getting the best possible jobs. Obviously workers will want to carry their social insurance with them wherever they may go for work. They do not want their equities impaired by the fact that they move to another area or region in order to get employment.

Work for the Coming Year. Our Committee on Social Insurance has been studying analyses of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill and is studying the social insurance systems of other countries and proposals to reorganize them. All these systems are agencies to achieve freedom from want and fear for the masses of the people, but each must work out the machinery and techniques to conform to their national ideals and habits.

The Committee is working to get the best judgment and experience on revisions to improve our proposals for permanent legislation.

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

While under the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, a universal minimum wage of 40 cents per hour would automatically have become effective on October 24, 1945, for all workers covered by the Act, the Wage and Hour Administrator succeeded in achieving this objective almost a year and one-half ahead of schedule. Publication of the last two wage orders, effective July 17, 1944, completed the program to set a universal 40-cent minimum for the 21 million workers subject to the Act.

The Act provided for the appointment of industry committees to raise minimum wages to 40 cents per hour in specific industries as rapidly as possible without waiting for the statutory deadline of October, 1945. Under this procedure 69 industry committees have been convened in the five and one-half year period since the Act became effective and have submitted to the Administrator 113 different minimum wage recommendations. Wage orders issued pursuant to these wage recommendations have brought about an increase in pay for more than 2,900,000 lowest paid workers in industries employing over 34 million workers. Since July 1, 1943, 19 wage orders were issued for industries employing approximately 15 million workers. Nearly 610,000 workers in these industries had been receiving less than 40 cents per hour before the wage orders were issued.

Although the inspection staff of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions was substantially reduced, 54,000 establishments have been inspected under the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act since June, 1943. Two-thirds of 36,000 of these establishments were found in violation of some provision of the Act. Of these, 24,000 had violated the minimum wage and overtime provisions and more than 2,500 were operating in violation of child labor provisions.

About 5,000 complaints under both the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Public Contracts Act remained unadjusted at the end of the fiscal year (June 30, 1944), a volume considerably smaller than at the end of the preceding fiscal year.

Total restitutions of back wages either agreed to or ordered paid under the two Acts amounted to \$18,620,000, which was paid back to approximately half a million workers employed in 20,000 establishments. The total restitution under the two Acts represents an increase of more than \$1,500,000 over the previous year.

Over the five and one-half year period, the Wage and Hour Division ordered paid about \$70 million in restitution of illegally withheld wages to nearly 2 million workers in 90,000 establishments. Yet, of the establishments covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act alone, less than one-third have ever been inspected since the Act became effective.

Legislation depriving workers of the benefits of the Fair Labor Standards Act was passed in six states in 1943. These laws discriminate against wage claims by reducing to periods as short as six months the time in which a worker may sue to collect wages legally due him, although not similarly reducing the period in which the worker's creditors may sue him. These laws were passed in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Ohio and Oregon.

On June 5, 1944, the Supreme Court, in the case of *Addison et al. vs. Holly Hill Fruit Products, Inc.*, declared invalid the Administrator's decision to include within the "area of production" of agricultural commodities only establishments employing not more than 10 employees, and instructed the Administrator to re-define the "area of production" without reference to number. Workers employed in canning, packing, grain processing and other industrial operations in the "area of production" are exempt from the minimum wage and maximum hour provisions of the Act. The Supreme Court's decision therefore threatens to extend the exemption to employees of large firms engaged in these activities and thus greatly reduce the coverage of the Act.

The Executive Council believes that the maintenance of established minimum wage and overtime standards is essential to the prevention of mass unemployment after the war. It is only to be expected that with the appearance of even temporary and local unemployment in areas dominated by large-scale war production, powerful pressure will be exerted to reduce compensation of workers employed in civilian production as soon as war production ends. Such reductions in wages means reductions in incomes which alone can support mass employment after the war.

There is no denying the fact that the entire wage structure of American Labor will be under a tremendous stress in the years of transition. It must be realized as well that this downward stress will fall the heaviest upon the wages of workers in low-paying industries and occupations now protected by the minimum standards of the Wage and Hour Law. This area must be recognized as the danger zone for the entire wage structure of the nation, for the collapse of wages in this area will inevitably lead to widespread dislocation of all wages.

We therefore call for utmost vigilance on the part of all organized labor in guarding against any attempt to weaken by amendment, administrative rule or judicial decision, the firm minimum standards established to date. We also urge that special consideration be given in the future to specific measures designed to prevent a reduction in established full-time earnings as the result of the curtailment in the hours of work. The post-war goal in our wage policy must be the greatest attainable stability of the weekly, monthly and annual earnings of wage earners as the most important guarantee of future stability of production and employment.

LABOR STANDARDS ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

The volume of awards under the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, which has been in effect almost seven years, has increased tremendously under the impact of war production. During the first year of operation of the Public Contracts Act less than 4,000 contracts, valued at \$200 million, were awarded. In the past year, over 100,000 contracts valued at \$30 billion have been awarded. Approximately 1,000 new firms a month are receiving public contracts for the first time, in addition to firms receiving further contracts.

As a result of consolidation of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts

Divisions enforcement of the Public Contracts Act increased, with 12,000 inspections as compared with 7,900 the previous year. Half of these 12,000 establishments were found to be violating the Act: 5,200 were found to be in violation of the wage and other monetary provisions while 800 were in violation of child labor requirements.

It is to be regretted that the Public Contracts Act was permitted to remain dormant during this crucial period of public contract activity and that no determinations of prevailing minimum wages were made during this time. We again urge that minimum labor standards required by statute be given full application on all government contracts and that provision be made for prominent posting of such standards in every establishment covered, to make sure that the workers are fully informed of their rights.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Raiding. In the Executive Council's report for the year 1943, attention was directed to rulings of the Board in support of the policy adopted by rival unions in the raiding of American Federation of Labor unions. The attitude of the Board did not improve in the months following our last convention. Thereupon, representatives of the American Federation of Labor, together with its General Counsel, appeared before the full Board and pleaded with it to disavow the policy of raiding, and to make rulings which would discourage and prevent raiding.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The conference with the Board came about as a result of raids by the C.I.O. upon the membership of teamsters' unions, particularly in the Detroit area where contracts between the teamsters' unions and employers had been in existence for some time. It was shown to the Board (and the record sustains the showing) that the C.I.O. indulged in most unfair and unethical practices in raiding the teamsters. The C.I.O. would wait until the teamsters' union had, through the process of collective bargaining, obtained a new and better contract than the expiring one, and which provided for increased wages and improved working conditions for its members. However, as a result of delay by the War Labor Board in approving the wage increases, the employees became restless and dissatisfied; thereupon the C.I.O. would descend upon the employees and, by a campaign of false representations, induce the employees to secede from membership in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, claiming that the teamsters' unions were ineffective and impotent to secure increased wages.

The C.I.O. would then file a petition with the Labor Board to have itself certified as the collective bargaining representative. The National Labor Relations Board, instead of cooperating with the War Labor Board which claimed inability to process the case any faster, and instead of permitting the teamsters, which was the accredited bargaining agent, to obtain the benefit of the improved conditions which it had secured for its members, proceeded to hold hearings, order elections, and certify C.I.O. unions. Peculiarly, the teamsters' unions have been the victims of prejudicial rulings of the Board in a number of recent cases.

Although such raiding has a tendency to and does disrupt employment relations, and does affect production, thereby hindering the war effort, the majority of the Board has been deaf to the pleas of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the American Federation of Labor, and by its decisions has given aid, comfort and support to the raiding policy.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters. In other instances, the National Labor Relations Board has violated the National Labor Relations Act and adopted procedure greatly detrimental to the interests of American Federation of Labor unions and most favorable to rival, raiding unions. An amazing example is presented by the case of Potlatch Forests, Inc.

A raiding campaign was conducted by the International Wood Workers of America, affiliated with the C.I.O., against the Lumber and Sawmill Workers' Union, affiliated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. The C.I.O. in March, 1943, filed petitions with the National Labor Relations Board seeking to split off certain individual plant units from an employer-wide unit under which the Lumber and Sawmill Workers had bargained and contracted with the company. The company involved is the Potlatch Forests, Inc., a large lumber and sawmill operation in the State of Idaho.

The Board, after holding hearings, dismissed the petitions on the grounds that the units sought by the C.I.O. were inappropriate and that no question concerning representation had arisen. Shortly thereafter, the C.I.O. filed another petition for certification, asserting a new unit involving some plants of the company which were not involved in the prior case, and requesting the exclusion of various groups of employees which had been bargained for by the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union in the past. The Board took jurisdiction of this new petition, but refused to grant a hearing, although a hearing was demanded by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and was required by the rules of the National Labor Relations Board and the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. Instead of granting a hearing, the Board proceeded to order an election in the unit substantially as asked by the C.I.O. Under the circumstances then existing, a large number of the employees did not vote, and the C.I.O. won the election by a small majority of those voting and was certified. It should be noted that the Board's refusal to grant a hearing on the petition before the election was no oversight on the part of the Board, because vigorous protests and demands for a hearing were made by the Lumber and Sawmill Workers' Union. Moreover, even after the election, they moved the Board to vacate these unlawful proceedings. After consideration, it refused to rescind its prior action. It is, therefore, clear that the Board purposely refused to grant a hearing prior to the election, in absolute defiance of its own rules and of the law.

Naturally, such arbitrary and unlawful procedure resulted in appeals to the courts by the Brotherhood of Carpenters. Various district courts were impressed with the injustices in the Board proceedings, and held that the courts had jurisdiction to remedy the wrong done. The Board appealed to the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, and that Court held, by a

two-to-one decision, that under the National Labor Relations Act as worded no appeal in a representation case is provided for; that, therefore, the District Court had no jurisdiction to entertain the case. Chief Justice Groner, however, dissented most vigorously and was of the opinion that the Court did have jurisdiction. He asserted that it was an absolute denial of fundamental justice to refuse the United Brotherhood of Carpenters relief from a situation so unjust as is presented by the Potlatch case. In this case irregular procedure has been deliberately and arbitrarily used by the Board, and such procedure has facilitated the raiding of an American Federation of Labor Union under contract with the employer. Furthermore, by refusing a hearing when the same was due, it has involved itself and the union in lengthy and expensive litigation and further impaired public confidence in the Board's activities.

The International Harvester Case. One of the most flagrant examples of the National Labor Relations Board's encouragement of the C.I.O.'s deliberate raiding campaigns is the case involving the Rock Island plant of the International Harvester Company. The facts of that case go back to March of 1942 when two federal labor unions of the A. F. of L. and six local unions affiliated with the C.I.O., each of the eight unions representing the employees in the eight separate plants of the International Harvester Company, were before the National War Labor Board seeking maintenance of membership clauses in their respective contracts in the separate plants.

The National War Labor Board at first was reluctant to grant union security. However, the maintenance-of-membership clause was finally granted in each of the eight plants, but only upon the solemn statement and promise of the representatives of the respective unions that there would be no raids upon the membership of the rival organizations in the other plants. With the maintenance-of-membership clause secured, the C.I.O. flouted its promise to the War Labor Board and sometime later conducted a full scale raid upon the membership of the federal labor union which was the bargaining representative of the employees in the Rock Island plant, consummating its campaign by filing a petition for certification with the National Labor Relations Board. The American Federation of Labor petitioned the National War Labor Board to bring to the attention of the National Labor Relations Board this C.I.O. violation of the Board's order and the C.I.O.'s agreement of 1942. Acting on the American Federation of Labor petition, the War Labor Board instructed its Vice-Chairman to consult with the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board concerning this matter and pursuant to this instruction a letter was directed to the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board setting forth the promise given by the C.I.O. unions to the War Labor Board that they would not raid the membership of the American Federation of Labor in the plants in which the American Federation of Labor was the bargaining representative. Shortly after this letter was sent, the C.I.O. withdrew its petition.

The C.I.O.'s withdrawal of its petition in 1943 did not, however, end its disregard for its no-raiding promise to the National War Labor Board, for

in the spring of 1944 the C.I.O. again raided the American Federation of Labor union at the Rock Island plant of the International Harvester Company, and again a petition was filed with the National Labor Relations Board. The American Federation of Labor urged the dismissal of the C.I.O.'s petition before the National Labor Relations Board on the basis that the C.I.O. had violated its promise and agreement with the War Labor Board, and that the National Labor Relations Board should respect this agreement and promise entered into with another government agency.

The National Labor Relations Board, however, put its stamp of approval on the C.I.O.'s flouting of its agreement and promise to the War Labor Board by honoring the petition and ordering an election among the employees of the Rock Island plant. This decision can only contribute to irresponsibility in labor relations and encourage unscrupulous activities on the part of rival unions to plan and execute attacks upon the membership of the American Federation of Labor unions, activities surely not contemplated to be within the intent and purpose of the National Labor Relations Act by those who enacted it; and is encouragement of disruption of the war effort.

United Garment Workers and Cohn-Goldwater Company Agreement. Another decision of the National Labor Relations Board which demonstrates the total disregard in which the Board holds historic and long-established collective bargaining relationships and contracts of various American Federation of Labor unions was the case of Cohn-Goldwater Company.

In this case the issue before the Board was whether or not the forty-year history of collective bargaining which had existed between the United Garment Workers of America and the Union Made Garment Manufacturers Association on behalf of its members was a bar to raids upon the United Garment Workers local unions in the various plants of the members of the Association.

The record in this case shows that as far back as the year 1908, a group of liberal-minded manufacturers of garments formed themselves into an association for the sole purpose of bargaining collectively with the United Garment Workers of America. The purpose of the organization was to eliminate advantage in competition through the means of wage cutting. Through bargaining by this Association and the United Garment Workers of America, the minimum wages that should apply in all the plants of all of the members of the Association were agreed upon. Numerous other working conditions concerning the minimum age of employees, overtime work and factory conditions were agreed to between these two associations. Cohn-Goldwater Company was a member of the Association and bargained collectively with the United Garment Workers of America through this Association for a period in excess of twenty years. The terms and conditions of employment which were negotiated and agreed to between the Association and the United Garment Workers of America were in effect in all of the Cohn-Goldwater Company plants. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America succeeded in raiding one of the three plants of the Cohn-Goldwater Company and petitioned the Board to certify it as a collective bargaining agent of these employees. At a hearing held on this petition, the United Garment

Workers of America took the position that its contract with the Association was binding and in effect at all of the plants of the Cohn-Goldwater Company, and therefore no question of representation existed, and the petition of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers should be dismissed. The employer took the same position as the United Garment Workers of America had taken. In considering the case, the Board held that this historic agreement between the Association and the United Garment Workers of America was only a trade "label" agreement, and was not a collective bargaining agreement within the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act.

This flagrant disregard of a historic collective bargaining contract between a labor union and an association of employers which covered all of the Cohn-Goldwater Company plants, and which was in effect long before the National Labor Relations Act was even thought of, is most reprehensible; certainly it was not the intent of the Act to destroy such relationships, just as it was not the intent of the Act to place craft organizations at a disadvantage in organizing so as to encourage raiding by rival unions.

When rulings such as those referred to are made by the members of the Board, they are reflected in decisions of the personnel employed both by the Board in Washington and in the various regional boards throughout the country. Some of the old hold-over personnel has never been favorably disposed toward cases of the American Federation of Labor, but in the light of the attitude expressed by the majority of the Board in the rulings referred to, the personnel employed by the Board in the various regions have demonstrated real bias and prejudice against affiliates of the American Federation of Labor. The situation is becoming most intolerable, and the American Federation of Labor must insist that the wide discretion now vested in the Board be curtailed.

American Can Case Doctrine (Lima Locomotive Case). Several unions in the metal trades, particularly the International Association of Machinists and the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders & Helpers of America, have suffered from the Board's adherence to the so-called American Can Company case doctrine pronounced over four years ago.

The present Board has refused to rectify this gross injustice perpetrated by its predecessors, in that it still clings to this vicious decision wherein it was held that a past history of bargaining in any particular unit on an industrial basis fixes such unit for all time in the future, and prevents the establishment of craft units in such plant even though a majority or even all of the employees in a particular craft at any future time desire separate representation by a craft organization.

In a consent election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board in 1937 a majority of the employees of the Lima Locomotive Works voted for the Metal Trades Department to represent them in collective bargaining. From 1937 through 1942 bargaining was carried on between the company and various American Federation of Labor unions, including the International Molders' and Foundry Workers' Union. In 1942 the U.A.W.-C.I.O. filed a petition for certification with the Board, and at the hearing conducted on

that petition, the American Federation of Labor unions stipulated that a plant-wide unit was an appropriate unit. The U.A.W.-C.I.O. won the election and became the bargaining representative.

A year after the C.I.O. had received its certification from the Board, the Molders' Union filed a petition for certification and submitted evidence showing that approximately two-thirds of the employees in the foundry had expressed a preference for the Molders' Union as the bargaining representative of the foundry workers. At the hearing conducted by the Board, it was shown that the unit requested by the Molders' Union was composed of a functionally cohesive group of journeymen and non-journeymen foundry workers, which had historically bargained collectively on a craft basis.

The Board, however, held that since in the prior case, it had determined the plant-wide unit to be appropriate, and since nothing had occurred subsequently to show that the plant-wide unit was inappropriate, "We see no reason to disturb it," thus refusing to consider in the slightest degree the desires of a large majority of the workers for a craft organization as their bargaining representative.

The American Can case doctrine is one of the most detrimental to the interest of craft labor organizations ever announced by the Board, and it has been fought by the American Federation of Labor ever since it was announced some four years ago.

It operates to the distinct prejudice of craft unions. It constitutes a denial of the freedom of choice of representative supposedly guaranteed by the National Labor Relations Act and completely disregards the promises of the Congressional sponsors of the National Labor Relations Act that it was not designed to destroy or impair craft organizations or collective bargaining in craft unions, nor was it intended to favor one form of trade union structure over another. The American Federation of Labor, through its General Counsel, has repeatedly contended that when a historically segregated and identifiable skilled group of employees, which traditionally has been eligible for membership in and represented by bona fide labor organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in the particular industry, desires to be represented on a craft basis through a craft union, there is no lawful excuse for denying such group this right if the majority of the employees involved so desire.

The present Board has continued to apply the so-called American Can doctrine, to the prejudice of the craft organizations of the American Federation of Labor and in denial of the right of representation guaranteed under the Act. The American Can doctrine must be abolished either by a change in personnel of the present Board, or by a specific amendment to the National Labor Relations Act accomplishing that result.

Amendments to the Act. It is more imperative than ever that two of the amendments to the National Labor Relations Act previously proposed by the American Federation of Labor should be enacted into law. The first amendment deals with the freedom of choice in the selection of a representative, particularly with respect to the maintenance of craft unit integrity.

The New York Labor Relations Act, as well as the National Railway Labor Act, provide that craft workers shall never be denied the right to vote as a craft or class in the selection of a bargaining representative. The American Federation of Labor has proposed the adoption of the identical provision of the New York Act.

The second amendment provides for a direct court review in representation cases. As has been pointed out in previous Executive Council reports, the present Act does not provide for review in a representation case; yet considerable prejudice has been manifested by the Board and its personnel through decisions in representation cases, from which there is no court review.

The Amendment to the 1944 Appropriation Act. Because of this unfavorable attitude on the part of members of the Board towards American Federation of Labor affiliates, when the 1944 Appropriation Bill was before Congress, support was again given to the principle embodied in the so-called Appropriation Rider enacted in 1942, whereby the power of the Board to invalidate existing contracts (as, for instance, the contract with the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company), was denied to it. This was accomplished by denying to the Board the use of any funds to destroy existing contracts similar to those entered into between the Metal Trades Council and the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company.

The National Labor Relations Board sought to have the 1944 bill passed without any rider placing a limitation upon its powers. The Metal Trades Council and the American Federation of Labor insisted upon the inclusion of a rider limiting the Board's power to invalidate collective bargaining agreements. The rider adopted in the 1944 bill differs somewhat in verbiage from the 1942 rider, but in the main it retains the principle of the previous rider. The rider in the 1944 bill, which was adopted by both Houses of Congress and is now the law, reads as follows:

No part of the funds appropriated in this title shall be used in any way in connection with a complaint case arising over an agreement, or a renewal thereof, between management and labor which has been in existence for three months or longer without complaint being filed by an employee or employees of such plant; Provided, That, hereafter, notice of such agreement or renewal thereof shall have been posted in the plant affected for said period of three months, said notice containing information as to the location at an accessible place of such agreement where said agreement shall be open for inspection by any interested person: Provided further, That these limitations shall not apply to agreements with labor organizations formed in violation of section 158, paragraph 2, title 29, United States Code. [Sec. 8(2) of National Labor Relations Act.]

Both riders were designed to prevent the Board from interfering with existing contracts and to prevent raids by competing labor organizations whereby existing collective bargaining relationships were disrupted. But under the new amendment an existing disadvantageous situation has been overcome. A series of adverse rulings by the Comptroller General's office had put last year's amendment to uses not contemplated or intended when the amendment was passed. The Comptroller General had ruled that last year's amendment prevented the Board from proceeding against company-

dominated unions. Accordingly, the amendment for 1944 was modified so as to permit the Board to proceed against company-dominated unions even though such unions held contracts, and to permit a change in representation after the terms of the existing contract had expired; but the amendment still barred the Board from proceeding against a contract held by a bona fide labor organization while the contract was in existence. Thus, as to contracts between the Metal Trades Department and various war plants, of which there are many, particularly in the shipbuilding industry, which by their terms are effective for the duration of the war, the Board is foreclosed from interfering with these until the war has ended.

The amendment, in substance, prohibits the Board from interfering with any contracts for their terms, unless the contract is held by a company-dominated union. Newly made contracts can be attacked only if a complaint has been filed within three months after the contract has been made or renewed.

The present amendment ought to accomplish all that last year's amendment was intended to accomplish and, in addition, avoid the restrictions read into last year's amendment by the Comptroller General.

POST-WAR HOUSING

When the war draws to a close, the task of reconstruction and development of our communities will offer a challenge to every segment of our nation. Labor, private enterprise, and government—federal, state and local—must work concertedly to blue-print and execute plans for providing homes worthy of demobilized veterans and war workers, in rebuilding and rehabilitating our slum and blighted areas, and in erasing the vast housing deficit caused by building inactivity during the depression and war years.

The winning of this war will usher in a new era, not only in the United States but throughout the world—an era of reconstruction. It is our responsibility, the responsibility of Labor, to do its part so that every community will be prepared to take advantage of the opportunities for building growth and assumes its full share of organized responsibility to sustain that growth. Years of chronic deficiency in home construction have created a large deficit of adequate shelter in virtually every city and town. Shifts of population precipitated by the war and drastic curtailment of all construction during those years have augmented these deficits. The immediate task before us is to ascertain the most urgent need for homes in every community and to make sure that this need is soundly met. Equally great is the further task of assuring maximum volume of sound residential construction attainable through private initiative and effort that in the years to come will achieve stability and will, in turn, contribute to the growth and stability of employment and production throughout our economy.

The average American worker wants, above everything else, security of employment and income. The average American worker wants to be a home owner. The outright and independent ownership of a home is the expressed desire of the vast majority of our wage earners. In recent years a great

many workers' families have learned from bitter experience, however, that lacking assurance of stable incomes and stable jobs and in the absence of safeguards of sound construction and financing, they cannot afford to undertake the burden of long-term home purchasing and that if they do so it is only in the constant dread of the prospect of eviction and complete loss of all their savings.

Conscious of this and aware of the fact that residential construction offers the major generator of maximum employment, not only in the building industry but throughout the industry and trade of the nation, we believe it imperative that the following be made the guiding principles and procedures of the nation's post-war housing policy:

(1) The financial basis of home purchasing should be modified in order to (a) meet the pressure for employment mobility; (b) safeguard the worker's investment in the home he is buying by making the equity transferrable; (c) reduce the interest rates; (d) assure soundness of construction through a review of established standards and the legal requirement that non-compliance with such standards be made subject to penalties.

(2) Assurance that post-war housing developments be closely related to the realignment of employment opportunities in each neighborhood, each community, each region and the entire nation. Stable growth can be assured and suitable housing can be developed only in relation to long-range neighborhood and metropolitan master plans designed for growth and the best use of the resources of our cities, towns and rural areas.

(3) Urban re-development programs for entire communities with full participation of private enterprise should be made an instrument for developing and serving a larger housing market to operate in the public interest of the entire community. In such programs no public subsidy or privilege must be permitted to redound to private profit of real estate speculators or promoters and should not be extended except on the basis of firm minimum standards. A properly constituted public agency of the municipality should be authorized for the purpose of carrying out such programs.

(4) The U.S.H.A. low-rent housing and slum clearance program interrupted by the war should be resumed and expanded. Certain features of the U. S. Housing Act should be improved to enable local housing authorities to borrow funds from private investors instead of the federal government and to facilitate the expansion and usefulness of the low-rent program.

(5) Provision should be made for federal grants for project planning to individual communities.

(6) The Lanham Act should be amended to authorize local housing authorities to acquire permanent war housing.

(7) Temporary public war housing should be removed as rapidly as possible and as soon as provision is made for suitable permanent accommodations for workers and families still occupying these temporary projects. Wherever possible, suitable sites of temporary war housing projects should be utilized for the construction of permanent low-rent housing.

(8) Mutual home ownership should be encouraged as a means of making

home ownership available for families of moderate income. In many communities war housing projects of permanent construction can be sold to their present occupants on a mutual basis where employment stability is assured. Provision should be made in the National Housing Act for 100 per cent insurance and long-term amortization for mutual home ownership and similar cooperative housing developments.

(9) A comprehensive program for rural housing should be developed and put into effect under the supervision of county housing authorities created for the purpose, with adequate farm representation assured to farmers. Demountable housing built during the war should be made available to farm families on equitable terms through such county housing authorities. Such rural housing programs should be a part of farm rehabilitation and farm security plans, with full protection against inflated land values and with option to purchase any property acquired on a rental basis.

(10) The National Housing Agency should be established as a permanent statutory agency responsible for over-all policy and should be headed by a five-man board, of which the chairman should act as the Administrator, one member to be representative of private housing agencies of the federal government, one representative of the public housing agencies of the government, one member drawn from private business and one member representing organized labor. Labor representation should be assured in the policy and operating functions of the agency.

Strategy for meeting the housing need in every community must be developed locally. Workers have a right and a responsibility both as citizens and workers to participate in shaping plans for community development. Full Labor representation must be assured on all local housing agencies. So that the approach of organized labor is both sound and effective, we must have plans which can be adapted to different community situations. Wherever possible a local Land and Housing Authority should be established (1) empowered to direct the over-all course of the community reconstruction and development; (2) equipped to facilitate maximum provisions for needed private residential building within standards of sound housing construction and consistent with long-range plans for community growth; and (3) constituted to carry out a long-range program of slum clearance and low-rent housing for low-income families.

In other situations the City Planning Commission will be the logical agency to direct the broad lines of community re-development, while the Housing Authority should be the public agency designated for the acquisition of land for private re-development as well as to carry on the low-rent and slum clearance program. The general pattern of community planning and housing machinery should insure coordinated and simplified machinery serving the public interest. Details of organization will, of course, vary in different communities.

Urban re-development by private enterprise can be an effective tool for serving a larger housing market if it is operated in the public interest. The initiative for over-all community re-development should clearly rest in a local

public agency such as the Land and Housing Authority or the City Planning Commission. The local agency should (1) determine officially the areas which require re-development; (2) announce the conditions for re-development including major street changes, land use, re-housing policy, and density and rent limits; (3) entertain and pass upon proposals from private developers. The agency should prepare a master plan for the land use and development of the whole metropolitan area so that suburban areas, shack-towns as well as downtown blighted areas would be dealt with as a part of a single re-development plan.

A public agency such as the Housing Authority should be empowered to condemn and purchase the land and lease it for short renewable terms for private development. Unless this is done, an area could be developed with public assistance only to become blighted again after a period of years. Responsibility for determining that decent housing, suitably located and at the right price, is made available to persons displaced by re-development should be clearly vested in the local government. Any provision for partial tax exemption should be used to change the basis of assessment from an *ad valorem* to a rental income basis which would help to obtain housing on the re-developed land which the former occupants could afford.

In strengthening the United States Housing Act the federal government should be empowered to lend, grant and extend guarantees to local public agencies, preferably housing authorities, for metropolitan planning and land acquisition. The federal government should be empowered, to the extent that it is not already so empowered, to extend guarantees to such local public housing agencies for preliminary development, development of site improvements, construction of housing and provision of community facilities for disposition to cooperatives and limited dividend corporations. Local housing authorities should be permitted to borrow from private sources the entire amount of loan funds, eliminating the need for federal loans. The present cost limitation of the Act should be changed to the cost per room rather than the cost per unit to permit adequate housing of large families. The Act should provide for loans and annual contributions to local housing authorities for the acquisition and clearance of land in slum and blighted areas so that the land can be used for low-rent housing or leased to private developers at use value.

The housing provisions of the GI Bill of Rights will have an important bearing on the housing market after the war. They could induce a serious speculative boom unless carefully administered since they provide for government guaranteed loans which make it possible for the veteran to purchase a home without any security and with the interest paid free by the government for the first year. Any plans for housing legislation must include suitable provisions to assure sound home ownership for veterans as well as the rest of the nation. Of utmost importance is to safeguard veterans against excessive interest charges foreshadowed in the housing title of the GI Bill.

Post-war housing can be important in providing full employment and better living for our nation if there is active support for a comprehensive housing

program in every community. Organized labor has a vital stake in this program and a responsibility which can only be fulfilled through active work by local labor housing committees in every community. To this end we recommend that a continuing program be developed by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor to assist in the establishment of local labor housing committees by our central labor unions and to encourage the establishment of housing committees by the affiliated national and international unions.

TAXATION

The war has made practically every self-supporting person keenly aware that the Federal Government collects revenues. The number of persons paying income tax has risen from 4 to 50 millions. The size of payments has risen both because of changes in exemptions and increases in rates.

Personal exemption for single persons has dropped from \$1,000 in 1939 to \$500; for couples from \$2,500 in 1939 to \$1,200. The normal rate has increased from 4 per cent to 22 per cent; the surtax from a top of 75 per cent on incomes in excess of \$5,000,000 to 90 per cent on incomes in excess of \$200,000. Corporation tax rates have increased from a range of 12½ to 19 per cent to 40 per cent plus a 95 per cent excess profit tax.

These tax rates make a heavy burden on wage earners and small salaried persons, who in addition pay this direct income tax into old-age insurance and have plans for more adequate social insurance in order to provide against dependency. Such social insurance contributions are based on earnings.

The needs of Government will remain high after the war. The costs of the war are piling up a huge national debt which together with annual interest will have to be paid in the coming years. It is variously estimated that the post-war annual budget will be between \$16 and \$25 billions. Obviously, unless we can maintain a national income, approximating present levels, such a budget will amount to a capital levy. If there are jobs for all, the national income will remain high and more incomes will fall within the taxable levels, so that adequate revenues can be secured and rates materially reduced.

It is obvious that we must have a permanent federal tax program to reduce our national obligation which can remain in operation with minor changes during the difficult years ahead. Since enterprise provides the employment that creates income, our tax proposals should encourage the expansion of industry.

Since income tax is a main dependence for revenue, it is important that rates paid by low income families do not deprive them of the essentials of living and that they are adjusted so that these families can also make contributions for social insurance.

The American Federation of Labor Tax Committee is studying the proposed post-war tax programs for the purpose of making recommendations.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

The 78th Congress began its first session on January 6, 1943, and adjourned December 21, 1943, with a recess from July 8 to September 14, 1943, intervening. Its second session convened January 10, 1944, with recesses on June 23 to August 1, 1944, and on September 21 to November 14, 1944.

To date a total of approximately 8,500 bills and resolutions had been introduced—2,400 in the Senate and 6,100 in the House of Representatives.

Prior to the election November 7 the House of Representatives was made up of 215 Democrats, 212 Republicans, 4 belonging to other parties, with 4 vacancies existing. The Senate was composed of 58 Democrats, 37 Republicans, and 1 Progressive.

However, decisions on legislative matters were not decided on party lines as members of both Houses lined up according to their inclinations, regardless of party, as liberals or conservatives.

During the 78th Congress deliberate and organized sniping at Labor continued in the Congress, newspapers, and on the radio but, despite this unfavorable and vicious propaganda, Labor fared fairly well.

After the June 1944 recess the Congress—particularly the House of Representatives—became progressively more conservative. Legislation during the present Congress has been confined principally to war problems to the detriment of other proposals.

Some of the more important legislative matters in which the American Federation of Labor interested itself follow.

FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS

Following usual procedure we carefully scrutinized all bills carrying funds for activities of the federal government in order to insure, insofar as possible, ample appropriations for all agencies handling matters in which Labor had an interest.

Congress has continued its liberal policy with regard to appropriations for war purposes. Immense sums have been allowed as the following table shows as of June 30, 1944, which in addition to direct appropriations, includes contract authorizations, reappropriation of funds which otherwise would remain in the Treasury, and the permanent appropriations.

It is also pointed out that the 78th Congress may pass additional supplemental or emergency appropriations.

TAXATION

The House Ways and Means Committee held hearings for many weeks on the tax proposals (H. R. 3687, Public No. 235, 78th Congress) submitted by the United States Treasury Department which estimated that an additional \$10,500,000,000 should be raised annually by taxation. The House Committee disagreed as to the magnitude of the additional revenue which should be provided by Congress and reported a bill designed to provide less than one-fourth of the amount requested.

Section 112 of the bill, as reported, provided that organizations exempted

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Title	77th Cong. 2d Ses.	78th Cong. 1st Ses.	78th Cong. 2d Ses.
Agriculture	\$837,868,110.00	\$967,442,616.00	\$730,352,070.00
District of Columbia	63,017,368.00	70,301,292.00	75,439,278.00
Independent offices	2,645,063,330.89	3,883,067,316.00	11,402,107,548.00
Interior	196,352,158.00	122,103,376.00	124,252,296.36
Labor-Federal Security	1,071,574,318.00	1,137,167,010.00	1,112,644,464.00
Legislative-Judiciary	25,570,708.00	40,894,478.00	59,701,018.66
Military	42,320,021,846.00	71,507,694,152.00	49,107,801,074.00
Navy	26,002,741,074.00	32,422,759,198.00	32,648,961,701.00
State, Justice and Commerce	426,281,885.00	226,852,680.00	247,384,980.00
Treasury-Post Office	5,879,403,739.00	8,091,858,177.00	11,204,825,853.00
War Dept. civil function	346,312,076.00	97,156,798.00	126,711,580.00
First deficiency	163,780,819.77	6,279,981,739.96	520,762,870.04
Second deficiency	53,721,999.74	260,256,179.72	2,596,551,468.68
National War agencies		2,911,697,224.00	1,033,437,242.00
Lend-Lease, United Nations Relief & Rehab. & Foreign Economic Admin.		6,273,629,000.00	3,920,320,000.00
Farm labor, 1944		26,100,000.00	31,359,200.00
Emer. Maternity and infant care, 1944			6,700,000.00
Relief Works Project Admin.	282,584,000.00		
4th Suppl. Nat. Deficiency	12,556,672,474.00		
5th Suppl. Nat. Deficiency	32,762,737,900.00		
6th Suppl. Nat. Deficiency	19,146,197,010.18		
7th Suppl. Nat. Deficiency	1,692,574,740.00		
1st Suppl. Nat. Deficiency	1,903,939,210.90		
Maritime insurance	210,000,000.00		
China loan	500,000,000.00		
Dist. of Col. Housing	32,500,000.00		
Education	9,500,000.00		
Navy bill, H. R. 7419, passed July 22, 1942	974,634,000.00	7,246,700.00	
Urgent deficiency		143,430,591.56	
Urgent deficiency			
Total	\$150,603,038,867.48	\$138,328,225,323.48	\$114,949,312,643.74

from the payment of income taxes be required to file an annual return stating specifically the items of gross income, receipts and disbursements. The only organizations exempted were religious organizations, educational organizations maintaining a regular faculty and curriculum, and charitable organizations. The bill, as is customary, was considered in the House under a "gag rule" and no amendments were possible. Nevertheless, President Green registered our opposition to this section in a letter addressed to Majority Leader John McCormack, which the latter read into the Record while the bill was under discussion.

In the Senate Committee every effort was made while the bill was in Committee to exempt labor organizations from this section and although, after unfavorable action was taken by the Committee, reconsideration was secured on two additional occasions it was without avail, and the Senate Finance Committee reported the bill carrying the section requiring labor organizations to make annual reports. Arrangements were made to attempt to have the entire section stricken from the bill but after three hours of debate the section was retained by a vote of 43 to 34.

The retail tax of 25 per cent on women's handbags, purses, etc., was opposed and in the Senate Committee it was reduced to 15 per cent.

The theatre tax was increased from 10 per cent to 20 per cent and we also opposed this increase but without avail.

We also opposed elimination of earned income credits but this credit was eliminated in the bill as passed.

We also lent our support to an amendment removing the tax on oleo-margarine.

We were able to successfully oppose the imposition of a general sales tax.

While the bill was in the Senate, Senator O'Daniel of Texas presented an amendment providing that the Federal Government pay the poll tax for soldiers abroad coming from states requiring that such a tax be paid as a prerequisite to voting. This amendment was overwhelmingly defeated and was not supported by us.

In a very critical message to Congress dated February 22, 1944, the President vetoed the bill. Thereafter Senate Majority Leader Barkley, on the floor of the Senate, took issue with the President, and, after a bitter denunciation, resigned as Majority Leader but was immediately re-elected.

The House of Representatives passed the bill over the presidential veto by a vote of 299 to 95 on February 24, 1944, and the Senate did likewise the following day by a vote of 72 to 14.

The Congress also enacted, and the President approved, a simplified tax bill (H. R. 4646, Public No. 315, 78th Congress) designed to relieve the great majority of taxpayers from the necessity of computing their income tax.

It repealed the Victory Tax, continued payroll deductions and did not materially change the number of taxpayers or the revenue yield.

A pamphlet printed by order of the United States House of Representatives explains this Act. The pamphlet is known as House Document No. 655 and is available for distribution upon application. It is in the form of questions and answers and was prepared by Representative Daniel Reed of New York.

The nation's tax bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, was \$50,106,000,000, as follows:

Federal collections	\$40,120,000,000
State collections	5,386,000,000
Local collections	4,600,000,000

This is a very high percentage of the national income.

(See heading "Federal Employees" for triplicate taxation.)

OLEOMARGARINE TAX

Hearings were held upon S. 1744 and H. R. 2400, both proposing the repeal of the ten cents per pound tax on colored margarine. A representative of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and the House Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and presented its attitude, which was in favor of the bill.

Margarine is a wholesome, nutritious, inexpensive table fat manufactured from agricultural commodities and, as such, is necessary to low-income groups who cannot afford to purchase butter. The ten cent per pound tax on margarine results in an unnecessary, unjustifiable price increase which is inflicted upon the low-paid masses, and the Executive Council recommends that efforts to eliminate this objectionable tax be continued.

ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION

In addition to the sixty-one bills and resolutions listed on this subject, beginning on page 62 of the 1943 proceedings are the following proposals and their status:

Bill Number	Introduced by	Subject	Status
S. 1864	Brewster Bailey	Amendment to Selective Training and Service Act in re registrants between ages of 18 and 45 being classified as immediately available for military service.	Military Affairs Committee. No action.
H. R. 3962	Smith (Va.)	To prohibit strikes and other interruptions of production during present war.	Labor Committee. No action.
H. R. 4556	Randolph	To prohibit aliens from acting as officers or agents of corporations or business associations engaged in interstate commerce, or of labor organizations.	Interstate and Foreign Commerce. No action.
H. R. 4748	Hoffman	To amend Section 251, Chapter 8, Title 2 U. S. Code, making unlawful political contributions by national banks, corporations or labor organizations.	Judiciary Committee. No action.
H. R. 4818	Shafer	To amend War Labor Disputes Act by prohibiting organization of supervisory employees for purposes of collective bargaining.	Military Affairs Committee. No action.
H. R. 5006	Hoffman	Prohibiting requirement of payment of dues and assessments as a condition of union reinstatement by any employee seeking employment on national defense work.	Labor Committee. No action.

We were able to hold the status of all anti-Labor bills as reported to the last convention and able to prevent passage of the additional bills reported upon herein except that portion of the tax bill requiring labor organizations to submit reports to the Treasury Department (Sec. 117 of Public Law 235, 78th Congress) which is reported upon under the heading "Taxation."

REPEAL OF CONNALLY ACT

On June 28, 1943, just prior to the summer recess of Congress, Congressman Lesinski introduced H. R. 3055 providing for repeal of the Connally Act in its entirety. The arrangement for introduction of this bill was made with the Congressman by the Legislative Committee. As the bill was referred to the House Military Affairs Committee of which Congressman May is chairman, and as Congressman May inserted the more drastic provisions of the Connally-Smith-May Act, of course no action could be secured on the bill repealing the Act. Therefore, on October 21, 1943, a petition (H. Res. 329) was filed providing for discharge of the committee from further consideration of the bill. Since this discharge petition was filed, circumstances arose which made it appear inadvisable to press for repeal of the Connally Act as it was feared that consideration of any labor legislation on the floor of the House or Senate might result in drastic amendments to the Connally-Smith-May Act. The statement, alleged to have been made by General Marshall, to the effect that threats of labor strikes will prolong the war and result in the death of hundreds of thousands of American soldiers has intensified this danger and the President's message to Congress on January 10, 1944, recommending enactment of a universal service law has given further encouragement to congressional foes of Labor. Senator Con-

nally has announced publicly that he is making a study of the Connally-Smith-May Act with the thought in mind of amending it and putting teeth in the law.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

The amendment, commonly known as the Frey Rider, was again attached to the appropriation bill carrying funds for the National Labor Relations Board in a slightly modified form which will *not* protect company unions from the National Labor Relations Act.

The amendment in full follows:

(Public No. 373—78th Congress, Title IV)

No part of the funds appropriated in this title shall be used in any way in connection with a complaint case arising over an agreement, or a renewal thereof, between Management and Labor which has been in existence for three months or longer without complaint being filed by an employee or employees of such plant: *Provided*, That, hereafter, notice of such agreement or a renewal thereof shall have been posted in the plant affected for said period of three months, said notice containing information as to the location at an accessible place of such agreement where said agreement shall be open for inspection by any interested person: *Provided further*, That these limitations shall not apply to agreements with labor organizations formed in violation of section 158, paragraph 2, title 29, United States Code.

In our report to the last convention we prophesied that the adoption of the amendment would stop raids by the C.I.O. with the aid of the National Labor Relations Board in plants where the American Federation of Labor had contracts. The raids not only ceased, as was expected by us, but many strikes were also prevented.

The C.I.O. and communist publications condemned the amendment in issue after issue of their papers and called upon their membership to write or wire Members of the United States House of Representatives and the Senate to oppose it.

As a result Members of Congress were flooded with such messages but it is significant that when the amendment reached the floors of the House and Senate not a person opposed it and it was unanimously adopted.

ARMED SERVICES

Votes for Servicemen. The Lucas-Green bill, S. 1285 (Public Law 277), giving the members of the armed services the right to vote wherever they are located was defeated as introduced because the majority of the members of the Senate felt that the bill overrode states' rights and was therefore unconstitutional.

Senator O'Mahoney favors a constitutional amendment granting Congress the right to legislate on the subject and has written all state governors letters incorporating the following questions:

1. Does your state law now authorize the calling of conventions to act upon constitutional amendments?
2. If not, would you be willing to call a special session of the legislature

to pass such a law if the Congress should permit the proposed constitutional amendment for ratification by convention?

3. Would you be willing to call a special session of the legislature to act upon such an amendment if the Congress should submit it to the legislatures for ratification?

The Senator believed that such an amendment could be enacted by Congress, ratified by the states, and the law enacted by Congress in ample time to permit service people to cast absentee votes in the elections in November.

After the bill as passed by the Senate had been sent to the House Committee on the Election of President, Vice-President and Representatives in Congress, an attempt was made by Chairman Worley and Senator Lucas to work out a compromise measure. This compromise would have enlisted the services of the Army and Navy in distributing and collecting a simplified ballot for President, Vice-President and Members of Congress, the ballots to be returned to the states for counting. Mr. Rankin of Mississippi, a member of the House Committee, led the fight against a liberalized bill and the House Committee reported out the measure by a 7-to-5 vote. Four Republicans—LeCompte, Ellsworth, Vursell and Gavin—joined with Democrats Rankin, Monasco and Gibson in reporting out the bill. Worley, Bonner, Lesinski, Hoch and Hart stood firm for a liberalized measure. Public Law 712 of the 77th Congress provided for a method of voting in time of war by members of the military and naval forces absent from their place of residence. The payment of poll taxes and registration of voters were waived. The bill reported by the House Committee will in effect repeal these portions of Public Law 712.

The American Federation of Labor favored legislation which will permit absentee voting for servicemen and made its attitude known to members of Congress. A compromise measure was finally enacted, Public Law 277 of the 78th Congress.

A flood of other bills affecting those in the armed services have been introduced in Congress and as a very large percentage of the membership of our affiliated organizations are in the armed services, we have consistently supported beneficial measures for their rehabilitation, pay increases, allotment increases, furloughs, mustering-out pay allowances, education, protection of their civil rights, etc., including the so-called G.I. Bill, Public Law 346, 78th Congress.

The Veterans Preference Bill, H. R. 4115, was enacted (Public Law 359, 78th Congress) and was opposed by some of our affiliates.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

The following table shows the status of bills introduced in the 78th Congress on this subject, in addition to those listed on pages 70 to 73, inclusive, of the 1943 Convention proceedings:

Bill Number	Introduced by	Subject	Status
H. R. 3446	Russell	To provide for revocation of naturalization and deportation in case of certain naturalized citizens of U. S.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 3447	Russell	To prescribe additional requirements for naturalization.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action.

Bill Number	Introduced by	Subject	Status
H. R. 3487	Rees (Kans.)	To reduce immigration quotas as determined and proclaimed under Immigration Act of 1924.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action.
H. R. 3500	Gossett	To reduce immigration quotas for ten years beginning with July 1, 1941.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action.
H. R. 3566	Rankin	To deny admittance into U. S. to all immigrants while the number of unemployed persons in U. S. is one million or more.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 3577	Brooke	Same subject as above.	Same status.
H. R. 3631	Allen (La.)	To suspend immigration of aliens into U. S. until number of unemployed persons, including war veterans, within the U. S. is less than one million.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 3722	Dickstein	To amend Section 342 of the Nationality Act of 1940 in respect to fees for issuance of certificates of arrival.	Approved Sept. 28, 1944. Public Law No. 444.
H. R. 3999	Dickstein	To require naturalized and derivative citizens of U. S. to take oath of allegiance.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action.
H. R. 4140	Dickstein	To amend Section 334(c) of Nationality Act of 1940.	Passed House Mar. 20, 1944. In Senate Committee on Immigration.
H. R. 4238	Rees (Kans.)	Providing for naturalization of alien veterans of Spanish-American War, World War I, and members of Regular Army or National Guard who served on Mexican border.	Passed House Apr. 17, 1944. In Sen. Com. on Immigration.
H. R. 4271	Dickstein	To amend Nationality Act of 1940 to preserve nationality of citizens residing abroad.	Approved Sept. 28, 1944. Public Law No. 432.
H. R. 4350	Scanlon	To permit naturalization of foreign seamen who serve on American-owned vessels for period of at least 3 years while U. S. is at war.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action.
H. R. 4354	Randolph	To prohibit entry into U. S. of quota of immigrants until expiration of 5 years after termination of present war.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action.
H. R. 4415	Celler	To authorize the admission into the U. S. and naturalization of natives of India and their descendants.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action.
H. R. 4479	Luce	To authorize naturalization and admission into U. S., under a quota, of Eastern Hemisphere Indians and their descendants.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action.
H. R. 4636	Celler	Same subject as next above.	Same status as above.
H. R. 4642	Mason	To amend the Nationality Act of 1940.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action.
H. R. 4940	Farrington	To authorize the admission into U. S., under a quota, of Koreans, persons of Korean race, to make them racially eligible for naturalization, etc.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action.
H. R. 4981	Dickstein	To amend Section 327(h) of the Nationality Act of 1940.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action.
H. R. 5156	Dickstein	To amend Section 28(c) of Immigration Act of 1924.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action.
H. J. Res. 162	Howell	Urging institution of Americans All-Immigrants All program.	In Immigration & Naturalization Committee. No action.
S. 816	Green	Permitting naturalization of certain persons not citizens whose husbands, sons or daughters served in U. S. forces.	In Immigration Committee. No action yet.
S. 1404	Andrews	To repeal Chinese Exclusion Acts to establish quotas, etc.	In Immigration Committee. No action yet.
S. 1595	Langer	To permit approximately 3,000 natives of India who entered the U. S. prior to July 1, 1924, to become citizens.	In Immigration Committee. No action yet.
S. 1793	Radcliffe	To permit naturalization of foreign seamen who serve on American-owned vessels for at least 3 years while U. S. is at war.	In Immigration Committee. No action.
S. 1907	Thomas (Okla.)	Declaring a temporary policy with respect to immigration to U. S.	In Immigration Committee. No action.

It will be noted that several bills were introduced providing for the admission and naturalization of Orientals, the so-called "barred races," and the introduction of these bills were accompanied by a statement that they are the logical consequence of, and should become law because of, the enactment of Public Law No. 199, 78th Congress, which gave the Chinese a quota and permitted their nationals to become citizens.

The last convention instructed the Executive Council to make a thorough study of the question of possible future revision of immigration and naturalization laws as affecting Oriental races. The Executive Council recommends that all phases of the traditional immigration policy of the American Federation of Labor be maintained.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

At the present time there are three bills of an identical nature pending in the House Labor Committee (LaFollette H. R. 4005, Dawson H. R. 4004, Scanlon H. R. 3986).

The House Committee in June, 1944, held hearings on these proposals but limited witnesses to those in favor of the bills. Opponents of the bills were to be heard in the fall, after the November elections.

The bills make permanent and legal the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee which was established by Executive Order. The unfair employment practices, as outlined in the bills, are as follows:

1. To refuse to hire any person because of such person's race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.
2. To discharge any person from employment because of such person's race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.
3. To discriminate against any person in compensation or in other terms or conditions of employment because of such person's race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.

There are further provisions pertaining to labor unions as follows:

- a. To refuse membership to any person because of such person's race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.
- b. To expel from membership any person because of such person's race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.
- c. To discriminate against any person, employer, or employee because of such person's race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.

Special attention is drawn to sub-section "C" of Section 3, which reads as follows:

It shall be an unfair employment practice for any employer or labor union within the scope of this Act to discharge, expel, or otherwise discriminate against any person because he has opposed any practices forbidden by this Act or because he has filed a charge, testified, or assisted in any proceeding under this Act.

Judging from the foregoing, labor unions will be subjected to considerable harassment as a result of these provisions and particularly because of their ambiguous nature.

The Fair Employment Practice Committee, under its present set-up, contends that it has the right to cancel contracts and it has demanded on several

occasions that government contracts with firms be cancelled unless a non-discrimination racial clause was inserted in the contract.

In the Senate, hearings were held on S. 2048, a bill similar to those pending in the House of Representatives. This bill was introduced jointly by Senators Chavez, Downey, Wagner, Murray, Capper and Langer and referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. Senator Chavez was appointed Chairman of the Sub-Committee handling the bill and our attitude as set forth in the 1943 convention proceedings was presented to the Sub-Committee. The Committee, however, reported the bill to the Senate without amendments.

This legislation is most objectionable and dangerous in the form reported, as under it union contracts could be set aside. It will be watched carefully and the instructions of the 1943 convention carried out insofar as is possible.

When the National War Agencies' Appropriation Bill for 1945 was proposed (H. R. 4879) it carried an appropriation of \$500,000.00 for the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee. A bitter floor fight ensued but the funds were finally allowed after some restrictive amendments were adopted. (Public Law 372, 78th Congress.)

HOUSING

Between July, 1943, and July, 1944, public war housing received from Congress a total of \$65,000,000. The original request made by the President in May, 1943, for a Congressional authorization of \$400,000,000 for war housing resulted in the Congressional approval in June, 1943, of an authorization of \$300,000,000 for this purpose. Of this amount, \$100,000,000 was appropriated in July, 1943. On September 23, 1943, the President, in a message to Congress, requested that the remaining \$200,000,000 of the funds authorized under the Lanham Act be immediately appropriated to meet urgent war housing needs. Congressional response to this request was delayed until February 23, 1944, when only \$50,000,000 was finally granted (Public No. 216).

The National Housing Agency then sought the appropriation of \$70,000,000 under the First Deficiency Appropriation Bill for 1944. This request, however, was reduced to \$25,000,000 by the Bureau of the Budget before submission to Congress. The Congress in turn reduced the amount to \$7,500,000, which was finally appropriated on April 1, 1944 (Public Law No. 279). In other words, in this instance Congress granted only about one-tenth of the initial amount sought by the National Housing Agency as absolutely essential to meet the need of workers engaged in war production for living quarters in the most critical areas.

Under the Second Deficiency Appropriation Bill for 1944 the National Housing Agency requested \$25,000,000 of the \$150,000,000 authorized under the Lanham Act. This request was cut by the Bureau of the Budget to \$15,000,000 and Congress granted only \$7,500,000 on June 28, 1944, assigning the funds available under the Temporary Shelter Acts for the construction of temporary war housing pursuant to the Lanham Act.

The American Federation of Labor has supported the full requests of

the National Housing Agency for funds for public housing. These requests were barely sufficient to satisfy the minimum war housing need, even if granted in full. Although the need for war housing to be constructed in the over-crowded war production areas under conditions of most dire emergency was of prime concern to war workers, the National Housing Agency has made no attempt to bring organized labor and the public into participation in its programming work to gain wide public and Congressional support and understanding of the issue involved. The inadequacy of the war housing program developed in the past year is in a large measure due to the failure of the National Housing Agency to secure sufficient funds to provide housing accommodations in the most strategic war production areas.

The Federal Housing Administration received an additional authorization of \$500,000,000 during the last year for its Title VI mortgage insurance for private war housing. On October 15, 1943, Public Law No. 159 authorized \$400,000,000, and on June 30, 1944, Congress authorized \$100,000,000 to bring the total authorization under Title VI of the National Housing Act to \$1,700,000,000. Building Trades Councils advocate an amendment to the law providing for payment of prevailing rates of pay.

The "G. I. Bill" signed by the President on June 22, 1944, provides among other things for government guarantees to war veterans of 50 per cent of loans up to \$2,000 made for the purpose of building homes. The veteran must apply for a loan within two years after his discharge from the Service or within two years after the war, whichever is the later date, but in no case more than five years after the war. Interest on the loan is paid by the government for the first year. The principal loan carries a maximum interest rate of 4 per cent and a maximum amortization period of twenty years. The bill provides for guaranteeing second mortgage loans not exceeding 20 per cent of the purchase price and carrying an interest rate not exceeding that of the principal loan by more than 1 per cent. The total amount guaranteed cannot be greater than \$2,000. The veteran must prove that the purchase price paid by him bears a proper relation to his current and anticipated income. The Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor is studying the implications of this bill with the view to making recommendations designed to insure sound home ownership for veterans.

The urban redevelopment proposals contained in the Wagner Bill, S. 1163, and the Thomas Bill, S. 953, are still pending. The Wagner Bill authorizes \$1,000,000,000 in loans to assist localities in planning and to help them acquire land for redevelopment by private and public agencies for housing and other purposes, with the funds to be administered by the National Housing Agency. The Thomas Bill proposes that \$150,000,000 be made available for federal aid to localities for land acquisition and development and \$25,000,000 for aid to local planning. An Urban Redevelopment Agency is established by the bill to administer the funds. These two bills fail to provide a sound approach to urban redevelopment. Most important is their failure to stipulate sound standards for re-housing as a condition of federal aid in connection with the acquisition of land and reconstruction of blighted areas. Moreover, these

bills disregard the principle that a comprehensive redevelopment plan to reach all income groups must be related from the start to a carefully prepared program for land acquisition and urban planning. Lastly, both bills are exclusively concerned with central redevelopment of cities and towns excluding redevelopment of suburban shack-towns and failing to control the development of the outlying areas.

Congress has not yet enacted any general planning legislation. Still pending is the Thomas-Lynch Bill, S. 1137, H. R. 2783, carrying out the President's recommendation for federal aid to states and localities for planning. It provides \$75,000,000 for federal aid to local agencies for developing plans for public works and also \$10,000,000 annually for federal aid to state and local planning agencies to finance their activities. The Maas Bill, H. R. 3058, proposed that \$25,000,000 a year be advanced by the Federal Works Agency to municipalities for planning municipally owned projects to be constructed after the war.

Two other housing bills were introduced recently. The first, the Smith Bill, H. R. 4739, would amend the Lanham Act to remove permanent as well as temporary war housing if the local powers found that it violated local building codes. This would abrogate the present provisions requiring removal of temporary housing within two years after the war. Temporary housing under the Smith Bill would remain indefinitely in communities where no building codes exist. It would also make it possible for local officials opposed to public housing to require the destruction of permanent war housing because of minor infractions of the building code necessitated by wartime materials shortages. The second bill, S. 2046, introduced by Senator Kilgore, provides for technical research and studies in housing under the direction of an Office of Housing Research to be established within the National Housing Agency. The bill as it was introduced grants in effect policy-making powers to the Office of House Research without the safeguards of public direction and sidesteps the fundamental issues inherent in the need for developing standards of sound construction.

SOCIAL SECURITY

There has been no change in the status of the Murray-Wagner bill, S. 1161, and the Dingell bill, H. R. 2861, since our report to the last convention (page 80). Prospects are poor for action during the remainder of the 78th Congress.

A modified bill is being perfected and will be introduced early in the 79th Congress.

The tax bill, H. R. 3687, carried a section inserted by the Senate Committee again freezing social security deductions at one per cent. However, as the Senate could not consider the bill prior to the Christmas holiday recess, Senator Vandenberg offered an amendment to a resolution which had passed the House and which was considered by the Senate before the recess. The resolution (H. J. Res. 171, Public Law 211, 78th Congress) to which this amendment was attached freezing social security payments for

sixty days, permits the importation from foreign countries, free of duty, for a period of ninety days, certain grains and other products to be used for livestock and poultry feed.

The amendment was agreed to by the House and the President signed the resolution. Therefore, social security deductions were not increased from one per cent to two per cent as required under permanent law on January 1, 1944, and, of course, could not be for sixty days.

After the recess the Senate agreed to the proposal of its Finance Committee as carried in the tax bill (H. R. 3687) freezing social security deductions at one per cent. The House Ways and Means Committee, after this action by the Senate, held a hearing on the question and the views of the American Federation of Labor were presented and a brief submitted by the Legislative Committee.

The bill was enacted into law (Public Law 235) fixing the social security deductions at one per cent until January 1, 1945. Every effort will be made to have the tax increased as of that date.

POST-WAR LEGISLATION

This type of legislation dealt with one of the most important matters confronting the country and the laws as finally enacted and approved were disappointing from our viewpoint.

Both the Senate and the House of Representatives appointed special Post-War Committees headed by Senator George and Representative Colmer, respectively, and extensive hearings were held. In addition, the Finance and Military Affairs Committees of the Senate held hearings, as did two sub-committees of the Military Affairs Committee. In the House of Representatives the committees handling the question, in addition to the Colmer Post-War Committee, were Ways and Means, Judiciary, and Expenditures.

The views of the American Federation of Labor were presented to all these committees, and, in addition, individual letters on the subject were sent by President Green to Members of the Congress from time to time, as the legislative situation changed.

Contract Termination. Late in April, learning of a move to pass a bill (S. 1718) dealing with contract termination, with legislation dealing with the human side of demobilization divorced from it, the Executive Council directed President Green to send a letter to all members of the Senate protesting against such procedure. The letter was joined in by the Railway Labor Executives Association, was dated May 1, 1944, and made the following points:

The organizations we represent are unalterably opposed to the passage of any piece-meal legislation to handle the problems of reconversion, with priority given to property legislation. Every consideration of equity and sound economics demands a single integrated piece of legislation which will take care of the human problems of demobilization at the same time that it provides for the security of business enterprise.

Emergency unemployment compensation for demobilized workers and servicemen in the reconversion period is an indispensable part of any over-all legislation and should not be side-tracked to another com-

mittee for separate consideration. There is great danger that contract termination legislation will be passed and the Congress adjourn before any comprehensive legislation is considered to deal adequately with the more pressing human and organizational problems of reconversion. You will agree that every contract terminated means the discharge of workers. Certainly, provision for these workers whose resources must be conserved and fully utilized, is at least as important as settling the financial claims of war contractors.

We wish to stress again, as we have pointed out in our public testimony that the preponderance of war contractors are in a sufficiently strong position to weather the period of reconversion to peacetime production. The reserves of American industry have never been as high as they are today. American workers, on the contrary, enjoy no such favorable position. When contracts are terminated, the soldiers of production face bleak prospects.

These are essential truths. They become more forcible every day as war production employment tapers off. The confidence and the full-spirited effort of American workers in military service and in war industries will suffer a severe blow in the midst of war if they feel that their legislators put money settlements of war contracts above and beyond the claims of human beings.

We are united in urging the following programs:

1. There must be no piece-meal legislation such as contract termination legislation alone. An integrated program of reconversion offers the only means of preventing the chaos that may overwhelm us on the production front in a short time.

2. We stand fully behind the principles of the Kilgore Bill, Senate Bill 1823, which provides an integrated attack on the problems of reconversion. We urge that the Murray-George Bill, S. 1718, be amended to include the Kilgore Bill, S. 1823, thus providing a well-rounded program.

3. Such a program must include, in line with War Mobilization Director Byrnes' proposal, special unemployment compensation benefits in the transition period to take care of unemployed workers as well as discharged servicemen.

4. An orderly program for reconversion to civilian production is necessary to achieve maximum production and employment during the reconversion period. Establish an Office of War Mobilization and Adjustment to coordinate all federal activities during the reconversion period.

5. We favor creation of a National Production-Employment Board, consisting of representatives of Industry, Labor, Agriculture and the general public, to form an integral part of the Office of War Mobilization and Adjustment.

6. Establish a Bureau of Programs to review and develop government programs dealing with reconversion and production, and to encourage the development of private and local programs for increased production and unemployment.

7. Provide adequate protection for, and incentives to, small business in reconverting to peace.

We believe these to be the minimum essentials of a full program which Labor can support. Any piece-meal attack on these problems, any effort to put one part of the program ahead of another, will fall far short of what is needed. It will be a severe blow to our economy. It will bring untold hardships to millions of Americans working in war industries and fighting to bring the war to a speedy victory.

In addition, as President Green and the Executive Council were in session at Philadelphia, the Chairman of the A. F. of L. National Legislative Committee met at the White House with Director of War Mobilization James Byrnes, the Railway Labor Executives Association Secretary, Senators Murray and Kilgore, and others and endeavored to reach a satisfactory agreement.

This could not be done and the bill S. 1718 (Public Law 395 of the 78th Congress) was adopted by the Senate after Senator Kilgore offered his bill (S. 1823) as an amendment and later withdrew it as during the debate on his amendment leaders on both sides admitted the necessity of legislation dealing with the disposition of surplus property, unemployed workers and demobilized servicemen, and pledged themselves to speedy enactment of appropriate legislation.

Disposition of Surplus Property. After the June recess when the Congress resumed its sessions on August 1, after the introduction of several new bills covering the remaining reconversion subjects and after many unnumbered committee prints and substitute bills had been submitted to committees, the subject matter was again divided and covered in bills—one set dealing with the disposition of surplus property (H. R. 5125 and S. 2065) and the other set (S. 2051 and S. 2061) dealing with the social side of the question.

The American Federation of Labor proposed to committees handling the disposal of surplus property that amendments be adopted removing the supervision and direction of surplus property from the hands of a single administrator and placing it in the hands of a board of eight appointed by the President, with the Public, Industry, Agriculture, and Labor each represented by two persons. It further proposed that the objectives and policies governing disposition be further clarified and illuminated by amendments assuring the intent to foster and not to discourage or impair post-war employment opportunities in disposing of surplus property.

The Senate Committee on Military Affairs proposed and the Senate approved a bill fairly covering our proposals but the House Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments did not so recommend and the House approved.

In conference a Surplus Property Board of three was agreed upon but its members are not to represent any particular group. The President nominates the board members with the advice and consent of the Senate and designates one of them as chairman.

The President approved the bill (H. R. 5125, Public Law 457, 78th Congress) with considerable reluctance, as he said in a formal statement which he read to his news conference on October 3 when he signed the bill setting up a three-member board to coordinate and direct the disposal of an estimated \$100,000,000,000 worth of surplus property ranging from clothing items to aircraft factories. He also said:

While I am in full accord with the declared objectives of the bill, which are to aid reconversion from a war to a peace economy, and to facilitate the orderly disposal of surplus property, I have considerable doubt whether many provisions of the bill will not make extremely difficult the accomplishment of its objectives.

There is danger that the confused methods of disposition and the elaborate restrictions imposed by the bill will in many instances delay rather than expedite reconversion and re-employment. Our surplus property should speedily be placed into channels of disposition which should provide the most jobs and the greatest good for the greatest number.

He had concluded, the President said, that it would be best to let the bill become law in the hope that Congress would give chief consideration to recommendations made by the disposal board on the basis of experience gained in operations.

Reconversion. The Senate Committee on Finance reported the George Bill (S. 2051) and the Senate Military Affairs Committee also reported the Murray-Kilgore Bill (S. 2061) as the latter Committee had spent a great deal of time in hearings and consideration of the proposal. The Murray-Kilgore Bill was entirely satisfactory to the American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brotherhoods and others who aided in drafting it, while the George Bill was inadequate because—

1. The Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion set up under it was not given full executive responsibility with powers over procedures, policies and performance of the executive agencies under his office.

He should be the directing energizing force with full authority to coordinate activities, to review progress and performance of each agency and with power to direct necessary changes in policy, procedure or operations.

2. The bill limits unemployed workers to the coverage of state laws and such laws are inadequate and differ.

- a. State unemployment compensation laws are inadequate in coverage. Only 13 states cover one or more employees in covered industries. The majority do not cover state and municipal employees. The George Bill does provide for unemployed workers formerly employed in U. S. arsenals, ship yards, depots, federal offices under 51 state or territorial laws, but makes no provision for those seamen employed in our merchant marine or those employees in private industry not covered by state laws.

- b. State laws provide inadequate benefits. Even in a time of full employment—1943—unemployment benefits averaged \$13.80 per week of total unemployment. Benefits paid amounted in 1943 to one-third of the wage loss; 1 per cent of all benefit amounts were less than \$5.00; 16 per cent were between \$5.00 and \$9.99; 26 per cent were \$10.00 to \$14.99; and 57 per cent above \$15.00. Only 8 states have a maximum of \$20.00; in Connecticut the maximum is \$22.00; \$15.00 is the maximum in 22 states.

- c. Duration of benefits—28 states limit duration to 16 weeks or less.

In 3 states, over 60 per cent of those receiving benefits exhausted their rights before getting a job; in 36 states, over 40 per cent exhausted their rights. Reconversion of industry to provide jobs may require from 6 to 24 months.

- d. Disqualifications destroy eligibility. Vicious disqualification pro-

visions robbing workers of earned rights defeat the purpose of unemployment compensation. All these are blanketed in and re-insured by the George Bill.

The liberal A. F. of L.-approved Murray-Kilgore Bill was defeated in the Senate and the George Bill (S. 2051) passed.

Our views in regard to the George Bill were then presented to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives and thereafter the American Federation of Labor had Representative Dingell introduce a bill (H. R. 5227) which also met with the full support of the Railroad Brotherhoods. However, the House Committee reported and the House adopted a bill much more objectionable than the George Bill and in conference successfully maintained their action.

All benefits for federal employees were stricken from the bill, as was the allowance of not to exceed \$200.00 to return workers to their homes.

The President signed the bill (S. 2051, Public Law 458, 78th Congress) and commented to the effect that the industrial reconversion measure was "quite satisfactory" as far as it went. But, he added, it "does not adequately deal with the human side of reconversion." Congress, he emphasized, had deleted from it provisions to prescribe federalized minimum standards to govern the amount and duration of unemployment compensation benefits and to extend such benefits to cover 3,000,000 federal employees.

Besides, he said, Congress had killed the proposed program for providing transportation costs to return a migrant war worker and his family to their original home or to a new place of employment. He expressed hope that these "deficiencies" would be "rectified" promptly.

After signing the measures the President issued an Executive Order which transferred all records, property, funds and personnel of the Office of War Mobilization to the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Before this was done, however, he announced that Mr. Byrnes had agreed to serve as director of the new organization until Congress reconvened and he, the President, submitted an appointment of a director for a two-year term.

The Murray-Kilgore Bill and the Dingell Bill, both sponsored by the American Federation of Labor, met these objections and the representatives of the A. F. of L., during the Congressional recess, are cooperating with liberal Members of the Congress in drafting remedial legislation which will be introduced in November—after sessions are resumed November 14, 1944.

POST-WAR HIGHWAYS

The President, on January 12, 1944, recommended to the Congress that a 33,920-mile system of express highways connecting all major cities and all parts of the country be constructed to eliminate "traffic nightmares" such as congestion, stop lights, cross traffic, steep hills, sharp curves, etc., at a cost of \$754,000,000.

This proposal will be a great aid in relieving unemployment in the post-war period.

The following bills were introduced covering the subject:

Bill Number	Introduced by	Subject	Status
H. R. 4170	Miller	Post-war construction of highways.	Committee on Roads. No action.
H. R. 4518	Wene	Same subject as above.	Same action.
H. R. 4628	Wene	Same subject as above.	Same action.
H. R. 4718	Kefauver	Same subject as above.	Same action.
H. R. 4811	Mott	Same subject as above.	Same action.
H. R. 4853	Robinson	Amending Federal Aid Road Act.	Same action.
H. R. 4915	Robinson	Same subject as above.	Reported from House Committee on Roads.
S. 2105	Hayden	Same subject as above.	Reported and passed by Senate on Sept. 15, 1944.

The bill (S. 2105) was referred to the House Committee on Roads three days prior to the recess, too late for action.

This post-war building and repair of roads is one of several plans designed to combat post-war unemployment with resulting benefits to farmers, motorists and the country as a whole.

The outlook is for about \$1,300,000,000 of new road building in each of the three years immediately following the war.

Due to military needs for material, road-building machinery and manpower, road construction has declined to a minimum, only \$290,000,000 being spent for this purpose this year. In 1930 almost \$1,500,000,000 was spent on roads. State road funds have been building up and it is estimated that approximately a half billion dollars will be available annually for a period of three years after the war.

The Senate bill as passed by that body authorizes an annual contribution to this of \$450,000,000.

While state and federal funds will jointly fall short of \$1,000,000,000 annually, municipal and county projects will bring the total to \$1,300,000,000.

As hundreds of thousands of workmen will be employed directly or indirectly under the program and as the entire country and all its people will be greatly benefited by the building of super-express highways, other well-built roads and feeder roads, the proposal has received our enthusiastic support.

As approximately 45 state legislatures will meet in January, 1945, and as state legislatures must act in order to provide their share of the program, every effort will be made to secure final action by Congress prior to that time.

RIVERS AND HARBORS

H. R. 3961, carrying scores of projects for the improvement of rivers, harbors and other waterways in order to aid navigation develop power, provide flood control, etc., has passed the House of Representatives and has been favorably reported to the Senate.

The bill, as reported by the Senate Committee on Commerce, contains "jokers" designed to favor utility interests by making the distribution of power impossible except through private utilities and as a result consumers will not enjoy the benefit of the cheap current developed at governmental expense. Otherwise the bill will be highly beneficial for the same reasons as set forth regarding the Post-War Roads Bill previously reported upon.

The Rivers and Harbors Bill does not become effective until six months after the present war.

We have supported the bill without the above-mentioned objectionable Senate Committee amendments and will press for its enactment in the present Congress.

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES

In September, 1942, the Railroad Labor Organizations requested increases in rates of pay for their members and thereafter complied with all provisions of the Railroad Labor Act.

The President appointed an Emergency Board to investigate and report to him and after forty-four days of public hearings this Board recommended to the President a wage increase of 8 cents per hour, effective February 1, 1943.

On August 7, 1943, the representatives of Class I railroads and their employees entered into an agreement to apply the recommendations of the Emergency Board by increasing the rates of all employees by 8 cents per hour, effective February 1, 1943. Thereafter Stabilization Director Fred M. Vinson issued a ruling denying the 8-cent per hour adjustment and proffered an increase of but 4 cents an hour.

Congressman Fish, of New York, on October 17, 1943, discussed the entire matter with the Chairman of the A. F. of L. Legislative Committee, who felt that legislation over-ruling Mr. Vinson's decision was advisable, but suggested that Mr. Fish take the matter up with Mr. Julius Luhrsen, Secretary of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, and the following day Congressman Fish introduced H. J. Res. 174, directing the Stabilization Director to grant a minimum increase of 8 cents an hour to all operating and non-operating railroad employees.

On November 1, Senator Truman introduced S. J. Res. 91 and Representative Crosser introduced H. J. Res. 187 on November 5, requiring that the 8-cent an hour increase, which had been agreed to as aforementioned, be made effective. The Senate agreed to Senator Truman's resolution prior to the holiday recess by a vote of 74 to 4, but the House Committee, to which both resolutions were referred, postponed action and the questions involved were adjusted without further Congressional action.

ANTI-LYNCHING

The following bills were introduced and referred to the Committee on Judiciary, of which Hatton W. Sumners of Texas is Chairman:

Bill Number	Introduced by	Subject
H. R. 51	Gavagan	To assure to persons within jurisdiction of every state due process of law and equal protection of laws, and to prevent crime of lynching.
H. R. 321	Fish	Subject same as above.
H. R. 351	Guyser	Subject same as above.
H. R. 469	Ford	Subject same as above.
H. R. 657	Ludlow	To define crime of lynching, to prescribe punishment therefor and to authorize Federal Bureau of Investigation to investigate.
H. R. 820	Celler	For better assurance of the protection of persons within the several states from mob violence and lynching.
H. R. 861	Clason	Subject same as above.
H. R. 2101	Powers	Subject same as above.

No action was taken on the bills although House Resolution No. 133 was filed in the Committee on Rules making the consideration of H. R. 51 in order. The Rules Committee did not take action on this resolution and the entire matter lies dormant.

INSURANCE

A bill (H. R. 687) was introduced making it unlawful to use the mails to solicit or effect insurance or collect and transmit insurance premiums in any state without complying with the insurance laws thereof. This bill excepted certain groups, such as churches, fraternal beneficiary societies or associations, educational groups, etc.

A study of the bill revealed that group insurance policies could be issued only to employers and that they would be paid for by the employers or the employers and employees jointly. This would have reacted unfavorably on the insurance companies maintained by some of our affiliated organizations and for that reason we appeared before the House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads in opposition to the bill unless it was amended.

No action was taken by the committee having it in charge except to hold hearings.

S. 1362, H. R. 3269 and H. R. 3270 provide for the affirmation that it was the intent of Congress that the regulation of the business of insurance should remain within the control of the several states.

These bills were introduced at the request of the large fire insurance companies to exempt the business of insurance from the anti-trust laws. The Attorney General of the United States had brought suit against certain of these large insurance companies, contending that they were combining in violation of the anti-trust laws and that they were engaging in monopolistic practices. The case was to come before the United States Supreme Court last January and the insurance companies, apparently not anxious to take their chances before that tribunal, tried to tie its hands before it had time to act.

However, the labor organizations affected affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, realizing that if insurance companies were exempted from the terms of the Sherman Act and the Clayton Act that they would contend that they were also exempted from other federal laws, such as the National Labor Relations Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, the Eight-Hour Law, etc., opposed the bill at every stage.

One of the bills (H. R. 3270) passed the House of Representatives over our opposition and hearings were held by the Senate Judiciary Committee to which it was referred, where we also presented our objections.

The Committee reported the bill favorably and wrote the following into their report at our suggestion:

The contention has been made that the passage of the bill will deprive Labor of certain rights. This is a false supposition. In recommending the passage of the bill the committee believes that the bill does not deprive Labor of a single right or benefit enjoyed under existing legislation. Further, the committee believes that such was the intent of the House of Representatives and that the Senate has the same intent.

We are advised authoritatively that the bill will not be passed as now pending but that an entirely new measure will be prepared which is expected to be satisfactory to all concerned.

BLIND

H. R. 4519, introduced by Congressman Fish, provides that seeing-eye dogs be furnished by the Veterans' Bureau for blind veterans. This bill passed through its various legislative stages and became law—Public Law No. 309 of the 78th Congress. A companion bill, S. 1726, was introduced by Senator Davis.

PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

H. Res. 230 authorizes a thorough investigation into all phases of the problems of the twenty-three million physically handicapped citizens of the United States of America. Augustine B. Kelley is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor to make this investigation. The Committee called for comment covering the following phases of the problem:

1. Medical, surgical, and therapeutic treatment, including use of prosthetic and orthopedic appliances; hearing aids; eye glasses, or such other devices, use of which would enable the individual to become more proficient physically.
2. Education and training.
3. Placement in suitable employment.
4. Follow-up.
5. Discrimination.

The views of the American Federation of Labor were presented to the Committee, as we favor aiding this unfortunately large percentage of our citizens.

CARE OF CHILDREN AND MOTHERS

S. 1130, introduced by Senator Thomas, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor which proposed a federal grant of \$20,000,000 annually to the states for the care of mothers and children in the war areas for the duration of the war and six months thereafter (Res. 84—1943 Convention), failed to become law although it passed the Senate. It was offered and adopted as an amendment to H. R. 3030 (Public 140—78th Congress) the Second Deficiency Appropriation Act of 1943 in the Senate but was stricken in conference as there was no authorizing legislation. However, H. J. Res. 159 (Public 156—78th Congress) was enacted providing \$18,600,000 for maternity hospitalization and care of the wives and infants of enlisted men, with \$20,000 additional for administration.

These funds are to be allotted by the Secretary of Labor and administered by state health agencies approved by the Chief of the Children's Bureau.

The Labor Department regular appropriations Act (Public No. 373) also carried the following for the purposes under this heading:

1. \$420,800 for maternal and child welfare under Title V of the Social Security Act.
2. \$43,000 for administration of above.

3. \$42,800,000 for grants to the states for maternity and infant care (national defense) under same terms as Public No. 156 above.
4. \$5,820,000 for grants to states for maternal and child health services as authorized under Title V of the Social Security Act.
5. \$3,870,000 for grants to the states for improved services for crippled children.
6. \$1,510,000 for grants to the states for welfare of homeless, neglected or delinquent children under Title V of the Social Security Act with \$16,000 for administration.
7. These amounts are in addition to what might be termed the regular items of \$376,000 for salaries, expenses, etc., of the Children's Bureau and \$255,000 for enforcement of child labor provisions, Fair Labor Standards Act.

HEALTH CONDITIONS IN INDUSTRY

After consultation with President Green, President Durkin of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters, the Secretary of Labor, and other interested persons, Mrs. Norton introduced H. R. 2800, a bill to provide for cooperation with state agencies administering labor laws in establishing safe and healthful working conditions in industry.

This bill was introduced on May 25, 1943, and hearings were held June 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 1943. The measure is still pending in committee.

SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

This Committee, which has done excellent work over a period of years, despite powerful opposition, has consistently been supported by the American Federation of Labor.

At present it is engaged in investigating the Political Action Committee of the C.I.O.

EXTENSION OF PRICE CONTROL ACT

When this proposal (S. 1764—Public No. 383) was under consideration, President Green appeared before the Congressional Committee calling for an extension of price control without amendment for a period of two years after the end of the war. Representative Crawford of Michigan proposed an amendment bringing the barbers and beauty shops under the price control law, which we opposed. The law was extended for a period of one year and we were successful in defeating the amendment regarding the barbers and beauty shops.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Resolution No. 102 of the 1943 convention was presented to the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee when it was holding hearings on S. 814, a bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934. No action has as yet been taken by the Committee on this measure.

SUBSIDIES

After weeks of hearings and wrangling, the House Committee on Banking and Currency reported out H. R. 3477, a bill to continue the Commodity Credit Corporation as an agency of the United States. However, the majority of the Committee inserted Section 3 in the bill which prohibited the use of

any funds borrowed by or in the custody of any governmental agency or any government-owned or government-controlled corporation, directly or indirectly to make any subsidy or other payment, or to pay or absorb losses, on any agricultural commodity or any commodity processed or manufactured, including milk, livestock, and the products thereof, for the purpose of reducing or maintaining, or in lieu of increasing, maximum prices established on such commodity, this section to be effective December 31, 1943. Nine members of the Committee submitted a minority report in opposition to Section 3, but after full debate in the House the measure was enacted with the provision barring subsidies, as recommended by the Committee. The American Federation of Labor, by personal interviews, by appearances before Congressional committees, by letters to Members of Congress, and by letters to all the officers of national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central unions and directly affiliated local unions, endeavored to secure enough votes in Congress in order that subsidies might be continued. The Banking and Currency Committee of the Senate held hearings and many substitute proposals were made without results as the anti-subsidy section was retained by a margin of one vote on January 19, 1944. The bill was enacted after a bitter fight but was vetoed by the President and the veto sustained. Every effort was made on our part to see that subsidies were continued. As the Act of 1943 creating the Commodity Credit Corporation would have expired December 31, 1943, S. J. Res. 103 (Public Law 219, 78th Congress) was enacted and approved December 23, 1943, continuing it until February 17, 1944.

PROHIBITION

During the 77th and 78th Congresses several bills were introduced in both the House and Senate providing for a return of prohibition. In the last session of the 77th Congress and during the first session of the 78th Congress a very large number of petitions were presented and printed in the Congressional Record daily. The two bills receiving the principal backing are H. R. 2082 by Mr. Bryson of South Carolina and S. 860 by Mr. O'Daniel of Texas.

Hearings began on January 13th before a sub-committee of the House Judiciary Committee on H. R. 2082, but only advocates were heard. Mr. Sam Hobbs of Alabama is chairman of this sub-committee. H. R. 2082 is proposed to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower and speed production of materials necessary for winning of the war. It prohibits until the conclusion of the war and thereafter until the termination of demobilization, the manufacture, sale, or transportation in the United States, the importation into the United States, and the exportation from the United States, of alcoholic beverages containing more than one-half of 1 per cent by volume of alcohol. It also provides penalties of fines and imprisonment for violation of the Act.

We recommend opposition to these measures.

INTERNEED EMPLOYEES OF CONTRACTORS

The last Executive Council Report to the convention recited the efforts made in the 77th and 78th Congresses to secure passage of bills or amend-

ments providing benefits to interned employees of contractors on public works outside the United States or in Alaska, as enactments in regard to this question were not satisfactory to the American Federation of Labor. When H. R. 3598 (Public Law 216), the First Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Bill, was in the House we supported a House provision for changing the method of payment to employees of naval contractors known to be enemy prisoners or hostages or missing from employment on Wake Island, from the provision made for such employees under the Act of December 2, 1942 (Public Law 784), to rates to be fixed by the Secretary of the Navy not to exceed those for comparable positions to Navy employees in areas nearest to the last place of employment of such contractors' employees. In the Senate this House provision was stricken and a substitute was made amending the Act of December 2, 1942, to include employees on Guam and in the Philippines who were not included in the House bill, placing the administration of the provision in the Employees Compensation Commission instead of the Secretary of the Navy, providing that the benefits shall be 100 per cent of the average weekly wages of the person but shall not exceed the average weekly wages paid to civilian employees of the United States in the same or most similar occupation in the areas nearest to the place of employment where such person was last employed and shall not exceed the average weekly wages of such absent person at the time the absence began. The Senate substitute also provided that only 70 per cent of the average weekly wage so determined should be paid to dependents of the person and authorized the Commission, in the distribution of the 70 per cent, to vary the percentage among dependents, where necessary to do so, to avoid injustice or excess allowance. The House agreed to the Senate wishes and this apparently brings to a successful conclusion a long-drawn-out matter.

POLL TAX

As reported to the last convention, H. R. 7, abolishing the poll tax in the several states which still retain such a tax, was passed by the House of Representatives, 265 to 110. Since our report was made to the convention on this subject, the Senate Judiciary Committee favorably reported the bill. The Senate Committee held special extra hearings on this measure and had high-standing lawyers present to it the constitutional aspects of the matter. The Committee also considered an alternate plan of a constitutional amendment, submitted by Senator O'Mahoney, which was rejected.

This measure (H. R. 7) came up in the Senate on May 9, 1944, and after a filibuster the bill was laid aside because a motion to adopt a cloture rule (which requires a two-thirds vote) failed. No further legislative action on this question can be expected during the 78th Congress but the fight for the proposal will be revived in the next Congress.

PHARMACY CORPS, U. S. ARMY

We reported to the last convention that at the request of some of our interested affiliates we had supported legislation creating such a corps in the Medical Department of the U. S. Army.

We are now pleased to report that this legislation was enacted and approved (Public Law 130—78th Congress).

PUERTO RICO

Resolution No. 11, to oppose and resist independence for Puerto Rico, and Resolution No. 48, liberalization of local system of government in Puerto Rico, were referred to the Legislative Committee. The following bills affecting Puerto Rico were introduced in Congress.

S. Res. 26 calls for a sub-committee of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, to be composed of five members, to make a full and complete study with respect to economic and social conditions in Puerto Rico. This resolution was agreed to January 28, 1943, and a report has been submitted to Congress. S. 981, to assist in relieving economic distress in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands by providing work for unemployed persons, was passed by the Senate on May 12, 1943, and favorably reported by the House Committee. It is still pending upon the calendar. The bill as reported to the House differs entirely from the Senate bill. It authorizes the Federal Public Works Administrator to use funds appropriated by the Act for useful work and then states certain types of non-federal construction projects, such as schools and educational facilities, hospitals, clinics and other public buildings, malarial control, sewer systems, water systems, water conservation, sanitation facilities, etc. It also provides for school lunches and health services. The House bill carries an authorization of \$9,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, to be immediately available, and \$15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945. All the foregoing is to apply only to Puerto Rico, as the House separated Puerto Rico from the Virgin Islands.

The First Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act for 1944 (Public Law 216) carried the \$9,000,000 appropriation as carried in S. 981 and \$5,350 additional for hurricane relief.

S. 40 provides for the termination of the term of office of the Governor of Puerto Rico upon enactment and at the end of each two-year period thereafter. The bill was amended to provide for a four-year term and for the expiration of the present term sixty days after enactment, and the Committee so reported on January 21st. No further action has been taken, however, by the Senate. A similar bill, H. R. 784, was introduced in the House but no action was taken.

Senator Langer introduced S. 732 providing for statehood for Puerto Rico. No action has been taken on this bill.

Senator Tydings introduced S. 952, providing for withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States over the Island of Puerto Rico and for the recognition of its independence. The Federacion Libre de los Trabajadores de Puerto Rico was opposed to independence for Puerto Rico and so advised President Green by letter and cable. Their viewpoint was transmitted to Senator Tydings, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, by President Green under date of May 13, 1943, and although hearings were held by the Committee no further action was taken.

Senator Tydings introduced S. 1407, amending the Organic Act of Puerto Rico. This bill declared it would be the policy of Congress to reinforce the machinery of self-government in Puerto Rico and provide for the popular election of the governor of Puerto Rico and otherwise liberalize the laws. Hearings were held November 9, 1943, but no action has been taken as yet by the Committee. The bill passed the Senate on February 15, 1944, and is now pending in the House Insular Affairs Committee.

Resident Commissioner Pagan introduced several bills, as follows:

H. R. 1018, to protect democracy in Puerto Rico and to amend Section 37 of the Organic Act of Puerto Rico.

H. R. 1019, to amend Section 31 of the Organic Act of Puerto Rico governing compensation and traveling expenses of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of Puerto Rico.

H. R. 1020, to amend the Social Security Act to include the Island of Puerto Rico.

H. R. 1248, to provide a greater degree of self-government for the Territory of Puerto Rico, to provide for the election of the governor by the people of Puerto Rico and, to that effect, to amend the Organic Act of Puerto Rico.

H. R. 2989, to provide for the recognition of self-determination and independence of Puerto Rico, and to provide for good neighborly relations with the proposed Government of Puerto Rico.

H. R. 3002, to enable the people of Puerto Rico to form a constitution and state government and be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the states.

H. R. 3095, to increase the compensation of employees of the United States in the Territory of Puerto Rico at the rate of 25 per cent above the rates paid in the United States for similar positions and similar duties.

No action has been taken on any of these bills.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Following our usual practice, we cooperated closely with the officials of affiliated organizations whose members are employees of the United States Government as they must look to Congress for any benefits in regard to salaries or conditions or for protection against over-zealous government officials.

The following items indicate accomplishments in behalf of these employees:

1. Passage of the amendment to the Agriculture Appropriation Bill for 1945 in the amount of \$994,000, to meet the cost of reallocation of the Bureau of Animal Industry, including the Meat Inspection Service of the United States, with resulting salary increases. (Public Law 367, 78th Congress.)
2. Secured uniforms for all guards working under the Public Buildings Authority in the Field Service by way of an amendment to the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1945. (Public Law 358, 78th Congress.)
3. Succeeded in killing the \$4,500.00 Confirmation Amendment to the Independent Offices Bill for 1945. (Public Law 358, 78th Congress.)
4. Secured the modification of the Anti-Political Amendment to the Agriculture Appropriation Bill for 1945, making it possible only to

- prosecute violators of existing laws, rather than make it necessary for all employees in the Department of Agriculture to make affidavits on each and every pay-day that they have not violated such laws. (Public Law 367, 78th Congress.)
5. Succeeded in killing Monthly Pay-Day Amendment which was offered to the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1945, thus preserving the semi-monthly pay-day now in force. (Public Law 358, 78th Congress.)
 6. Aided in securing the night differential amounting to 15 per cent for clerical and mechanical employees of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. (Public Law 394, 78th Congress.)
 7. Secured the passage of S. 1758 (Public Law 328, 78th Congress), for overtime pay for Sundays and holidays for customs inspectors at tunnels, bridges and on highways.
 8. Secured the passage of an amendment to the Labor-Federal Security Appropriation Bill for 1945 which provides compensation for the employees of St. Elizabeths Hospital for personal property destroyed by patients up to an amount of \$100. (Public Law 373, 78th Congress.)
 9. Opposed Garnishee Bill which had passed the House of Representatives but which is held up in the Senate Judiciary Committee. (H. R. 2985.)
 10. Advocated the passage of H. R. 3592, known as the Multiple Tax Bill, which has passed the House of Representatives and has been favorably reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee. This bill is expected to become law and will, for example, relieve a federal employee—domiciled and voting in Pennsylvania, working in the District of Columbia, and residing in Virginia or Maryland—from paying taxes in two of the jurisdictions.

Federal Employees' Social Security Numbers. For several years past high officials in government have indicated that retirement systems for federal employees should be incorporated into the United States Social Security system. When the First Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act for 1944, H. R. 3598 (Public Law 216, 78th Congress) was acted on by the House it contained under the heading "Civil Service Commission" an appropriation for centralization of personnel records and for the issuance of social security numbers to employees under the federal retirement system. The bill carried an appropriation of \$714,000 for these purposes. The President had previously issued an Executive Order carrying this centralization and numbering and the funds, which were agreed to by the House, were to put them into effect. In the Senate the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates were able to have the entire amount stricken from the bill and this, of course, would have made it impossible to carry out the terms of the Executive Order. When the bill was in conference, the House proposed that the amount be retained with the following proviso:

Provided, That the use of social security numbers in connection with the centralization of federal employment reporting and civil service retirement records shall not be deemed in any manner as an indication of approval by Congress of any participation in whole or in part by the Social Security Board in the administration of the federal retirement system or to the consolidation of the federal retirement system with the social security system for non-federal employees.

We stood fast in our objections to any procedure remotely connecting the

federal retirement system with social security, and as a result the conference finally agreed to strike out the entire House action and not to appropriate any of the funds but to insert the following:

The Comptroller General of the United States shall make a study of the proposed centralization of retirement fund records in the Civil Service Commission, both from the standpoint of statutory requirements and the sufficiency thereof for accounting purposes, and shall submit a report thereof for accounting purposes, and shall submit a report thereon to the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives within ninety days from the date of approval of this Act.

The Comptroller General ruled upon the above question, after passage of the First Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act, 1944 (Public Law 216), to the effect that this provision of the Act was illegal because the law now requires the Departments to keep such records.

The more important bills for these employees, which are still pending, follow:

H. R. 4406, introduced by Mr. Clason of Massachusetts, provides for time-and-a-half payment for overtime basic computation on each day as one two-hundred-and-sixtieth of a year's work instead of the present artificial basis of 360 days.

H. R. 4407, also introduced by Representative Clason, provides for 25 per cent increase in basic pay as a wartime bonus.

H. R. 4378, by Mr. Clason, is designed to prevent loss of leave by changing the amount that can be carried over from year to year during the war emergency from 90 to 120 days.

We shall continue to cooperate with our affiliated organizations in order to safeguard the interests and increase the salaries and benefits of these employees.

RETIREMENT

S. 878, introduced by Senator Langer, provides an increase of 15 per cent in annuities of retired federal employees and for retired police and firemen of the District of Columbia.

The Act is to be effective on the date of its approval and to expire June 30, 1945, or earlier if Congress so prescribes.

Since we reported upon this proposal to the last convention, the Senate has passed the bill, but it is meeting with opposition by Congressman Ramspeck, Chairman of the House Civil Service Committee to which it was referred. Chairman Ramspeck believes this legislation is a threat to the Civil Service retirement system as he feels that as the present retirement system is based on an actuarial concept and that under it each employee knows exactly what his retirement will be and can plan on it; that the Senate Act, if it becomes law, will change the retirement system to a cost-of-living concept, thereby threatening the stability of the entire retirement system.

Chairman Ramspeck argues that employees who now pay 5 per cent of their salaries into the retirement system will have no idea what their annuities will be if the actuarial concept is changed to a cost-of-living base.

With Congressman Ramspeck opposed to this measure, its passage will be difficult, although he has had the reputation of being a long-time friend of the workers.

S. 1371, introduced by Senator Aiken, provides for retirement by a federal employee at his option after at least thirty years service has been rendered to the government. The Civil Service Commission has reported adversely on this measure, but the Senate Committee has scheduled hearings on this bill and chances are excellent that it may pass the Senate regardless of the Civil Service Commission's opposition.

POSTAL LEGISLATION

The officers of the American Federation of Labor and particularly the members of the National Legislative Committee, cooperate closely at all times with the officers and representatives of our affiliated postal organizations.

The following legislative proposals affecting postal employees received our support and became law:

H. R. 2419, Public Law 259—This bill changed the classification of "laborer" to that of "mail handler". This change was desired by the officials of the Postal Service and had the united support of all postal organizations and the A. F. of L.

H. R. 2836, Public Law 266—This perhaps was the most important piece of postal legislation enacted into law during the past year. It granted a well-deserved increase in salary to all postal substitutes and provided that after its effective date, which was April 1, 1944, that substitutes were to receive a salary commensurate with the time they had served as substitute. In other words, if they served 2,448 hours they then would receive the salary of a first grade carrier, or at the rate of \$1,700 per year—second grade after serving 4,896 hours and the third grade after serving 7,344 hours, moving up until they reached the fifth grade.

H. R. 1475, Public Law 351—While this did not affect postal employees to a material degree, nevertheless it amended the Retirement Law so as to make it impossible for the Civil Service Commission to recover where through an error an annuitant had received both salary and annuity at the same time.

H. R. 4320, Public Law 353—amended the Retirement Law to provide that no interest was to be paid for a fractional part of the month.

S. 970, Public Law 181—A bill which made it possible for the Postmaster General to temporarily assign letter carriers to perform clerical work, and vice versa. This bill was desirable because under its provisions a carrier who was disabled so as to make it impossible for him to perform his carrier duties could for the time being be given clerical work, and in cases where because of the lack of clerical assistance a carrier could be temporarily assigned to the clerical force.

H. R. 4033, Public Law 364—This bill while bearing upon penalty mail, affected the postal employees to a certain extent because in the future all governmental departments will have to make a report to the Postmaster General, showing just how much penalty mail that Department was using. By this method the Post Office Department would receive credit for same.

The enactment of this legislation will have a tendency to cut down the postal deficit, and because of that fact should help materially in securing favorable postal legislation in the future, as the Department and Congress will then be unable to point to a postal deficit.

H. R. 4292, Public Law 366—a bill enacted for the purpose of expediting refunds by providing that no interest shall be allowed on refunds unless the employee has been in the service for more than one year.

H. R. 4215, Public Law 406—This bill gives the custodial employees the benefit of the eight-hour law, something which they did not previously possess. It also provides that they may be paid overtime for Saturday work during the period of emergency, and six months thereafter, instead of receiving compensatory time for same.

The most important bills affecting postal employees which are still pending are S. 1882 by Senator Mead and H. R. 4715 by Representative O'Brien which increases the compensation of employees in the postal service by \$400.00 per annum and which repeals Public Law 25 of the 78th Congress which provides a temporary increase in compensation for such employees not to exceed \$300.00 per annum, and H. R. 4501 by Mr. Weiss which adjusts the basis of compensation for overtime service for postal employees. Under the terms of the bill the compensation is to be computed by dividing the annual salary or compensation for such employees by 253, the number of working days in the year, and the quotient thus obtained shall be multiplied by one and one-half which divided by eight would give the hourly compensation.

We appeared before the Senate Committee at the hearings and strongly advocated passage of the bill.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE

H. R. 5081, a bill to improve the administration of justice by prescribing fair administrative procedure in federal government (other than Congress) the courts or the governments of the possessions, territories or the District of Columbia was sponsored by the American Bar Association, and contains amendments proposed by the legal department of the American Federation of Labor.

H. R. 4314 and S. 2030 deal with the same subject matter.

All bills are still in the Judiciary Committee of the House and Senate without action.

In 1940 when similar bills were pending in the Congress there was opposition to parts of the bills and the bill (H. R. 5081) carrying amendments proposed by American Federation of Labor attorneys should be carefully examined by all concerned in order that full agreement may be had if possible.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Firemen, Policemen and Teachers' Salaries. We reported to the last convention (page 77) that a temporary annual increase of \$300 had been secured for these employees (Public No. 22—78th Congress).

This legislation was due to expire on June 30, 1944, and as conditions were not propitious for securing an increase which would be fully adequate, a

resolution was enacted by Congress with our support extending its terms to June 30, 1945 (Public 253, 78th Congress).

Suffrage. Although bills have been introduced no decisive action has been taken (H. R. 2620, S. J. Res. 33, H. J. Res. 81).

Barbers' Bill. Senator McCarran introduced S. 1700 in the Senate and Representative D'Alesandro introduced H. R. 4164 in the House. Their provisions are similar to H. R. 5444 of the 77th Congress.

While Senate hearings have been held upon this bill, no definite action has been taken. The Presidential and Congressional elections are near and the end of the 78th Congress is in sight; therefore, the chances of this proposal becoming law is slight. It will be reintroduced at the beginning of the 79th Congress and vigorously supported.

CANAL ZONE

Teachers, Policemen and Firemen on the Canal Zone continue to receive the benefits of District of Columbia rates because of the extension of Public No. 22, 78th Congress by enactment of S. 1658, Public No. 253, 78th Congress.

Clerical Workers. These employees of the Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad and the Panama Railroad Steamship Line on the Canal Zone continue to receive the benefits of Public No. 49, of the 78th Congress.

McCarran Amendment. This amendment which prohibits the employment of aliens in positions above the grade of common labor by our government on the Canal Zone was again inserted in the two War Department Appropriation Acts (Public Nos. 64 and 352, 78th Congress) and in the Navy Department Appropriation Act (Public No. 347, 78th Congress) for the fiscal year 1945 over administrative objections. The amendment reads as follows:

No part of any appropriation contained in this Act shall be used directly or indirectly, except for temporary employment in case of emergency, for the payment of any civilian for services rendered by him on the Canal Zone while occupying a skilled, technical, clerical, administrative, executive, or supervisory position unless such person is a citizen of the United States of America or of the Republic of Panama; *Provided, however,* (1) That, notwithstanding the provision in the Act approved August 11, 1939 (53 Stat. 1409), limiting employment in the above-mentioned positions to citizens of the United States from and after the date of the approval of said Act, citizens of Panama may be employed in such positions; (2) that at no time shall the number of Panamanian citizens employed in the above-mentioned positions exceed the number of citizens of the United States so employed, if United States citizens are available in continental United States or on the Canal Zone; (3) that nothing in this Act shall prohibit the continued employment of any person who shall have rendered fifteen or more years of faithful and honorable service on the Canal Zone; (4) that in the selection of personnel for skilled, technical, administrative, clerical, supervisory, or executive positions, the controlling factors in filling these positions shall be efficiency, experience, training, and education; (5) that all citizens of Panama and the United States rendering skilled, technical, clerical, administrative, executive, or supervisory service on the Canal Zone under the terms of this Act (a) shall normally be employed not more than forty hours per week; (b) may receive as compensation equal rates of pay based upon rates paid for similar employment in continental United States plus 25 per centum; (6) this

entire section shall apply only to persons employed in skilled, technical, clerical, administrative, executive, or supervisory positions on the Canal Zone directly or indirectly by any branch of the United States Government or by any corporation or company whose stock is owned wholly or in part by the United States Government: *Provided further*, that the President may suspend, from time to time in whole or in part, compliance with this section in time of war or national emergency if he should deem such course to be in the public interest.

It has been suspended by the President during the war but if its terms are put into effect at the cessation of hostilities it will make secure the positions of many citizens of the United States and openings for thousands more.

The following resolutions which affect employees on the Canal Zone were approved by the last convention:

Res. No. 90—Calling for retirement of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees.

Res. No. 91—Calling for hospitalization for Canal Zone employees.

Res. No. 92—Calling for hospitalization of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad workers.

Res. No. 93—Opposing employment of aliens on Canal Zone.

Res. No. 94—Providing for compensation for death or injury in line of duty of the employees of the government on the Canal Zone.

Res. No. 95—Providing for the extension of the 40-hour week to all employees on the Canal Zone.

Res. No. 96—Extending war risk insurance provisions to marine employees on the Canal Zone and to civilian employees on marine equipment on the Canal Zone.

Res. No. 97—Increasing injury and death compensation for Canal Zone employees.

Res. No. 98—Providing a holiday worked within a regular work week be considered as a 9-hour period within the regular work week.

Res. No. 99—Providing legislative representatives, financed by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union, in Washington for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees.

Res. No. 100—Providing substitutes in supervisory positions shall receive standard wage rates.

Res. No. 101—Providing pay for every day of leave for Canal Zone employees.

The legislative representative of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union arrived in Washington in January, 1944, and after consultation the following bills were prepared and introduced and full support given to them. Their status is also indicated:

Bill Number	Introduced by	Subject	Status	No action as yet.
S. 1712	Clark (Mo.)	Optional retirement after 30 years' service to Canal Zone employees.	In Committee.	No action as yet.
H. R. 3936	Welch (Mo.)	Optional retirement at age of 55 after 25 years' service to Canal Zone employees.	In Committee.	No action as yet.
S. 1713	Clark (Mo.)	To give honorably discharged disabled or retired marine employees of Panama Canal civil service preference, and extend to them facilities of Public Health Service.	In Committee.	No action as yet.
H. R. 3937	Welch (Mo.)	Optional retirement at age of 55 years after 25 years' service to Canal Zone employees.	Passed House May 2, 1944. In Senate Committee.	
S. 1858	Clark (Mo.)	Taxation of retirement annuities paid to certain retired employees of Panama Canal and Panama R.R. Co.	In House Committee.	No action as yet.
H. R. 4251	Bland			
H. R. 4307	Welch			
H. R. 5091	Peterson (Fla.)			

CANAL BUILDERS

S. 683 providing special recognition for those workers who built the Panama Canal became law (Public No. 319, 78th Congress).

The law carries a modest annuity for those who served for three or more years prior to 1914 on the Canal Zone in constructing the Panama Canal.

In 1914 Congress by law rewarded officers of the Army, Navy, and Public Health Service for identical service by advancing them one grade in rank and permitting them to retire on 75 per cent of their pay.

In 1915 the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution calling for similar treatment for civilians, and after twenty-nine years of persistent efforts the matter was successfully concluded.

Mr. J. J. Bridges, who acted as legislative representative for those who will be beneficiaries, in a circular letter to them gave full credit to the American Federation of Labor for its part in securing the legislation.

WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

As a special sub-committee on Wartime Health and Education of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor was to begin an investigation and hold hearings on January 25 as to the health and security of approximately 15,000,000 Americans who are imperiled by the existing economic situation, and as this group constituted the so-called "white collar" group, representatives of all our affiliated organizations who have such persons among their membership were called into a meeting at A. F. of L. headquarters on January 3 and 13. The entire situation was canvassed and an agreement reached among the representatives of these organizations as to the proposals to be presented to the Senate sub-committee. A representative of the American Federation of Labor opened the discussion before the Senate Committee and presented representatives of the following organizations:

- American Federation of Government Employees.
- International Council of Office Employees Unions.
- American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.
- American Federation of Teachers.
- International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.
- Industrial and Ordinary Insurance Agents Council.
- Washington Central Labor Union.
- Retail Clerks' International Protective Association.

These hearings gave the representatives of the "white collar" workers ample opportunity to officially present the plight of such workers to a committee with authority to sponsor corrective legislation, and, as a result, the following recommendations were made by the Committee:

1. That the present inflationary trend be checked by more rigid price controls.
2. That the War Labor Board cease applying the Little Steel formula to substandard wages and salaries; and that controls be removed from incomes of \$200 or less per month for heads of families and \$150 or less per month for unmarried persons.
3. That easily understood explanations of rules and policies be provided to employers and employees by the War Labor Board.

4. That state, county and municipal governments increase the salaries of their low-paid workers, especially teachers.
5. That social security and public assistance benefits be increased, etc., as recommended by the Social Security Board.
6. That an accurate and complete cost-of-living index be compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics which will reflect the changes in living standards as determined by present conditions.

STATE LABOR LEGISLATION

It is popular, these days, to criticize Labor for looking to the Federal Government for effective remedial action in the fields of medical aid, unemployment compensation and employment services. State officials loudly proclaim their rights to handle all labor questions and Congress seems inclined to listen to them rather than to Labor. The time has come for the American Federation of Labor to take stock of what the states have done with their powers in the field of labor legislation. We have already noted the inadequacies of the unemployment compensation laws. During the last three legislative years the whole interest of state legislatures in labor law seemed to be concentrated upon crippling trade unions. In 11 states laws were put upon the statute books to regulate, control, and gag labor unions. Attempts to pass the same sort of laws were made in many other states, and their defeat by Labor does not mean that the danger is past. The anti-Labor, fascist-minded Christian-American Association of Senator Lee O'Daniels of Texas has furnished the driving power and money behind a lot of this legislation, particularly in the South. More money will be forthcoming to continue the drive during 1945. In preparation for the next legislative year, petitions for so-called "right to work" amendments outlawing the closed shop are being circulated in half a dozen states. (Reference to discussion of anti-Labor laws.)

If the states are truly interested in protecting Labor's rights, let them not only repeal the anti-Labor laws that are already on the statute books, but let them proceed to protect the health, safety and industrial well-being of their citizens. Last year 2½ million of our workers were injured or killed on the job, more than were killed, injured, or lost on the battlefield. And yet accidents in industry are largely preventable. Have the states made systematic provision for the prevention of accidents? No. Not a single state has anywhere near adequate inspection services, which are essential to the protection of the health and safety of their workers. And yet when the American Federation of Labor initiated and urged the passage of the Norton Bill, H. R. 4371, for federal aid to state labor departments in accident prevention, some state officials protested against its passage on the score of states' rights.

What protection by way of workmen's compensation do the states afford their injured workers? Twenty-eight states still allow employers to choose whether or not they want to have their employees covered by the workmen's compensation laws. States permitting elective workmen's compensation coverage are:

Alabama
Colorado
Connecticut
Florida
Georgia
Indiana
Iowa
Kansas
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maine
Missouri
Nebraska
Nevada

New Hampshire
New Jersey
New Mexico
North Carolina
Oregon
Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
South Carolina
South Dakota
Tennessee
Texas
Vermont
Virginia
West Virginia

There is no more reason for the profit system in workmen's compensation than there is in other forms of social insurance which are provided for entirely through public funds. Private handling of workmen's compensation insurance has kept benefits low and introduced all sorts of legal technicalities which deny workers the benefits due them. Private casualty insurance companies still write all workmen's compensation insurance in the following states:

Alabama
Arkansas
Connecticut
Delaware
District of Columbia
Florida
Georgia
Illinois
Indiana
Iowa
Kansas
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maine
Massachusetts
Minnesota

Mississippi
Missouri
Nebraska
New Hampshire
New Jersey
New Mexico
North Carolina
Rhode Island
South Carolina
South Dakota
Tennessee
Texas
Vermont
Virginia
Wisconsin

The long and tricky process of court administration of workmen's compensation laws hangs on in 6 states: Alabama, Louisiana, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Tennessee, and Wyoming.

One state, Mississippi, does not have any kind of workmen's compensation law; it does not even have a labor department.

Thirty-two states ignore the tragic consequences of occupational diseases by failing to have general occupational disease coverage. A worker who contracts any kind of disease due to his job is just as much an industrial casualty as a worker who has a disabling accident on the job. New occupational diseases threaten workers as new substances and new processes are developed and the laws must be broad enough to meet these new conditions. There is no way to pick and choose what occupational disease a worker may have as some states have tried to do by setting up rigid lists naming occupational diseases for which compensation may be paid. General cover-

age for occupational diseases is the only fair and practical answer. The 32 states which do not have general occupational disease coverage are:

Alabama	New Hampshire
Arizona	New Jersey
Arkansas	New Mexico
Colorado	North Carolina
Delaware	Oklahoma
Florida	Pennsylvania
Georgia	Rhode Island
Idaho	South Carolina
Iowa	South Dakota
Kansas	Tennessee
Kentucky	Texas
Louisiana	Utah
Maine	Vermont
Maryland	Virginia
Montana	West Virginia
Nevada	Wyoming

Twenty-seven states have no second-injury funds to protect the employment rights and opportunities of disabled or handicapped workers. In some states the employer is permitted to ask a disabled or handicapped worker to sign a waiver sacrificing his compensation rights in case of injury. The disabled war veteran or handicapped civilian worker has no adequate workmen's compensation protection in any of the states without second-injury funds. The consequences of this situation will be most apparent within a few years after the war and must be changed without delay. Those states which do not have second-injury funds are:

Alabama	Montana
Arizona	Nebraska
California	Nevada
Colorado	New Hampshire
Connecticut	New Mexico
Delaware	Oregon
Florida	Pennsylvania
Georgia	South Dakota
Indiana	Tennessee
Iowa	Texas
Kansas	Vermont
Kentucky	Virginia
Louisiana	Wyoming
Maryland	

Thirty-four states do not give the Department of Labor statutory authority to collect back wages for workers. This is a fundamental protection which workers have the right to expect from state labor departments. Some of the states with the authority do not have the staff to do the job properly. Those

states without full authority to collect back wages for workers are:

Alabama	Missouri
Arizona	Montana
Colorado	Nebraska
Connecticut	North Carolina
Delaware	North Dakota
Florida	Ohio
Georgia	Oklahoma
Idaho	Pennsylvania
Iowa	South Carolina
Kansas	South Dakota
Kentucky	Tennessee
Louisiana	Texas
Maine	Vermont
Maryland	Virginia
Massachusetts	West Virginia
Minnesota	Wyoming
Mississippi	

Six states in a single year, 1943, passed laws drastically limiting the length of time during which workers can claim wages due to them, the limitations varying from 6 months to 3 years instead of 6 to 7 years as is common for other contract claims. Such legislation was quietly slipped into the hopper in these states and others by anti-Labor elements who know how to play tricks with the law at the worker's expense. A worker who does not know his legal rights for collecting back wages will lose his money under these laws, while an employer who knows how to stall will gain. The 6 states are: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Ohio, and Oregon.

Thirty-three states permit children under 16 years of age to work in factories and stores. During the last school year 3 million boys and girls under 18, about one-third of all children of these ages, worked during school hours, an increase of 300 per cent over 1940. Wartime conditions do not justify the permanent sacrifice of our youth who should be in school.

Child labor laws should be strengthened and greater opportunities given young people to prepare to meet the future needs of the nation for well-trained citizens and workers. The 33 states which permit employment of children 14 and 15 years of age are:

Alabama	Mississippi
Arizona	Missouri
Arkansas	Nebraska
California	Nevada
Colorado	New Hampshire
Delaware	New Mexico
Georgia	North Dakota
Idaho	Oklahoma
Illinois	Oregon
Indiana	South Dakota
Iowa	Tennessee
Kansas	Texas
Kentucky	Vermont
Maine	Virginia
Maryland	Washington
Michigan	Wyoming
Minnesota	

The following states still have no adequate anti-injunction laws to supplement the Norris-LaGuardia Act:

Alabama	Nebraska
Arizona	Nevada
Arkansas	New Hampshire
California	New Mexico
Delaware	North Carolina
Florida	Ohio
Georgia	Oklahoma
Illinois	Rhode Island
Iowa	South Carolina
Kansas	South Dakota
Kentucky	Tennessee
Maine	Texas
Michigan	Vermont
Mississippi	Virginia
Missouri	West Virginia
Montana	

No woman worker in 24 states has the protection of at least a 48-hour maximum work week law. In a large number of the other states only women in certain industries have such protection. States permitting all women to work more than 48 hours a week are:

Alabama	Mississippi
Delaware	Missouri
Florida	Nebraska
Georgia	New Jersey
Idaho	Oklahoma
Indiana	South Carolina
Iowa	South Dakota
Kentucky	Tennessee
Maine	Texas
Maryland	Vermont
Michigan	West Virginia
Minnesota	Wisconsin

Twenty-two states have no minimum wage law for women and minors. Wages are low for millions of workers in stores, restaurants, laundries, hotels, beauty shops and similar intra-state business, yet in these states wages can drop even lower without any legal floor to stop them. Only 2 states, Connecticut and New York, apply their minimum wage laws to men as well as women. States with no minimum wage laws are:

Alabama	Montana
Delaware	Nebraska
Florida	New Mexico
Georgia	North Carolina
Idaho	South Carolina
Indiana	Tennessee
Iowa	Texas
Maryland	Vermont
Michigan	Virginia
Mississippi	West Virginia
Missouri	Wyoming

Twenty-nine states do nothing to prohibit industrial homework. Most

of the other states allow industrial homework under certain conditions. The vicious system of industrial homework has grown by leaps and bounds in the war period under the guise of patriotism as a false solution to manpower shortages. States with no industrial homework prohibition are:

Alabama
Arizona
Arkansas
Delaware
Florida
Georgia
Idaho
Iowa
Kansas
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maine
Minnesota
Mississippi
Montana

Nebraska
Nevada
New Hampshire
New Mexico
North Carolina
North Dakota
Oklahoma
South Carolina
South Dakota
Utah
Vermont
Virginia
Washington
Wyoming

The time has come for state federations of labor to demand *action* rather than *reaction* in the state capitols; to see that "states' rights" means states' responsibility for decent labor laws and effective administration of such laws. Every state ought to have

- (1) A strong labor department with power and a full corps of labor inspectors, well-paid and well-trained, to see that safe and healthful working conditions are maintained in industry, and with fact-finding facilities to keep abreast of what is happening to wage earners in the state.
- (2) A compulsory workmen's compensation act applying to all employers with general coverage of occupational diseases, a second injury fund, and insurance provided through an exclusive state fund.
- (3) A 16-year minimum for the employment of children.
- (4) An Act prohibiting industrial homework.
- (5) An anti-injunction law along the lines of the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

State federations of labor are urged to take a look at their states' standing on these important legislative safeguards to the rights of Labor and to develop a constructive program of action to bring their respective states in line with accepted standards. It would be unwise, of course, to move on all types of legislation at once, but certainly a good start should be made in 1945.

STATE ANTI-LABOR LAWS

The reports of the Executive Council for 1942 and 1943 present a comprehensive analysis of the anti-Labor enactments passed by the states of South Dakota, Idaho, Kansas, Colorado, Arkansas, Texas, Minnesota, Alabama, Florida, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Therefore we deem it unnecessary to make a further detailed analysis of these enactments in this report. It will suffice to remind our members that these bills have for their purpose the destruction of free trade unionism in this country by requiring

our unions to be licensed or registered before being permitted to operate as unions, as well as in many instances requiring officers and business agents to be licensed or to register. Many of these state laws place restrictions upon our unions with respect to the expenditure of funds, and require strict detailed financial reports and accounting. Some of the enactments prohibit or restrict the right peacefully to picket, boycott or engage in other recognized legal economic pressure. Other enactments interfere with the union's right to manage its own internal affairs by limiting dues, initiation fees, fines, etc., and by requiring re-trial in courts of law when disciplinary action has been taken or decisions made by union tribunals. Some seek to outlaw the closed shop, and one enactment (Colorado) seeks to impose compulsory incorporation upon all trade unions.

In 1943 the Executive Council reported on the then status of the cases instituted by the American Federation of Labor and state federations of labor, attacking the validity of these laws. The Executive Council herein reports on the present status of these cases now pending in the various courts.

Colorado. A suit was instituted in the District Court for the State of Colorado on May 28, 1943, seeking to declare various provisions of the law unconstitutional. Trial and argument were had before Judge Sackmann, and a decision was handed down by him on the 7th day of September, 1943.

Judge Sackmann invalidated those provisions relating to compulsory incorporation and the regulation of the internal affairs of unions. Provisions relating to picketing and boycotting were held valid. Both the state and the labor unions have appealed to the Supreme Court of Colorado where the case is now pending. Briefs have been interposed, and time for oral argument set. The Attorney General has agreed to withhold enforcement of the law until the Supreme Court decides the case.

Kansas. The first suit to be started in any state was in Kansas before a three-judge federal court. Although briefs were filed and arguments held more than a year ago the court has not yet rendered its decision. On July 28, 1944, Federal Judge Murrah, on his own behalf and on behalf of his two associate Justices, wrote all counsel in the case suggesting that a decision be postponed until the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Thomas v. Collins* (appealed from the Supreme Court of Texas) is handed down. The General Counsel for the American Federation of Labor has notified the court that the Federation is opposed to the delay. The Thomas case will not present the true issues respecting the Kansas law. It is hoped that the Kansas court will render a decision quite promptly. In the meantime enforcement of the law is being withheld and no rights of our unions have been jeopardized on account of the law.

Florida. Two cases were started in Florida, one by the Attorney General in Jacksonville, and another by the American Federation of Labor in conjunction with the Florida State Federation of Labor in Tallahassee.

The Jacksonville case came on for hearing and argument before Judge Lewis of the Circuit Court in March, 1944. The Attorney General sought by this suit to obtain a mandatory injunction to compel union officials and

business agents to register with the Secretary of State. Although the law contains many other provisions the Attorney General did not see fit to make an issue of the other sections in his suit. Judge Lewis decided that it is not illegal merely to require registration, but that since this law vests discretion in state officials to issue or deny registration, such discretion was invalid. He therefore held that unions and union business agents would be required to register but that upon application being made registration must be granted, and that the state officials had no power or discretion to deny the same. We have taken an appeal from the decision of Judge Lewis to the Supreme Court of Florida.

In the case brought by the American Federation of Labor pending before the court in Tallahassee, all issues pertaining to validity of the entire Act are involved. Arguments were presented to the trial judge and briefs have been filed, but the trial judge has failed to date to render a decision in the matter.

No particular ill effects are being suffered by our unions because the Act is not being generally enforced pending a determination of its constitutionality by the Florida Supreme Court.

In the meantime another case has arisen in Florida as a result of a labor dispute involving bus drivers in the City of Miami affiliated with the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. Members of this organization were arrested for violating Section 3 of the Florida anti-Labor law which prohibits workers from striking except after a vote of a majority of the employees concerned. The case was brought to the attention of our General Counsel after a conviction was had. Our General Counsel has been instructed to become associated with local counsel in this case so that the validity of the particular provision under which the conviction was had may be tested. An appeal to the Supreme Court of Florida is now being perfected.

South Dakota. A suit for permanent injunction to restrain the state officials of South Dakota from enforcing its anti-Labor law was filed in 1943. Briefs were interposed and arguments presented, and on June 29, 1944, the trial court declared all provisions of the South Dakota law unconstitutional except Section 1, which requires the filing of financial statements. The provisions which were declared unconstitutional pertain particularly to restrictions on picketing, boycotting and striking. An appeal has been taken to the Supreme Court of South Dakota from that portion of the decision declaring the "filing requirement" constitutional. Pending this appeal the law is not being enforced.

Idaho. A peculiar situation arose with respect to the suit instituted by the American Federation of Labor in conjunction with the State Federation of Labor to have the law declared unconstitutional. The Attorney General of the State of Idaho came to the conclusion that the law was unconstitutional, stated that he could see no object in contesting the suit, and did not contest it. However, a local district attorney undertook to contest the same. Thereupon briefs were filed and the case presented for consideration to the court. The

local District Attorney interposed a demurrer for dismissal of the suit of the Federation, claiming that there was no foundation for the suit and that the law was in every respect valid.

On the 20th of July, 1944, the District Judge before whom the case was pending over-ruled the motions of the local district attorney, and in doing so held that the Federation has a valid cause of action and that the case would have to be heard on its merits. In other words, the court held that there was a legal basis for the permanent injunction sought by Labor against the enforcement of this law. The court held that Section 4, which prohibits boycotting, is unconstitutional. As to other sections of the law, trial will be had and the court will consider the same on the merits. In view of the fact that this law is similar to the South Dakota law we are confident that the major portions of the Act will be declared invalid. The court declared that the Attorney General should have appeared in the case regardless of his personal opinions as to the validity of the law.

Alabama. Several suits by different unions were commenced in Alabama, but the one on its way to the Supreme Court of the United States at this time is the only one of significance. It is the suit which is being handled by the General Counsel for the American Federation of Labor in conjunction with counsel for the State Federation of Labor. After a trial in the lower court, in which the trial judge held certain sections of the Act valid and others invalid, the case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Alabama. That court, on the 25th of May, 1944, handed down its decision declaring several important provisions of the Act to be unconstitutional. The Supreme Court held that section of the law making it unlawful to refuse to handle, install, use or work on any particular materials because the same were not produced, processed or delivered by members of a union, to be illegal. The court likewise held Section 12, which makes it unlawful to strike in the absence of a majority vote, to be illegal. Significant, too, is its holding that the provision of the law making it unlawful for labor unions to make political contributions is invalid. However, it held to be valid those sections requiring filing of financial statements, prohibiting permit fees as well as the section which makes it unlawful for supervisory employees to become members of a labor union.

Our General Counsel, together with the State Federation Counsel, are now engaged in the preparation of a petition for a writ of *certiorari* to the United States Supreme Court seeking to reverse the decision of the Alabama Supreme Court pertaining to those sections held by it to be valid. The Attorney General of the State of Alabama has not undertaken enforcement of this law pending the litigation.

Texas. A suit was instituted by the American Federation of Labor in conjunction with the State Federation of Labor in the Texas courts in 1943. A lengthy trial ensued, briefs were interposed, and arguments had. The trial court declared Section 4, which attempts to regulate election of officers, provides for tenure of office, etc., to be illegal; it also declared Section 7, which seeks to regulate the internal affairs of labor unions in great detail,

to be illegal. (Section 7 contains the amazing provision that unions cannot collect by way of initiation fees, dues, fines, or assessments any moneys "in excess of the reasonable requirements of the union.") The court likewise invalidated Section 10(a) which prohibited unions from attempting to levy any back payments of dues or assessments on returned service men.

Other sections of the Act, which in effect seek to regulate some of the affairs of unions, were held valid, as for instance the requirement that aliens or persons convicted of a felony may not serve as officers or representatives of a union; the court held the prohibition against political contributions to be valid; it held likewise with respect to the charging of permit fees unless the member is admitted to full membership in the union; it upheld the provision for a full court review of any decision of a union expelling a member; it upheld the provision requiring the filing of financial returns; and in a previous case (in which the C.I.O. alone is involved, known as the Thomas case), both the trial court and the Supreme Court declared the section requiring a union official to register before soliciting membership to be valid.

The American Federation of Labor case was appealed to the Court of Civil Appeals. Briefs have been filed and oral argument was made on July 19, 1944. The case is now under advisement.

The Thomas case complicates the situation somewhat, but since it is not an American Federation of Labor case, and is confined only to one section of the law, the decision in that case does not determine the validity of any of the other sections of the Act or issues of law raised concerning them.

Except in the Thomas case, compliance with the law has not been demanded by the Attorney General pending the litigation.

Arkansas. Unbeknown to the American Federation of Labor or its General Counsel certain arrests of workers were made under the Arkansas law, and trials and convictions were had. The two particular workers involved in the cases were each sentenced to one year imprisonment. The Arkansas law is an out-and-out criminal statute prohibiting force and violence in labor disputes. The Act does not permit of any alternative fine or suspension of sentence. It constitutes violation of the law a felony and provides for imprisonment of one to two years. The Act is extremely unjust and harsh in that simple assaults which are merely petty misdemeanors and are disposed of by fines of five dollars or less in ordinary cases become felonies with imprisonment as the only penalty when committed in connection with a labor dispute.

The cases were appealed to the Supreme Court of Arkansas, which upheld the convictions. Our General Counsel was instructed to examine the record and advise the Executive Council respecting an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. He points out that no federal questions were presented or preserved on the original trial of the case and thus there is no jurisdiction in the United States Supreme Court to entertain an appeal. Should another case arise under this law it is hoped that the matter will be brought to the attention of the American Federation of Labor so that its General Counsel

may assist in its defense and preserve all federal constitutional questions, thus affording an opportunity to contest the constitutionality of the law.

The foregoing presents the status of the suits pending in the various courts at the present time. There are other state anti-Labor laws which were passed by Minnesota, Michigan, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. With the exception of Minnesota, these laws are of limited scope and do not require the filing of financial reports, registration, etc., nor do they interfere with the internal affairs of labor organizations. Thus it is considered inadvisable to institute suits respecting the laws of Michigan, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania until the authorities seek to enforce these laws.

At the periodical meetings and sessions of the Executive Council during the year our General Counsel has reported in detail on the various steps taken relating to the foregoing litigation. The decisions of the courts have been read and analyzed by the Council. From a full consideration of the status of these cases the Council reports extreme gratification with the situation and circumstances respecting this litigation. The cases involve laws which were procured by high-pressure reactionary groups. These groups have been very anxious not only to see that these laws are sustained in their entirety, but they have been particularly anxious to see that they are enforced until a court declares them invalid. Over eighteen months have elapsed since these laws were passed, but through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor in instituting these suits and the procedure adopted, the most reprehensible and vicious provisions in the various laws have been stricken down in the first instance by the courts who tried the cases. With respect to those provisions and laws which were not stricken down, the same are not being enforced in any state, and in all probability will not be enforced, pending final decision by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The institution of these suits have prevented a multitude of arrests which otherwise would have taken place. The litigation is being carefully and diligently handled, and the Executive Council is quite hopeful that the most obnoxious portions of these laws will ultimately be invalidated.

LEGAL ACTIVITIES

New Government Bureaus and Laws. Problems affecting the American Federation of Labor which come within the field of legal activities have, since the commencement of the war, been on the increase. This is largely due to so-called emergency legislation which imposes duties and obligations upon citizens in general, and particularly upon workers whose rights are frequently curtailed by such legislation. Many new so-called war commissions and bureaus have been established, with wide discretionary powers and whose directives and decrees affect the rights and interests of trade unions and their workers.

The mere analysis of the day-to-day directives, orders and decisions affecting Labor issued by various war agencies is a tremendous legal task. The numerous decisions and rulings of the War Manpower Commission, the Maritime Board, the War Labor Board, are cited as examples of agencies

set up during the war which make many of the rulings requiring the legal attention referred to, and which call for the rendering of many legal opinions by our General Counsel. Also the furnishing of considerable legal aid has been necessary, particularly for federal labor unions, in procedural matters such as processing Form 10's with the War Labor Board for the purpose of procuring wage increases.

Filing of Financial Returns. Some of the new legislation has required extensive conferences with government officials so as to assure fair administration and the minimizing of apparent hardships. For example, the last Congress provided that labor unions shall file annual financial returns with the Bureau of Internal Revenue. No particular form of return is set forth in the law, Congress having left this phase of the subject to the discretion of the officials of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. It was evident that unless the American Federation of Labor could induce the Bureau of Internal Revenue to adopt a simple, direct and fair form of return it would be most difficult for our unions to comply with the law. Our General Counsel and officers and representatives of the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor met with the officials of the Bureau of Internal Revenue and discussed all problems relating to the filing of returns. Reports of these conferences were made directly by our General Counsel to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which in turn discussed the problem and made suggestions for the simplification of the return. The Executive Council is pleased to report that most of its suggestions were adopted, with the result that we have a very much improved and simplified form of return as compared with the old, complex Form 990; and many of the hardships and the confusion inherent in the old form have been eliminated.

Although the Bureau permits international unions to file composite returns on behalf of all of their locals, a full discussion of this problem by the Executive Council led to the unanimous opinion and conclusion that the most practical method of compliance with the law is for each local union to file its own separate financial return.

It should be noted that the Congressional Committee's report pertaining to this legislation states that the reason for its passage is to acquire facts and knowledge respecting the advisability of taxing certain union property holdings. It is too early to predict what Congress will do after the facts disclosed by the returns are made known to it, but the situation is being carefully watched so that the interests of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates will not be unjustly prejudiced.

General Legal Services. The office of the General Counsel has given the necessary attention required in the handling of the Federation's general legal work which, among other things, consists of the rendering of numerous opinions to federal labor unions and other affiliates and to the officers of the American Federation of Labor on general questions of law; analyzing and rendering opinions on federal as well as proposed state legislation; appearance before Congressional committees in support of, or opposition to, legislation; trial of many National Labor Relations Board and other depart-

mental cases, some of which were contested, very prolonged, and required considerable attendance at hearings before the Boards, the filing of many briefs and presentation of arguments.

The most notable case of the year before the National Labor Relations Board was that involving the Western Union Company, in which the American Federation of Labor sought certification as exclusive bargaining agent in a nation-wide bargaining unit. The hearing, which took over four months, was one of the longest ever held before the Board. Over 10,000 pages of testimony were taken, and hundreds of exhibits were received. The case was complicated because of the merger of the Postal Telegraph Company with Western Union, and because of the fact that supervisory exclusions throughout the entire country had to be determined. The C.I.O., knowing it would be overwhelmed in a nation-wide election, strenuously opposed the nation-wide unit. After the submission of lengthy briefs, oral argument was presented to the Board in the last week of July. A final decision of the full Board is expected any day.

Court Cases. Several court cases were handled and tried by the General Counsel's office, and although all are important we refrain from referring to them in detail, except the Florida-Tampa Shipbuilding Company case and those relating to the so-called anti-Labor legislation, which are discussed in a separate report.

Florida Closed Shop Cases. On November 10, 1943, a month following our last Convention, the Supreme Court of Florida handed down its decision in the Tampa Shipbuilding Company case. This decision involving the validity of closed shop contracts is of extreme importance.

Some time ago several lawsuits were instituted by the Attorney General of the State of Florida seeking to abrogate closed shop agreements entered into between Metal Trades affiliates of the American Federation of Labor and various companies. A test case was made of the suit brought by the Attorney General against the Tampa Shipbuilding Company employing some 12,000 employees.

The Attorney General had challenged the contract on the grounds that it was contrary to public policy. Thus, for the first time in the history of litigation involving closed shops, the issue of the validity of closed shops was presented in the clearest possible form. Usually the issue is brought up collaterally in suits against picketing or striking. Here, no picketing or striking was involved, and the very right to enter into a closed shop agreement was challenged. Following a trial lasting several weeks, in which the Attorney General attempted unsuccessfully to prove various types of abuses under the closed shop agreement, the matter was argued before the lower court which found that, even in the absence of any abuses, the closed shop agreement was contrary to public policy.

The case was immediately appealed to the Florida Supreme Court. Labor contended before the Supreme Court that the closed shop was not contrary to public policy but, on the contrary, was a necessary means for the protection

and maintenance of working standards. The Florida Supreme Court upheld the contention of the unions.

The decision is important not only because it solidly establishes the validity of closed shop agreements in the State of Florida, but because it affords a very compelling precedent for similar holdings in other states of the Union. In upholding the legality of the closed shop the Court expressed the underlying and basic philosophy of the closed shop in two classic and emphatic sentences:

Management is free to hire only union men if it chooses. Likewise, labor is free to work only with union men if it chooses.

While the Tampa case was pending in the Florida Supreme Court the Attorney General had instituted another action against the St. Johns River Shipbuilding Company which had a closed shop agreement with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Answers and motions to dismiss were interposed. Just before the case was to be argued the Tampa Shipbuilding Company decision was handed down by the Florida Supreme Court, and the Attorney General was induced to withdraw this suit. He announced that he would not attempt to further appeal the Tampa case, and would not attempt to institute any more suits in the state challenging the validity of closed shop agreements, but would center his efforts on the passage of the proposed constitutional amendment which seeks to outlaw the closed shop.

Florida Constitutional Amendment Seeking to Outlaw Closed Shop Contracts. The Attorney General of the State of Florida has made anti-Labor legislation and anti-labor litigation a political issue. He was instrumental in causing the legislature to pass a joint resolution for the submission of a constitutional amendment to be voted on in November, 1944, the effect of which he hopes will be to outlaw the closed shop.

The main provision of the constitutional proposal recites:

The right of persons to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of membership or non-membership in any labor union or labor organization.

The Executive Council has received an opinion from the Federation's General Counsel that the language of the amendment will not serve the purpose sought by the Attorney General. It is hoped that the Tampa Shipbuilding Company decision will help defeat the proposed amendment. If it is not defeated, the Federation will attack the validity of the law on the ground that it conflicts with the Federal Constitution.

Although the Attorney General of the State of Florida still persists in his crusade against organized labor, his ardor has been considerably dampened by the defeat he suffered in the decision of the Supreme Court of the State in the Tampa Shipbuilding Company case wherein the validity of the closed shop was upheld. He has withheld instituting wholesale prosecutions against our unions and their officials for failing to comply with the state law, and it is our opinion that the decision in the Tampa Shipbuilding Company case is responsible for his decision to withhold enforcement.

California Constitutional Amendment. An "initiative petition" was signed by the requisite number of voters for submission of a constitutional amendment entitled "Right of Freedom Measure." This measure is sponsored by the Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Los Angeles and other branches of the Association in other parts of the state. The amendment would in effect outlaw the closed shop and empower the courts to punish by criminal penalties, as well as to restrain by injunction, alleged violations of the law. The California State Federation of Labor and all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor are engaged in an active and vigorous campaign to effectuate the defeat of this constitutional amendment.

Smith-Connally Act. A complete legal analysis of this law was made for the officers of the Federation and the Executive Council, and the same was published and forwarded to all affiliates. It is unnecessary, therefore, to comment further on this nefarious enactment. However, it is gratifying to note that no criminal prosecutions have been instituted against officers or members of the American Federation of Labor for violation of this law. The adherence to the no-strike pledge has made a dead letter of the criminal provision of the Smith-Connally Act insofar as the American Federation of Labor is concerned.

Recently several civil suits were instituted by employers who seek to recover civil damages from unions because of alleged strikes having been called without the giving of the thirty-day notice required by the Smith-Connally Act. The cases in which damages are sought apply to wildcat strikes, for which the unions sued are in no way responsible. However, it is the opinion of our legal counsel that the section of the Smith-Connally Act providing for damages is invalid. The cases have not yet been tried, therefore no decision has as yet been rendered. The officers of the Federation have not relaxed their efforts to procure the repeal of the Smith-Connally Act and they will continue to exert every means to accomplish that result.

Political Contributions. Section 9 of the Smith-Connally Act prohibits labor unions from making political contributions in federal elections. Many inquiries were received from officers of local unions inquiring as to the extent of the prohibition and what constitutes legal conduct as well as violations of the law. Therefore a comprehensive opinion was requested of the General Counsel, and the same was published and forwarded to all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor. There have been no charges lodged against any officer or affiliate of the American Federation of Labor with respect to this section of the law.

From inquiries received from time to time it is apparent that some officers and members of our affiliates are under the impression that the Act includes state elections. This is not the fact. It is unlawful for a labor union to contribute to campaigns in connection with federal elections only, and with respect to presidential and vice-presidential electors, senators or representatives, delegates or resident commissioners to Congress. The prohibition is not only against making the contribution to the candidate direct, but to any political committee. Ordinary expenditures by unions in connection with

activities in furtherance of economic programs may be made even though the indirect effect is to favor or oppose the candidacies of persons seeking the aforementioned offices.

Reference to the legal opinion secured by the Federation afore referred to will be most helpful to our officers in determining what expenditures, and under what circumstances, are legal and proper.

Anti-Trust Cases. Last year the Executive Council reported on the status of the anti-trust cases, and in that report called attention to the fact that the two final cases instituted by the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice against affiliates of the American Federation of Labor for violation of the anti-trust laws were argued before the federal courts, and the unions were successful in procuring dismissal of the cases. The Anti-Trust Division did not appeal these cases. The Executive Council expressed the hope that the large number of victories of organized labor in anti-trust suits would result in an abandonment of further prosecutions, civil or criminal, of organized labor under the anti-trust laws. It is gratifying to note that these hopes have been realized. The Department of Justice has not instituted any anti-trust suit against organized labor in the past year.

PUBLICITY, RADIO AND THE LABOR PRESS

The frontal wave of anti-Labor propaganda collapsed of its own sheer emptiness in the past year but the trade union movement has been harassed by constant and repeated flanking attacks by powerful and hostile interests.

Severe setbacks were administered to those who sought to inflame the minds of the men in the armed forces against Labor. The Senate War Investigating Committee's report extolling Labor's performance in the war effort and the War Department's broad and official acknowledgment to the troops that tremendous increases in war equipment were scored by the nation's workers served to counteract much of the anti-Labor poison. Furthermore, Labor's own publications giving the truth about developments on the production front, have been accepted by camp libraries and made available to the troops. As a result, Army newspapers have adopted a friendlier attitude toward organized labor. They have published repeated editorials praising Labor's production gains and expressing appreciation of the labor movement's vigorous campaign in behalf of programs designed to help servicemen during the post-war period.

More than ever before, the men in the armed forces now realize that their economic future is closely linked with that of the nation's workers and more than ever before they realize that Labor's efforts to maintain high American standards will redound to the serviceman's benefit when he returns from the war.

Perhaps the most effective pro-Labor argument has been the fact that they have seen with their own eyes the vast flow of arms and ammunition, made by American workers, pouring into the battlefronts from ships built by American workers. They have seen vast fleets of warplanes, constructed by American labor, batter the enemy into retreat and pave the way for Allied

advances. They have handled this war equipment themselves and they know how superior it is to anything the enemy can throw at them and they have thus learned in the most convincing way the true and tremendous support which Labor is giving to the men in uniform.

The volume and variety of attacks against Labor on the home front have made it apparent that the Publicity and Information Service of the American Federation of Labor must be expanded in order to overcome these onslaughts and to anticipate them by effectively organized informational activities. The Executive Council has approved plans for broadening and extending the public relations program of the Federation which will enable Labor to take the offensive instead of being forced to remain on the defensive.

Foremost among these plans is the development of expanded radio activities. Conferences already have been held with representatives of the major radio networks and assurances have been received that the American Federation of Labor will be accorded time for a regular weekly radio program of its own on coast-to-coast hookups. The programs will be designed to meet in the most effective manner possible the requirements of our movement. Through this medium the American Federation of Labor will be able to carry its message directly to the American people and to build up good will for organized labor that is priceless in value. Unfortunately, the "Labor For Victory" series was taken off the air last June when the political campaign started.

Another important medium for the expression of Labor's news and views which the Executive Council is determined to expand and strengthen in the near future is the Labor Press. The services of the Labor Press in promulgating and promoting Labor's varied war activities and the national war effort constitute a major contribution to the welfare of America and its workers.

The Executive Council wishes to go beyond its annual expressions of gratitude to the bona fide Labor Press which upholds the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. It wishes to supplement its good will toward the Labor Press with concrete action which will strengthen the position and broaden the influence of these loyal publications.

However, the exigencies of wartime conditions appear to prevent putting any really effective plans into action immediately. The special committee to investigate ways and means whereby the American Federation of Labor can render more substantial assistance to the Labor Press is expected to recommend certain measures which can be acted upon now and to prepare a broader and more comprehensive plan to be put into operation when peace comes. The Executive Council pledges its full cooperation in the furtherance of every practical step to provide new opportunities for the growth and development of the bona fide Labor Press.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

During the past year the *American Federationist*, the official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor, continued the effective and valuable service of portraying accurately the many magnificent contributions

of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions to our nation's fight against the Axis aggressors

As has been its policy ever since Pearl Harbor, the *American Federationist* devoted the major portion of every issue to the world conflict and the tremendously important role therein which American Labor has played and is playing, not only on the production front at home but in the actual fighting overseas. But during the past year, as the defeat of Nazi Germany drew ever nearer, the Federation's official organ also gave much space to the post-war aims and proposals of America's workers and their organizations.

It has been the unswerving purpose of the *American Federationist* to present to its readers, both inside and outside the labor movement, the most timely and authoritative articles obtainable on subjects affecting working men and women. These articles, written in lively, non-academic style, are usually accompanied by pertinent pictorial material of a high order of excellence, in line with the practices of modern magazine publishing.

The *American Federationist* has come to occupy an unchallenged position at the very top of the heap among official publications issued by national labor federations of the world, but there is no disposition on the part of those responsible for its issuance to rest on their oars. They seek constantly for ways and means of improving the reading content and the physical appearance, aware that an organization which has won the prestige and respect enjoyed today by the American Federation of Labor should be represented by a publication which measures up to the very highest standards.

One of the important factors in the *Federationist's* service to our movement has been its sale at news-stands to members of the general public. These sales, which have been increasing slowly but steadily, enable the American Federation of Labor to get its message to citizens not affiliated with our unions, and it is not too much to say that many of these readers have learned through the *Federationist* that trade unionists are patriotic Americans whose grievances, when they have grievances, are reasonable and genuine, arguments to the contrary by hostile writers, commentators and legislators notwithstanding.

So helpful to Labor is the placing in the hands of the general public of copies of the *American Federationist* that efforts should be made to increase news-stand sales. Much good in this direction could be accomplished if officers, organizers and others with the best interests of the American Federation of Labor at heart would, in their contacts with persons and groups outside the Federation, strongly urge them to read the *Federationist* if they want to know what organized labor in America is doing and planning for a prosperous and happy land after victory.

LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY

Through this publication we have made available to our members factual information on such subjects as wages, living costs, increasing productivity, profits of American industry, and have interpreted current happenings which affect them. The publication has been particularly useful in stating clearly

and interpreting facts in cases where anti-Labor publicity has misinformed the public. We have shown workers' actual experiences with rising living costs from reports of our own organizers, given the actual figures on strikes, shown Labor's immense contribution to the war effort and the amazing increase in productivity. The Survey has revealed the pernicious effect of the Little Steel Formula by publishing the present straight-time average hourly wage rates in industry and showing that on a 40-hour week after the war, 90 per cent of American workers cannot earn enough to support a family in health and efficiency.

Many of our members and organizers use the Survey material for public addresses and it is widely quoted in the press and in labor papers. Since it also goes to many libraries, research organizations, and universities and in other ways reaches the general public, it serves to some extent as a public relations organ, interpreting Labor's viewpoint to the American public. Several hundred copies are being sent to our members in the armed forces each month at the request of their local unions.

According to the provision of the 1943 Convention, the Survey has been made available free of charge to local union officers and at 50 cents per year to local union members. A large number of members and officers have availed themselves of this opportunity. The Survey is furnished to persons not members of the Federation at \$1.00 per year.

NOTICIARIO OBRERO NORTEAMERICANO (North American Labor News)

Since January of this year the American Federation of Labor has been publishing semi-monthly a clipsheet in the Spanish language. It has served as an effective instrument to inform the trade union movement in all the countries of Latin-America of the work and efforts of the American Federation of Labor in this country. The clipsheet is sent to over five hundred labor unions, the labor press and prominent individuals in Latin-America as well as to our local unions in the border states of this country, many of whom have a large Spanish-speaking membership.

The Executive Council is indeed gratified by the enthusiastic manner in which the *Noticiario* has been received in all the countries. Editorials in many of the prominent South American newspapers, as well as letters from trade unionists, have wholeheartedly endorsed the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to further the ties of friendship which bind the trade union movements of the hemisphere. Inasmuch as many of the labor unions in Latin-America are comparatively young, the paper has been welcomed as a means of learning the methods and organization of many of our unions in this country.

The Executive Council recommends that the publication be continued and sincerely hopes that further efforts may soon be realized to more fully acquaint the trade union movement of Latin-America with the work of the American Federation of Labor.

EDUCATION

Our public school system and all our educational agencies have been powerfully affected by war needs and war work. The draft has taken both students and faculty members from colleges and universities; special war work has taken more from faculties of institutions of higher learning and placed new obligations upon the institutions themselves; faculties and buildings of public schools have had comparable developments. These years have provided a rich experience for discerning the basic principles to be utilized for future improvements and developments.

On the battlefield of the world we are fighting our way to a new world era in which we hope to achieve certain ideals of individual and national honor for which many generations have yearned. Achieving the ways and means to world peace will be only the first step toward that goal.

Unless we make it a primary objective in living and turn our resources toward an understanding of how to live together with other people in a spirit of good will and we have the ability and patience to work through that type of educational problem, we shall face repeated catastrophies in cooperative world undertakings. Our schools should provide preparation for this type of responsibility in which cooperation on mutual problems is the method essential to achievements.

The American Federation of Labor has always advocated local control of education as the essential safeguard of free institutions. Federal aid to the public school system should not carry with it any control over definition of public schools or the curriculum, or any other infringement of present local controls.

With increasing and inevitable trends toward federalization of service for all citizens, it is increasingly necessary that we work out the problem of giving equal opportunities to all citizens regardless of the locality in which they live and yet keep administration within the control of the locality so that there can be the necessary flexibility to meet individual and local needs.

Education is concerned with forces that are so fundamental in shaping human thought and action that the safety of free institutions requires that we never forget the possibilities and dangers of regimentation. We need to find adjustments between national standards, assuring equal opportunities and protection for all, and the individual adjustments necessary to give individuals the kind of opportunity each needs for self-development. Implicit also is the problem of affording full opportunity for local educational institutions, approved locally as public schools, to share equally in federal appropriations for public schools.

The purposes which education should serve are: mental and thought development, spiritual development and character building, vocational training, physical development and health conservation, including nutrition. Obviously the school shares responsibility for all these purposes with the family, the home and the church and should appreciate the fundamental value of these institutions. Since the school is lengthening the period in which it serves individuals, beginning in some localities at the age of 3 years and

continuing with adult education provisions during the mature years, it becomes increasingly important that schools maintain understanding co-operative relations with other social institutions.

For the future we hope there will be substantial progress both in the quality of teaching and in the adjustment of the curriculum to life needs. This means, of course, higher standards for the selection of teachers accompanied necessarily by higher compensation, better school facilities so as to restrict size of classes to numbers facilitating the best instruction and learning.

A great deal of stress is now being given to guidance and counselling, but unless these services are performed by highly trained specialists, they are of doubtful value. We can give information and experience to others looking for aid but "counselling" assumes a kind of superior wisdom that few have. Physicians, dentists, physical therapists, psychologists and psychiatrists with medical training can all help with information and advice in fitting individuals for constructive living so that they may choose wisely for themselves.

Educational Reconstruction. Educational reconstruction is as essential to American democracy today as the actual establishment of the free public school was to our nation a century and a quarter ago. In the early part of the 19th century the young and struggling trade unions made the establishment of free public schools one of their primary objectives. Today, a strong free trade union movement must play a leading role in helping shape a program of educational reconstruction for the development of a functional democracy.

Today, it is not enough simply to support a system of public education; we must help reconstruct that system so that it may serve in achieving a socially integrated democratic society.

For over a century we have fought—and with marked success—to have children kept in school, and out of the factories and workshops. The campaign against the exploitation of children must continue. At the same time we must frankly admit that merely keeping children in school is in itself not enough. We must also see to it that the education afforded them fits them for citizenship in a complex democratic society. Formal and at times, rigid curricula and teaching methods have often denied children their right to an education.

The training of our citizens begins in the very early years of their life. Attitudes are developed then, which condition the future pattern of thought. The nursery school training is intended to supplement the home; it cannot replace the home. The home, the church, the school must all help create in the very young child a sense of moral values and an appreciation of those values in every-day human relations.

The elementary school plays a highly important role in laying a sound foundation for future development, for all our citizens. The elementary teacher has the difficult task of teaching many pupils, many subjects, and caring for the personal well-being of these boys and girls at the same time.

Yet, the elementary teacher, regardless of her professional training, is paid less than others in the educational system. The average annual salary of the elementary teachers is far below the subsistence level. In Mississippi, for example, the average annual salary is \$517 for the entire educational staff. We hold that the contribution of every teacher is to be measured not in terms of the level at which she teaches nor the subject taught, but in terms of professional qualifications and quality of her teaching.

We would further point out that the size of the average elementary school class is too large. No elementary school class of more than 25 pupils can be properly taught.

In the reconstruction of our secondary schools there must be recognition of the fact that ours is a complex industrialized society; a society in which the skilled craftsmen and the farmer plays a highly important role. Surely, the war years should have taught all this fact. We have permitted formal and rigid curricula and teaching methods to deny children their right to an education. We have introduced vocational education, but we have all too frequently kept it separate instead of integrating it in the regular school curriculum. This integration involves far more than the giving of so-called vocational courses in the secondary schools.

We believe that federal aid should be utilized to encourage balance in educational provisions. Since the Smith-Hughes Act was enacted in 1917, providing for federal aid to vocational education, a definite unbalance has developed in some of the low-income localities with vocational high schools practically replacing the cultural curriculum of academic high. This is an unfortunate development. We do not want vocational training at the expense of cultural education but we want to reunite vocational and cultural education. We believe that training in work and work habits can best be done on the job coordinated with related instructions and additional information taught in the schools. Workers need to know the sciences underlying their work and related information which will help them to interpret jobs and adjust themselves to changes. Practical experience has its cultural implications provided it develops ability to understand and relate results. However, academic teachers without work experience cannot teach boys and girls to become workers and they cannot give students a sense of the significance and dignity of knowing how to work with good work habits. A far-reaching educational campaign is sorely needed to arouse our people to the dangerous significance of isolating vocational education and regarding it as inferior. A cursory survey reveals these facts:

1. Pupils are assigned to vocational schools because they have a low I.Q.
2. Pupils with a high I.Q. are "guided" away from vocational schools.
3. In many cities the vocational schools are not allowed to compete in the inter-scholastic contests of the secondary schools.
4. Reformatories for juvenile delinquents are often called "Industrial Training Schools".
5. Vocational schools are usually located in the poorer sections of the city, and at times (as in the nation's capital) in the most undesirable section of the city.

In many other ways can proof be easily furnished that training for other than a white-collar job is considered a lower form of training. This attitude and the consequent practices are not compatible with our talk of a democratic American society.

We have not given enough thought to determining the age at which vocational education shall begin. Vocational high schools encourage early beginning while apprenticeship is post-school. Many employers prefer beginners who have taken an academic high school course instead of vocational training.

Education, it should be observed, is not limited to formal schooling. It is essential that a program of training be evolved which would enable youth to learn on the job and to have that training supplemented by academic teaching which would actually enrich the student's life, giving him the scientific information needed to understand his job, and further develop his opportunities for participation in a community.

Apprenticeship Training. Though the war has demonstrated the need for skilled workers and craftsmen both in the armed services and in production, it has developed short cuts for quickly trained workers on the job to do single operations. However, the Apprentice Training Division of the Federal Government has maintained its organization and progress and is in good condition for progress after the war. Seventeen states have legislation on apprenticeship training; 27 states have joint committees composed of representatives of employers and workers, and there are 1950 local joint committees covering 30,000 establishments.

The Division and the Federal Apprenticeship Committee has emphasized the wisdom of delegating to joint committees the responsibility for standard-making and local planning, with national committees performing the first function and local committees the second. There has been some tendency for state committees to assume responsibility for decisions instead of serving merely an administrative function, but this has been discouraged both nationally and locally. As apprentices are employed persons, the union and management acting jointly constitute the best agency for directing training.

Such internationalists as have responsibility for craftsmanship would be well advised to consult the Apprenticeship Division of the Department of Labor on setting up a national committee to promote apprenticeship in their jurisdictions.

Workers in many other fields where craftsmanship has not been formally recognized could promote such recognition by establishing standards of skill and working out training programs. Maintenance and conservation of work skills is a basic function of every union.

The physical well being of youth, thus far sadly neglected by the nation until it needs its youth for war service, should now become a primary peacetime problem. Physical examination and ample provision for the maintenance of physical fitness by our people is one of the programs for immediate action.

A new and challenging approach to the question of training is presented by H. C. Dent in *A New Order in English Education* in which he suggests

that the young worker seeking to "pick a job" should be given the training he may desire and that he should during that period be regarded as an apprentice not to an employer, nor even to a trade, industry or profession ... but to the community.

Adult Education. For many years the American educational system consisted of the traditional elementary and the secondary school, and the university for higher education. "Night schools" were added, but they offered only the same formal curricula which the day schools offered. These schools made available at night formal education denied those who worked in the day. However, a new concept of adult education was developing: continuous education for the civic, social and cultural growth of the mature man. The workers education programs expressed a need which has added impetus to the development of this movement.

At this time we must not only evaluate our own program in the field of workers education, but should chart a course for that program in relation to the entire field of adult education in relation to both public and private agencies.

We should consider such programs as the form and function of the residential labor college or labor institute in the future; their relation to international centers of training, their relation to rural educational centers and above all their relation to a continuous program of "public information" in a rapidly changing social order.

At all levels of education there are the new media which may profitably be used. Motion pictures and other visual aids and the radio offer vast possibilities for good or evil. We have a great responsibility to help direct their use for the general social good. At all levels education should be an integral part of the general social process and not merely a means for getting advancement in the future.

Federal Aid for Education. The American Federation of Labor has always realized Labor's special concern in our free public school system and has systematically worked for its expansion and its improvement. We believe that not only should there be equal educational opportunities available to all in every part of the country, but effective opportunity for every child to avail himself of the opportunity. To achieve this purpose we have advocated federal appropriations to aid state systems and to equalize opportunities for all irrespective of the financial ability of the locality and the state in which they live.

We first advanced and secured federal aid for the establishment and promotion of vocational education in our public schools. Since 1918 the American Federation of Labor has urged a general program of federal aid for education. The bills which have from time to time been before Congress, on this subject, have failed to provide for equalization of educational opportunities; they have failed to safeguard sound principles of public policy. The inadequacies of the bills themselves coupled with pseudo-economy drives have prevented the enactment of this vitally necessary legislation.

We recommend that the Standing Committee on Education of the American

Federation of Labor have prepared a bill to provide a permanent system of federal aid for education.

The following principles are to be written into the bill:

1. The funds are to be allocated among the states on a basis of relative need.
2. The federal funds shall be administered by the public educational authority of each state without prejudice to any child within the confines of the state, so as to maintain the state's educational standards, and such federal standards as may be exacted.
3. There shall be no legislative or administrative control or direction by any federal authority or agency regarding curricula, text books or methods of instruction. Basic principles which must condition the granting of federal aid to any state, shall include:
 - a. A minimum school year of nine months.
 - b. The pro rata distribution of the federal funds within any state without discrimination for race.
 - c. The requirement that funds given to any state shall be available to all political subdivisions of the state.
 - d. The requirement that a fixed proportion of the federal funds must be used for salaries.
 - e. The requirement that federal funds must supplement and not supplant present appropriations for state salaries.
 - f. The requirement of a state minimum salary of \$1500 for any professionally qualified teacher, to be effective within five years after the enactment of the bill.
 - g. An equitable state aid program within every state, to be effective within five years after the enactment of the bill.
 - h. The maintenance of a state tenure system based on a recognition of professional fitness for every teacher in the states.

It is to be observed that an equitable integrated federal-state-local plan of taxation must be considered in relation to any federal aid bill for the complex state patterns of federal, state and local governments are involved in all the federal aid programs.

Emergency Federal Aid for Education. The Lanham Act has served as an emergency source of funds for our schools during this war. Some source of emergency aid must be continued until a permanent program of aid is well established.

Training and Retraining of Veterans and War Workers. The G.I. Bill interests all of us for it affects the men in uniform in whom all of us have a deep personal interest. We are mindful of the fact that several million of these men are trade unionists, and are continuing their active interest in their trade unions. We know, too, that practically every one of our members has someone in his own family in uniform. So, for personal as well as national reasons, the well being of the serviceman is an intimate concern.

It is good to know that the Veterans' Bill is called a Bill of Rights, for the American serviceman has rights regardless of the amount of formal education he had before entering the service; regardless of what any so-called psychological test may show; regardless of his social status, his race, his creed. We fought for the recognition of this principle in regard to training rights.

The bill as originally drafted provided that only those servicemen selected,

shall be given such education as the economic situation may demand. The government's own apprenticeship program in which Labor participates, was not recognized, but business firms were to be paid for training the man on the job. The serviceman himself was, under this bill, merely a robot, with no say as to his own interests or desires.

Due to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor these provisions were changed.

Certain objectionable features, however, still remain in the law.

The man who was over 25 when he entered the Service has not the right to a year's education at government expense, unless his education was "interrupted by the war." This clause, if closely interpreted, would deny one-third of the servicemen their rights. We hold this limitation to be unjust. We contend that every serviceman's life and education has been interrupted by the war.

The bill does not now closely define the type of education which a serviceman may have. This is left to his choice, provided he takes it in an "approved institution".

We should recognize that thousands of servicemen on being returned to civilian life will want an education unlike that which is now offered in most of the accredited educational institutions in this country. Thousands will wish to learn or train for life and for enriched living, and not simply for "credit". Yet because our educational system is for the most part so constructed that a student must enroll on a credit basis to be a "full time" student, many servicemen may be denied what they actually want—a real education.

The entire training and retraining program for our returned soldier can be made more valuable to him and for the nation if it is conceived in terms of knowledge and social values and not merely in terms of "credit".

The retraining of the war worker for a peacetime job and his rapid reabsorption into industrial enterprise is vitally essential to the establishment of a stabilized economy. We cannot plan for the economic readjustment of ten million veterans without at the same time planning for the reemployment of the workers who supplied the materials of war. A universal, coordinated sound training program is essential for each citizen seeking post-war employment if any citizens are to be helped in effecting their adjustments.

Industrial training must be done on the job. The trainee should be adequately compensated during his training. Provision should be made for coordinating part-time private and public employment with training wherever that is desirable and practicable. Civic and cultural subject matter which is to be taught every trainee should be planned at the adult level, and should enable the worker to understand more fully his own rights and privileges and his duties and responsibilities in our society.

We recommend that the Standing Committee on Education formulate definite plans for training and programs in keeping with our principles and

seek to have these programs implemented and adopted by the necessary governmental and private educational and training agencies.

Training for Service by All Youth. No one will deny the right of the nation to require service of every youth. No one will deny the duty and indeed the privilege of every youth to render that service.

The need of a thorough physical examination and health building program for every youth must be a basic requirement. The need for developing in youth an appreciation of both exacting discipline and creative initiative is essential. The need for affording youth an opportunity for developing a deep sense of moral, civic and social responsibility must be a part of that program.

The form and substance of the program is too technical and too complex a subject to be dealt with in this report, but it should receive very thorough study. We, therefore, recommend that the Standing Committee on Education prepare a report on this subject within the near future and transmit that report to the Council.

International Aspects of Education. We submit that the reconstruction of the cultural life of nations now at war is certainly as important as their economic reconstruction.

Above all the principle of cultural autonomy for all nations must be adhered to in every phase of reconstruction. We believe that every possible form of material help must be given the victimized nations in rebuilding their cultural life.

We believe that in helping the nations which have been laid in ruin by the Axis powers to reconstruct themselves, we must recognize the right of these people to govern themselves; that while we offer material help to enable these victimized nations to rebuild themselves, the giving of such material help, no matter how vast the amount, must in no instance deny these people complete political and cultural autonomy. On the other hand, we recognize that the treatment afforded the Axis nations must be neither sentimentally indulgent nor dominated by any vengeance. We would treat the people in the Axis nations humanely and seek to afford them the opportunities through which they may regain a sense of moral and social values. We hold, however, that the Axis nations must prove by their deeds that they are worthy of sharing in the common life of the peace-loving world.

We would particularly urge that every possible aid be given to enable the victimized nations to rebuild their cultural life as quickly as possible, with only such "direction" from other nations as any nation may ask for from the U.N.R.R.A. or from any nation.

The Boston Convention in 1943 endorsed the principle of an International Office of Education. Today some such institution is being planned. However, it is being planned as an outgrowth of an emergency relief program. Such an approach we deem unsound and indeed unfair. We hold that in order for all nations participating in the new world organization to participate in the International Office of Education as equals, this machinery be independently established and not be an outgrowth of any emergency relief

organization in which there may be a lack of equality of the status of the member nations.

Reaffirming convention action of last year, and amplifying it further, we recommend that in the new world institutions there be established an International Office of Education, coordinated with the general international political organization, but free from domination by it, which Office shall serve as a medium for exchange of teachers, students, and as a center of investigation and research in any and all fields of education. If and when any nation or people solicits the advice or help of the International Office of Education such advice and help shall be given. The Office should also undertake such cooperative projects which are mutually deemed desirable.

We hold that in this new world educational organization there should be a definite recognition of the role of the free teacher organization.

Trade Union Fellowship Project at Harvard. This educational development has started its third year. There were six trade union fellows from unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in the group for 1943-44.

The four courses arranged specifically for the group were: Economic Analysis, Trade Union Problems and Policy, the Supervisor and Union Labor, Personnel and Management Controls. Two fellows elected to take in addition the course Production Organization and Engineering given for executives in the War Production Training course.

In addition to these formal courses, weekly seminars and dinner meetings provided additional opportunities for discussion and for outside speakers. These students with practical experience, the majority of whom have held responsible union positions, have had an influence upon the student body in addition to benefiting by educational opportunities afforded them.

Louis E. Kirstein Professorship. A proposal to raise an endowment for a chair to constitute a keystone in a research program in the human problems of administration was presented to the American Federation of Labor with the request that we make a contribution. This field of labor relations is so important to us that research under such auspices should benefit the entire movement. The Executive Council authorized a contribution.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

During the year the Vocational Division of the U. S. Office of Education continued its two wartime programs of Vocational Education for War Production Workers and War Training for Food Production.

The program of Vocational Training for War Production Workers consists of training persons who have had no previous experience in essential jobs for specific occupations in war production plants. It provides supplementary instruction for workers, plant foremen and supervisors. During the year there were 1,700,000 persons enrolled in this program. Of this number 1,425,000 received supplementary instruction and 275,000 were given pre-employment training for specific jobs. The training was concentrated in the shipbuilding, ordnance, electrical, aircraft manufacturing and maintenance,

welding, machine shop practice and automotive services. Approximately 375,000 women were represented in the total enrollment, with 325,000 receiving instruction in supplementary courses and 50,000 enrolled in pre-employment courses.

The Food Production Training Program included the training of emergency farm workers, instructing farmers in the maintenance and repair of farm machinery and equipment, and the conservation of food for family use, along with training in the production of farm commodities essential to the war effort. Enrollments in this program for the year ending June 30, 1944, totaled 1,350,000 persons.

The total cost of instruction under the two wartime training programs is covered by federal funds. For the year ending June 30, 1944, Congress appropriated \$90,000,000 for the program of Vocational Training for War Production Workers, and \$12,500,000 for the Food Production Training Program.

The Programs of Vocational Training for War Production Workers and Food Production War Training were conducted as cooperative enterprises in which the federal, state and local education authorities participated. The U. S. Office of Education set the training policy in line with the national manpower program. Details of the program are administered by the state boards for vocational education in accordance with the regulations of the U. S. Office of Education. The policies and regulations require that the war production training programs be conducted with the advice and counsel of representative advisory committees composed of equal representatives of Labor and Management.

The Home Economics Education, Business and Distributive Education, and Occupational Information and Guidance Services of the Vocational Division of the U. S. Office of Education have operated through the regular vocational classes, as well as through special programs and services. The Home Economics Education Service provides instruction for women in the conservation of foods, meal planning and preparation, nutrition, child care, home nursing, and first aid. The Business and Distributive Education Service provides part-time pre-employment replacement training for store and office workers. The Occupational Information and Guidance Service assists in promoting and establishing occupational information and guidance services in local communities.

The regular vocational education program conducted under the National Vocational Education Acts shows an enrollment of 2,300,411. This number is distributed among Agriculture, 492,932; Trades and Industry, 618,471; Home Economics, 874,342; and Business and Distributive Occupations, 314,666.

Approximately 20,000 indentured apprentices are enrolled in the vocational schools under the regular vocational education program. This training is given in cooperation with the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship. Training for public service occupations such as police, firemen and health officials is also conducted under the regular vocational education program.

A study for the needs for vocational-technical training has been made

during the year by a representative committee of Labor, Management, and educators; the report of the committee has been printed as Bulletin No. 222 and is available at the U. S. Office of Education, Vocational Division. The American Federation of Labor was represented on this committee by Robert J. Watt, International Representative, and Marion Hedges, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. It was found that the need for technicians and technical assistants has increased due to the rapid technological changes. The committee has recommended the further development of vocational-technical courses for wage earners.

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA

The activities of the Workers Education Bureau during the past year may be summarized as follows:

1. **Labor Institutes and Conferences.** The program of labor institutes in which the Bureau cooperates with state federations of labor, state universities and other educational institutions has been continued. The main emphasis this year has been on planning for the post-war period. Among these institutes were the following:

Minnesota. The Second Annual Minnesota Labor Institute was held at the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis December 11 and 12, 1943, under the auspices of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, and the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, and the University of Minnesota local of the American Federation of Teachers. The topic was "Unions and the Public" and over 200 attended the sessions.

Kansas. The Second Annual Kansas Labor Institute was held at Washburn University, Topeka, February 12-13, 1944, under the auspices of the Kansas State Federation of Labor and Washburn Municipal University. The general topic was "American Labor—Today—Tomorrow." Over 200 attended this institute, in which management and farmer representatives also participated.

Colorado. The Third Colorado Labor Institute was held in Denver, February 19-20, attended by over 200 delegates from all over the state and visitors from neighboring states. The Colorado State Federation of Labor and the University of Denver sponsored this institute, the general topic of which was "Labor in the War and Post-war Period." The Saturday sessions, conducted in cooperation with the Social Science Foundation of the University, were held at the Shirley Savoy Hotel and the Sunday sessions on the campus of the University of Denver.

Indiana. The Fifth Annual Education Institute, sponsored by the Indiana State Federation of Labor and Indiana University, was held at the University at Bloomington May 26-28, with an attendance of over 200.

New Jersey. The Fourteenth Annual Rutgers Institute of Labor, under the auspices of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor and Rutgers University, with the collaboration for the third successive years of the International Labor Organization, was held on the campus of the University at New Brunswick June 7-9. Over 250 attended the institute, whose topic was "Labor Looks Ahead." The principal address at the opening session was given by

Secretary-Treasurer George Meany and at the closing session by the Rt. Hon. Walter Nash, Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand.

Massachusetts. The Fifth Annual Institute of Labor of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor was held this year on the campus of Wellesley College at Wellesley June 15-18. The 150 delegates considered the general topic, "Labor Today and Tomorrow."

Montana. The First Montana Labor Institute, sponsored by the Montana State Federation of Labor and Montana State University, was held August 3-5 at the University of Missoula. "Labor Today and Tomorrow" was the topic of the Institute, which was attended by 150 delegates from labor and farm groups.

Educational Meetings at State Conventions. On April 16, the day preceding the 43rd Annual Convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor at Wilkes-Barre, a two-session labor forum on "Workers' Education in War Time" was conducted by the State Federation in cooperation with the Bureau. Similar educational sessions but of shorter duration were conducted at the 1943 conventions of the Indiana and Minnesota State Federations.

Other Conferences. The Bureau has cooperated in the Post-War Planning Conference of the Division of University Extension, Massachusetts Department of Education, at Boston on March 22; the Institute of Wartime Economy conducted by the University of North Carolina on April 30; and the Institute of Post-War Vocational and Adult Education of the University of New Hampshire on July 21. The Bureau has also collaborated with Labor's League for Human Rights—United Nations Relief and the American Labor Conference on International Affairs, in institutes and conferences.

2. *Cooperation Between State Federations of Labor and Universities.* In addition to our institute program, we have had many evidences of growing interest among educational institutions in working with organized labor, e.g., Indiana University has distributed over 10,000 questionnaires among labor organizations in that state to secure information upon which to base an adequate state-wide program of workers education. During the year the director has conferred with the authorities of several universities, at their invitations, on continuing programs of labor education. Among these were the Universities of North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, New Hampshire, Washington University at St. Louis, Indiana University, Pennsylvania State College, Columbia University and City College of New York.

3. *Assistance to Labor Organizations.* In addition to its work with state federations, the Bureau continually receives calls from and advises many city central bodies and local unions on their educational programs and gives suggestions about setting up forums, study courses, public relations programs, loan libraries, etc. For example, this spring the Fall River (Mass.) Central Labor Union requested our assistance in advising with the Fall River School Committee regarding the introduction of a course on industrial and labor relations into the senior high school curriculum. We also received many requests from outside agencies for information or advice concerning the organized labor movement.

Our advisory work on educational programs for labor organizations has increased considerably and is limited only by our limited resources. Last fall the Bureau worked out and assisted in the conduct of a course of seven lectures on "The American Labor Movement," sponsored by the New York Office of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees for its key members.

Through the year the director was invited to address the annual conventions of the State Federations of Massachusetts, Minnesota, Wisconsin, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Colorado and many city central bodies and local unions.

4. Exchange Lecturer Plan. Continuing the program initiated last year with the 3-month visit of the representatives of the Workers' Educational Association, the Director of the Bureau has been invited to visit Great Britain, but his departure has been delayed by the embargo on civilian travel.

It is expected that three other representatives from the W.E.A. will visit the United States this fall on invitation of the Bureau.

In addition to the exchange plan, the Bureau has cooperated in arranging and participating in meetings for James Griffiths, Labor M.P.; Arthur Wauters, former Belgian Minister of Labor; Kenneth Lindsay, British M.P. and former Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education; and Miss Sheila Mackay, associated with the adult and workers education movements of Australia and Great Britain.

5. Miscellaneous. The director has conferred with representatives of the American Library Association about closer collaboration of the public libraries with labor groups. As an example of what the libraries can do to help Labor, the Public Library Commission of New Jersey set up at the Rutgers Labor Institute in June, with the cooperation of the Bureau, an exhibit of books of interest to Labor.

The director has presented to the American Federation of Teachers a program for increased collaboration between its locals and the Bureau in implementing workers education.

Plans are under way for the establishment of a branch of the Workers Education Bureau at Madison, Wisconsin, through the services of President Zander of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, who is a member of the Executive Committee of the Workers Education Bureau.

At the annual meeting of the Executive Committee held during the Boston Convention, Thomas A. Murray was elected to fill the vacancy on the Advisory Committee created by the death of Thomas J. Lyons. At the same time Secretary-Treasurer George Meany was elected Honorary Secretary of the Bureau.

The Bureau has purchased and has available for labor organizations equipment for projecting sound film strips as an added service in visual education.

6. Publications. The Bureau has continued its Monthly News Letter printed in a new format, which now includes a list of books and pamphlets of interest to Labor. On December 15 it completed the mid-monthly articles

by Lloyd M. Cosgrave on "After the War"; on June 15 it completed a series of six monthly articles by Dr. John L. Childs on "Labor in the Post-War World"; and on July 15 it began a new series of six monthly articles by Dr. William Withers on "Labor Looks Ahead." These articles are offered to the labor press of the country.

The Bureau has prepared and distributed widely the annual publication, "Labor and Education in 1943," which it issues jointly each year with the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Teachers.

7. Affiliation and Support of the Bureau. Affiliations with the Bureau have kept up very well during the year despite the war situation. One additional International Union—the Building Service Employees—has become affiliated, as have a number of state federations, city central bodies, and local unions.

Since grants from educational foundations have ceased, the Bureau must depend exclusively upon the trade union movement for support. It is vitally important, therefore, that its basis of support be widened in order that its educational services may be extended to all of the unions actively affiliated with the Federation.

OVERTIME ON WAR WORK

Executive Order 9240, as amended by Executive Order 9248, regulates overtime wage compensation in all work relating to the prosecution of the war. The Order was intended to encourage around-the-clock use of facilities and regularity of attendance, and emphasize the need for one day's rest in seven for employees.

The Order was made effective October 1, 1942, for the duration of the war. It calls for the payment of double time for the seventh day worked in any regularly scheduled work week, and for time and one-half for work performed on six holidays enumerated in the Order. Time and one-half for the sixth-day is not required by the Order, but is permitted where called for by collective bargaining agreement, or by laws requiring overtime payment for work in excess of 8 hours a day or 40 per week.

Executive Order 9248, incorporated in Executive Order 9240 as Section 5, authorizes the Secretary of Labor to exempt industries from the requirements of the Order when necessary to further the prosecution of the war. Under this provision exemptions have been granted to the building and construction industries, shipbuilding and ship repair, sugar processing (partial exemption), fish processing, milk processing, and the packing of seasonal fresh fruits and vegetables.

Numerous complaints have been received from unions whose membership is employed in various phases of war production regarding the inequitable operation of this Order and its arbitrary interpretations by the Office of the Secretary of Labor. After reviewing the entire experience of the operation of the Order and the extent to which it has upset customs and practices prevailing in the industry as well as standards established by collective bargaining, we conclude that the operation of the Order has served to

impede, rather than further, the prosecution of the war and that it has failed to serve effectively the purposes for which it was designed. We therefore recommend that Executive Order 9240 be rescinded at the earliest possible date.

THE NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD

The record of the National War Labor Board during the last year has been marked by the attempts of the American Federation of Labor Members to formulate wage policies within the limits of sound wage stabilization. No part of the Board's wage policy has been overlooked; no part has escaped close scrutiny. The Labor Members have not been completely successful; yet such elements of flexibility and soundness which do characterize the wage policy are the result of their persistent, constructive criticism.

Again this year representatives from the American Federation of Labor led the attack against the Little Steel Formula. On February 9, 1944, the second petition of the American Federation of Labor Members of the Board was presented.

The first petition of the American Federation of Labor Members had been rejected by a majority of the War Labor Board in March of 1943 because the gap between wages and the cost of living was not considered to be wide enough to merit an upward revision of the Formula. The majority promised that if prices continued to outrun wages, the Board would consider a subsequent petition. During the year which has intervened, prices have continued to shoot ahead of wages. Once again the American Federation of Labor Members called upon the Board to modify realistically the 15 per cent allowance to offset the rise in the cost of living. Subsequently the C.I.O. had certified to the War Labor Board a dispute case between the steel companies of the nation and the United Steel Workers in which the principal issue was a demand for a wage increase in excess of the amount allowed under the Little Steel Formula. The C.I.O. attacked the Formula by a series of dispute cases involving particular industries. As a result, the National War Labor Board appointed special panels to hear C.I.O. dispute cases in the steel, automobile, meat packing and electric industries.

When consideration was given to the second petition of the American Federation of Labor Members the Board was unable to act because its power to modify the Formula had been withdrawn. By the issuance of Executive Order No. 9328 on April 8, 1943, control over the Little Steel Formula had passed into the hands of the President within the authority granted to him by Congress. The War Labor Board could only recommend to the President that he modify the Formula. Before the Board would take such action, however, there had to be sufficient evidence that the Formula was causing serious inequities to the workers of the nation. A majority of the Board voted to give the American Federation of Labor an opportunity to make a *prima facie* case that the 15 per cent limitation should be replaced by a more realistic allowance.

The Special Panel. The National War Labor Board established a special tri-partite Panel on March 22, 1944. The resolution passed by the Board was as follows:

... to hear publicly and to summarize and make public the evidence which the American Federation of Labor wishes to submit in support of its request that the Board seek authority to modify the Little Steel Formula. Upon receipt of the report and after considering such other evidence as is then available to the Board, the Board will decide whether or not it would be warranted in carrying the investigation further.

If the Board should decide to conduct such an investigation, it will at that time determine and announce the procedure to be followed, and an full opportunity will be given to all interested parties to appear and submit data at public hearings before the Board or a duly authorized agency thereof.

The hearings began on April 5, 1944, and lasted for three days. During that time representatives of many international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor placed before the Panel facts which indicated that the Formula had become an "economic thumbscrew" which tormented the workers of the nation. The entire presentation was organized around an outline of the American Federation of Labor's basic position as presented by Secretary-Treasurer Meany at the opening hearing before the Panel.

The core of this opening statement by Secretary Meany was that the Little Steel Formula was created to preserve the workers' peace-time standard of living. He quoted at length from statements made by the public members of the War Labor Board that the Formula was to end the race between wages and prices. Wages were to be regulated by the War Labor Board and prices were to be controlled by the Office of Price Administration. Wages were controlled to such an extent that Chairman William H. Davis could boast to Congress that "we have wages stabilized." By way of contrast, prices had continued to soar.

Secretary Meany offered proof that not only had the cost of living risen more than the 15 per cent wage allowance in the Little Steel Formula, but that the cost of living was higher than the official "Index of the Cost of Living" published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor. He maintained that certain specific deficiencies in the construction of the Index minimized the rise in the actual cost of living.

As a consequence of the glaring differences between the rise in wages and the rise in the cost of living, the position taken by the American Federation of Labor was that the President should immediately modify the Little Steel Formula realistically and allow employers to apply the increase without coming to the War Labor Board.

At the close of the hearings a "Statement of Facts" was presented to the War Labor Board by the Public and Industry Members of the Panel; the Labor Member—President E. J. Volz of the Photo Engravers International Union—presented a separate statement.

The Presidential Committee on the Cost of Living. The petition of the American Federation of Labor Members to the War Labor Board to modify the Little Steel Formula produced results other than the creation of a Special

Panel by the War Labor Board. In October 1943 President Roosevelt appointed a "Presidential Committee on the Cost of Living." Mr. William H. Davis, Chairman of the National War Labor Board, was made the chairman of the Committee; two Industry Members and two Labor Members of the Board were also appointed to the Committee. The purpose of the Committee was to "examine into the measures of the cost of living" and to report its findings to the President. The Labor Members were Secretary-Treasurer George Meany and President R. J. Thomas of the United Automobile Workers Union (C.I.O.).

On January 25, 1944, the Labor Members of the Committee submitted their report to the President on the cost of living. The report not only attacked the accuracy of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' "Index of the Cost of Living" which was used by the National War Labor Board to measure the rise in the cost of living, but gave an estimate of the actual rise in the cost of living which was twenty points higher than the official figure. The B.L.S. figure was approximately 123.5 at the time, but the figure stated in the Meany-Thomas Report was approximately 145 points.

The submission of the Meany-Thomas Report stimulated Chairman Davis to appoint a committee of technical experts to evaluate the findings in the Report. This committee of unbiased experts found that the defects of the B.L.S. Index pointed out in the Meany-Thomas Report was justified. The experts differed with the Labor Members' Report on how many points should be added to the B.L.S. Index to compensate for the defects in that Index. It was the "crude guess" of the experts that instead of adding twenty points to the present figure, only $5\frac{1}{2}$ points should be added.

One noticeable effect of the attack upon the B.L.S. Index has been the publicizing by the Secretary of Labor of some of the defects of the Index. The monthly statement of the cost of living published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics now carries a special notice calling to the attention of the reader some of the limitations of the Index.

Another significant result of the controversy over the adequacy and accuracy of the B.L.S. Index is that if only $5\frac{1}{2}$ points were added to the current index number of the cost of living, prices would have risen 30 per cent since January 1941 while only 15 per cent has been allowed by the War Labor Board to offset the increase.

The Wage Bracket System. While the attack upon the Little Steel Formula was in progress the American Federation of Labor Members of the Board also directed their attention to the wage bracket system. A series of questions were drawn up to determine just how the system actually operated. Every American Federation of Labor Member of the regional boards was sent a copy of the questionnaire by Secretary Meany with a request for an immediate reply.

The replies to the questionnaire were unanimous on the point that a major source of the difficulty with wage brackets was the process by which the Bureau of Labor Statistics collected the information. The replies indicated very clearly that the American Federation of Labor representatives

believed that union wage rates were frequently overlooked or played down when the Bureau of Labor Statistics collected information. Union officials were rarely consulted. On the other hand, any information presented by employers was accepted without question—despite the fact that by reporting low wage rates employers were guaranteeing a wage freeze.

Besides pointing out the defects in the wage rate data collected by the B.L.S., the American Federation of Labor Regional Board Members were unanimous in their opinion that the job descriptions used by the Bureau were unrealistic. The belief was widespread that most of the descriptions had been taken from a "Dictionary of Job Titles" compiled by employer interests prior to 1937. As a consequence, job descriptions were not recognized by workers who were doing the jobs. Furthermore, some jobs were broken down into grades despite the fact that no workers were actually employed in any such jobs.

These and other facts prompted the American Federation of Labor Board Members to attend the annual meeting held by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the research staffs of labor organizations.

Secretary Meany delivered an address in which he pointed out that although the Department of Labor had been created "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment," the American Federation of Labor was rapidly approaching the conclusion that the Department was actually blocking the attempts of workers to improve their well being.

The failure to foster and promote the welfare of workers was exemplified by the current controversy over the cost of living. Workers were unable to rely upon the data furnished by the Bureau of Labor Statistics about the cost of living, despite the fact that wages were being determined by the Cost of Living Index of the Bureau. The fact was that organized labor was forced to fight *against* the very agency which was designed to be its friend. The address was closed with the statement that Labor has an historic right to expect disinterested research in order to secure the facts necessary for maintaining the standards built up by workers through long years of struggle. Labor must have an agency of government which can work with it to get impartial information.

International Representative Robert J. Watt followed Secretary Meany with an address which outlined the complaints made by the American Federation of Labor Regional War Labor Board Members. He declared that although the Bureau of Labor Statistics had enjoyed a reputation for technical proficiency and reliability for many years, the comments received from every Regional Board had now thrown a shadow of doubt on this reputation. He pointed out that organized labor could no longer delegate the statistical job of collecting the data necessary for wage regulation if the results meant artificially low wage rates and job classifications which were not recognizable to the men who had spent their lives in such jobs. In his conclusion he stated that Labor must frankly re-evaluate the work of the Bureau of Labor Sta-

tistics, since continued acceptance of questionable information could mean the collapse of the labor movement.

The Statistical Record

A. Voluntary Wage Adjustments. For the fiscal year extending from July 1943 to July 1944 the War Labor Board received almost 176,000 Form 10 cases. The average inflow was at the rate of 3,200 cases per week. This average hides the fact that the voluntary wage case load is steadily increasing. For example, the inflow of Form 10's for the last week of the year on a nation-wide basis was more than 5,000 cases.

This inflow of cases takes on meaning when the fact is known that the output of a single wage analyst averages seven cases per week. The best analysts can turn out about nine cases per week. While the total number of wage analysts is approximately 700 persons, some of these analysts are assigned to dispute cases, reconsiderations and reviews.

The outflow of voluntary cases during the fiscal year amounted to approximately 170,000 cases. Since the inflow was 176,000 cases for the same period, the backlog should have been only about 6,000 cases. The actual backlog of voluntary cases at the close of the fiscal year was roughly 17,600 cases. In other words, although the equivalent of approximately 97 per cent of all cases received during the fiscal year were completed, the Board had a backlog of 17,600 cases instead of 6,000 cases.

The existence of this large backlog of voluntary cases arises from several factors. To begin, the issuance of the unworkable Executive Order No. 9328 on April 8, 1943, crippled the National War Labor Board for more than six weeks. During this period not a case was processed while the members of the Board fought to convince Director of Economic Stabilization Byrnes that the Executive Order was impracticable. Eventually a modification was wrung from the Director—but not before a huge backlog of cases had been piled up. On May 12, 1943, a policy Directive was issued and the Board was permitted to function again.

But the Board was not able to process voluntary cases rapidly even after the May 12th Directive. A new concept of "wage inequities" was substituted for "wage inequalities" and the complicated "wage bracket system" was introduced. This system meant the inauguration of a nation-wide survey of wage rates on an unprecedented scale so that raw data for the wage brackets would be available. Since most wage cases before the Board involved inequities the speed of handling cases by the Board was slowed down perceptibly. In fact—if not in intent—wages were frozen by this period of Board inaction.

In face of the ever-increasing load of cases and the more complicated method of measuring inequities, the number of wage analysts was limited by a manpower ceiling placed on the Board by Congress. Absolute increases in the case load and relative decreases in personnel has led to the inevitable piling up of a backlog of cases.

A. F. of L. Voluntary Cases. This year, for the first time, a complete record is available of voluntary cases filed jointly by employers and unions affiliated

with the American Federation of Labor. Since the War Labor Board was directed to stabilize wages in October, 1942, there have been approximately 37,600 American Federation of Labor voluntary cases covering 1,820,000 members.

About 56 per cent of these Form 10's were approved completely and over 1,000,000 men received wage increases. Another 26 per cent of the cases received partial approval. In all, 82 per cent of the Form 10's were approved in whole or in part and over 1,500,000 workers received wage increases.

The significance of these Form 10 cases may be seen when the fact is stated that the approvals meant an average increase of 5.6 cents per hour to all employees affected. In addition to the wage increases there have been other benefits received in terms of vacations, night-shift differentials, year-end bonuses and sick leaves.

B. Dispute Cases. The record of the War Labor Board on dispute cases merits close attention. This type of case—when delayed or mishandled—is the most important cause of unrest and dissatisfaction.

During the past year the War Labor Board has handled about 6,000 dispute cases. Although approximately 5,250 cases were closed, the backlog amounted to roughly 2,300 cases. Again, the backlog of cases accumulated by the Board prior to the beginning of the year is the basic factor which produced a carry-over of 2,300 cases.

A true picture of the size of the backlog can be obtained when the fact is recognized that a wage analyst spends an average of one week on each case. By way of contrast an analyst will average seven voluntary cases per week. As a consequence, the Board has turned out approximately 100 dispute cases per week in contrast to over 3,000 voluntary cases in the same time.

The seriousness of this situation cannot be over-emphasized. For example, to complete a dispute case—without consideration of price relief or the time spent in appeals—approximately six months is consumed *on the average*. In other words, half of the dispute cases take more than six months to process. If price relief is involved or either party appeals for review or reconsideration, the time is lengthened considerably. When anti-union employers utilize the War Labor Board to discredit labor organization, almost interminable delays can be expected. Appeals, interpretations and outright refusals to comply with the Board orders become the usual pattern of delay.

The time consumed by the War Labor Board to process dispute cases tends to wreck wartime collective bargaining. It is not too difficult to find disputes which have been certified to the War Labor Board as a result of unsuccessful collective bargaining over renewal of a contract in which, before the case is finally decided, the contract year has elapsed and the parties are negotiating for the next year. In other words, some cases take more than a year to complete.

The burden placed upon the labor leaders of the country by these delays is unfair and needless. The no-strike pledge was given on the assumption that effective machinery would be created to settle disputes within a reasonable time. Our experience does not substantiate this decision.

MANPOWER AND PRODUCTION ACHIEVEMENTS

At present the over-all production and manpower picture is better than it has been at any time since the early months of 1943. Most of the urgent munitions production programs are on schedule, or ahead of schedule.

By early spring landing craft production had run ahead of schedule for the first time. The production of tank landing craft reached a new high, and all other types of landing craft were on, or ahead, of schedule. The needs for the invasion were adequately met. Most of the urgent military requirements in naval and maritime ship production are being met. In one recent month the Maritime Commission yards delivered 1,600,000 deadweight tons of ships, 7 per cent better than schedule. All major maritime types were on or close to schedule; important military craft, such as transports, and all naval combatants were running ahead of schedule. The output of high octane aviation gasoline has exceeded daily operational requirements during the first quarter of the year, and it was anticipated that by August it would meet the increased requirements. Manpower requirements for munitions are being met in most plants, including those which are continuing to expand, such as aircraft and aviation gasoline. Critical situations in certain activities such as metal mining and refining have passed.

Production and services have also been maintained in most of the major war-supporting activities, including railroads, food processing and local essential civilian services. Railroad employment rose to the highest level of the war period in mid-April. According to the Office of Defense Transportation there is very little evidence that railroad transportation services have been reduced as a result of labor shortages. In the seasonal food packing and processing industry, during the 1943 season, food losses from lack of manpower were negligible, despite serious labor shortages and recruitment difficulties. Although many problems confronted the meat packing and slaughtering industry, 24.2 billion pounds of meat were produced in 1943, as compared with 21.7 billion pounds in 1942, and serious manpower shortages which curtailed production during the fall of 1943 had been largely solved by the end of the year. Despite the increase in munitions employment, the local essential services have been able to recruit replacements and have shown relatively small over-all decline in employment.

Between June, 1940, and June, 1944, war-expanded activities added 19.3 million persons, of whom 10.9 million were inducted into military service and 8.4 million were added to other war activities. The number of women at work has increased by almost 60 per cent. The 9.6 million employment in munitions industries is more than double the 4 million employment in June, 1940. Although agricultural employment declined 1.4 million between June, 1940, and June, 1944, farm output rose substantially.

In many industries and plants, manpower is being better utilized today than at the beginning of the defense program. Since November, 1943, production of munitions has remained relatively stable, while employment has dropped at the rate of about 100,000 per month, declining from a peak of 10.4 million in November, 1943, to 9.6 million in June, 1944.

This decline, while in part due to reduction in certain production requirements and temporary layoffs arising out of design changes, reflects also a significant increase in productivity in certain munitions programs, particularly in aircraft industries. In the air-frame industry, for example, output per man-day increased about 85 per cent during 1943, with a further over-all gain of 35 per cent expected for 1944. Production of aircraft rose steadily and exceeded schedule during January, February and March. Total employment in the air-frame industry, however, declined about 15,000 during this period. It is evident that plane manufacturers anticipate many additional economies since air-frame employment is expected to expand less than 3 per cent from February to December, 1944, whereas output is scheduled to rise by 20 per cent during the same period. The tremendous over-all expansion in the total labor force was due in great measure—and particularly during the early months of the war—to the absorption of unemployment and the transfer to war industry in response to expanding employment opportunities, primarily in high-wage industries. It would be misleading to assume that the generally satisfactory munitions production picture indicates that all manpower problems have been solved. In the aircraft industry, schedules have been revised downward in part because of continuing manpower shortages. In a number of important industries critical problems have eased, not primarily because the required manpower was produced, or more effectively utilized, but because of changing production requirements. This is the case in non-ferrous metal mining, where the picture was completely changed because of sharply reduced requirements for alloy steel, brass, and other products. In the shipbuilding and aircraft industries manpower shortages have been eased because of changes in production requirements and methods, and the marked increases in productivity have been, in large part, the result of improved techniques and mastery of new production problems. On the West Coast, for example, general increases in output per man-hour in aircraft and shipbuilding firms antedated the introduction of the extended manpower program and the intensified utilization work of government agencies.

Certain programs of the War Manpower Commission and of the procurement agencies have contributed materially to the over-all mobilization of manpower and the easing of numerous critical problems. This has been true of a number of the programs developed to meet special industry problems. Formal industry programs which have been adopted include non-ferrous metal mining, foundries and forge shops, high octane gasoline construction, landing craft, mica mining, tire cord, and anti-friction bearings, railroads, radio and radar, cotton textile and Great Lakes shipping. The development of these industry programs has not only enabled the industry to obtain special consideration from various agencies, but has also paved the way for a coordinated approach on the part of all agencies involved. Efforts of the War Manpower Commission have resulted in considerable relief to these critical industries. Selective Service is giving special consideration to such activities as foundries and forging shops, non-ferrous metal mines, coal mines, and mica mines. The industries have been given assistance in obtaining new housing, transportation and, in some cases, wage increases.

Utilization surveys have led to large improvements in productivity throughout the nation. These surveys include a review of production and personal practices and analysis of utilization problems, and recommendations to management for improvement. The lines of improvement include: greater stability of the work forces, better training methods, elimination of conditions impeding efficiency, and elimination of labor hoarding. Utilization consultants have participated in the establishment of employment ceilings and manpower priorities, and also in determining cases in which the War Manpower Commission should intercede with the National War Labor Board to obtain needed wage adjustments.

The magnificent contribution of the working men and women of the United States is clearly reflected in the production record. In the year 1939 the total production of defense materials amounted to \$1,400,000,000. In that same year the total non-war goods production amounted to \$87,200,000,000. Four years later, 1943, the production of war goods amounted to \$81,300,000,000. That same year, 1943, the non-war goods production amounted to \$105,200,000,000. This nation has succeeded in doing what no other country has done. It has managed to have both bullets and butter. Moreover, that record production, aggregating \$186,500,000,000 in the year 1943, was achieved after drawing off from the potential manpower for production more than 10 million men.

WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION

Manpower Balance Sheet. On the basis of their estimates of labor requirements for the munitions industry and of armed forces needs and without taking into account the effect of a possible early cessation of hostilities in Europe, the following balance sheet of additional manpower needs and sources of supply for the period of April, 1944, to January, 1945, has been prepared by the War Manpower Commission.

BASIC MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS APRIL, 1944, TO JANUARY, 1945

<i>Additional Manpower Needed</i>		<i>Sources of Supply</i>	
Armed Forces (increase in net strength and replacements)	1,400,000	Decrease in munitions industries at least	600,000
Expanding munitions industries	100,000	Decrease in other employment	100,000
Expanding essential industries other than munitions	100,000	Veterans returning to labor force	400,000
Total	1,600,000	Required net additions to labor force:	
		Net additions due to population growth	300,000
		Other additions (to be secured through recruitment)	200,000
		Total	1,600,000

Seasonal requirements in summer of 1944

Seasonal increase in agriculture and food processing	2,300,000	Seasonal increase in labor supply	2,300,000
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We are of the opinion that the War Manpower Commission has underestimated the "source of supply" estimates in this table. For example, the item of 600,000 to be made available by decrease in munitions industries appears too conservative. On the basis of the figures on cutbacks released by the War Production Board, it appears much more likely that there will be a surplus of manpower of at least 1,500,000 by December 31, 1944—even if the war in Europe is still going on at that time.

This generally favorable manpower balance sheet is neither to deny nor minimize the fact that there remain some specific critical manpower needs. Such activities as foundries, the manufacture of anti-friction bearings and heavy duty trucks and components, logging and lumbering, and navy shore establishments, are still experiencing manpower difficulties. In most of these activities the need for males is particularly urgent. The problem in such activities as foundries is further complicated because many of the jobs are hot, heavy and low paid. In addition to these activities that are experiencing manpower difficulties throughout the nation, there are individual establishments in other activities such as shipyards, food processing, hospitals, transportation, and the manufacture of aircraft and parts, and textile products that are experiencing manpower shortages.

The recently inaugurated program for the extension of manpower ceilings and priority referrals is designed to meet these specific needs. At the date of writing it is too early to evaluate the effectiveness of these programs.

Organization of War Manpower Commission. No basic changes in the organizational structure of the War Manpower Commission have taken place since a summary report on the policies and activities of this agency were reviewed in the report of the Executive Council to the 63rd Annual Convention. The Commission operates with a high degree of decentralization in administration, with maximum responsibility, within broad national policies, placed in the twelve regional and two territorial offices, the state offices and the 302 local or area offices.

Management-Labor Policy Committee. The National Management-Labor Policy Committee continues to function under the provision of Executive Order No. 9279, dated December 5, 1942, which provides that the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission shall appoint a Management-Labor Policy Committee and that *he shall consult with the members thereof in carrying out his responsibilities*. The membership of this National Committee has remained unchanged throughout the past year and is composed of the following:

Management representatives—R. Conrad Cooper, Assistant Vice-President, Wheeling Steel Corporation; Eric A. Johnston, President of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, and Frederick C. Crawford, President of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Labor representatives—President William Green of the American Federation of Labor; Phillip Murray, President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and H. W. Fraser, President of the Order of Railway Conductors.

Agriculture representatives—Edward A. O'Neal, President of the American Farm Bureau Federation;; James C. Patton, President of the National Farmers' Union, and Albert S. Goss, Manager of the National Grange.

The Committee meets on alternate Tuesday mornings at the headquarters office of the War Manpower Commission with its chairman, Arthur S. Fleming, of the United States Civil Service Commission. A sub-committee meets each Wednesday to handle appeals taken from decisions of the regional committees.

Regional Committees. There remain in operation 12 regional War Manpower Commission committees and 2 territorial committees. There are 28 members from unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor serving on these regional and territorial committees.

State and Area Committees. The number of area committees has increased in the past year from 177 to 302. In addition to these area committees there are 8 state committees. The number of members selected from unions and city central bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has increased from 381 to 615.

The amount of genuine participation by Management and Labor through the area and regional management-labor committees in the development of programs varies widely. It must be frankly stated that in some instances failure to achieve the fullest possible participation is due to a lack of understanding of the nature of their responsibilities on the part of committee members. More often it is due to an unwillingness on the part of local administrative officials of the War Manpower Commission to take the representatives of Management and Labor on these committees into their full confidence. In spite of the emphasis that is laid on the importance, in a voluntary program, of the participation and the confidence of the representatives of Management and Labor in any local program, there remains a desire on the part of some administrative officials to promulgate on their own authority programs which they deem to be best devised to meet the manpower problems of a locality. Experience throughout the past year has emphasized repeatedly that the manpower programs which are most effective are those which are developed with the full understanding and the maximum participation on the part of representatives of Management and Labor who sit on these committees. There have been many attempts made to issue ready-made edicts designed to solve the complex manpower problems of specific areas. Experience with these programs has not been satisfactory and in the end the local officials have been forced to call upon their local committees to work out practical solutions to the problems of their areas.

There have been some instances, too, where local officials have attempted to misuse their committees. On occasions when their manpower orders have run into difficulties they have then called upon the representatives of Management and Labor to use their influence to "bail them out."

Such instances, however, do not reflect national policy. Throughout the year there has been in the War Manpower Commission an increasing recog-

dition of the positive contribution that the management-labor committees can make to the development of adequate manpower programs through genuine consultation. This represents an important development in government administration and holds great promise as a means toward the solution of the complex post-war employment problems.

Major Policy Matters Considered by National Committee

National Service Legislation. The demand for the enactment of some form of labor draft or national service legislation continued on the part of representatives of the armed services and of the procurement agencies of the government and was accentuated by the request for such legislation contained in the President's Annual Message to Congress in January. The members of the Management-Labor Policy Committee were not insensible to these demands. At the request of the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission the Committee made a thorough study of the principles of national war service legislation and analyzed its possible effectiveness in meeting the manpower problems of the nation as compared to the effectiveness of the voluntary system. On November 6, 1943, a report on this subject was submitted to the Chairman of the Commission signed by each principal member of the committee representing Industrial Management, Labor and Agriculture. In the report unanimous opposition was expressed to the enactment of any national service legislation.

This report was not confined to a negative statement. It embodied a 7-point positive program which throughout the ensuing months became a major factor in guiding the development of policies and programs throughout the country.

Priority Referrals and Employment Ceilings. During the spring and early summer of 1944, pressures for the enactment of some kind of limited national service legislation increased. These pressures arose, in part, from the relaxation of the calls for men above the age of 26 by the Selective Service System, and the consequent fear on the part of the military authorities and the procurement agencies that men who were no longer subject to military induction would leave employment in war industries in large numbers. It arose in part also from the fact that though the over-all balance sheet for the nation showed some surplus of labor supply, it was growing more difficult to recruit and hold men in certain vital occupations. The committee therefore recommended to the Chairman that each regional and area director review with his Management-Labor Committee the manpower needs of each area. Out of this review there developed the further recommendation that employment ceilings¹ be established for all labor shortage areas in the country, and that with appropriate adaptations to meet the needs of the

¹An employment ceiling is defined as the highest level of total employment, or of specified types of employees, which an establishment is not permitted to exceed, based upon an approved and necessary production schedule. Ceilings, which are subject to change, may be established so as to: (a) Permit employment expansion; (b) maintain employment at present levels; or (c) reduce the employment level.

various localities a system of manpower priority referrals² be developed and incorporated into local stabilization programs not later than July 1.

Standards Applicable to Priority Referral Programs. The labor members of the Management-Labor Policy Committee joined with the management members in recommending the extension of priority referral programs on the condition that the chairman would issue national minimum standards applicable to these programs and designed to protect both workers and employers against arbitrary action on the part of administrative officials, or against the loss of their essential rights. The Chairman of the Commission adopted the recommendation of the labor members with respect to these standards and issued them as the national minimum standards applicable to priority referral programs. These standards contained provisions which, in addition to the protection of the rights of the individual worker, provide for the maximum use of existing hiring channels in the operation of the priority referral programs. These existing hiring channels specifically include labor organizations and union hiring halls.

National Agreement Providing for the Inter-area Recruitment and Placement of Workers Employed in the Building and Construction Trades by Labor Unions. The labor members of the Management-Labor Policy Committee, representing the American Federation of Labor, in consultation with representatives of the Building and Construction Trades Department, developed a national agreement and succeeded in securing its recommendation by the whole Committee and its adoption by the Chairman of the Commission, under the terms of which local representatives of building trades unions can continue to recruit and refer to business agents outside their home areas, workers for employment in these trades.

Union Participation in Manpower Utilization. On the recommendation of the labor members of the Management-Labor Policy Committee a policy bulletin was issued by the Bureau of Utilization, which provides for fuller participation on the part of union officials representing workers in plants where utilization surveys are being made. This bulletin requires that in all cases where utilization surveys are under way, the War Manpower Commission utilization consultant shall confer with the appropriate union representatives so that the suggestions of the workers on matters of utilization may be given proper consideration.

Prisoner-of-War Labor. Conditions under which prisoners of war are made available to private employers continue to present a vexing problem. In September of 1943, an agreement was entered into between the War Department and the War Manpower Commission which provided that it would be the responsibility of the War Department to interpret the provisions of the Geneva Convention relating to the employment of prisoners of war with respect to the security regulations, and that it would be the responsibility of

²Priority referral is simply a program designed to provide that employers in any area may hire workers only from among those referred by the United States Employment Service, or in accordance with arrangements made with the United States Employment Service, so that workers may be referred to jobs in the order of relative importance of these jobs to the war effort.

the War Manpower Commission to certify to the War Department its approval of the employment of prisoner-of-war labor by private employers upon determination by the War Manpower Commission that the employment of such prisoners would not adversely affect the wages, working conditions, or employment opportunities of free labor. The instruction issued by the War Manpower Commission setting forth the procedures for certifying to the necessity for the employment of prisoners of war have been drawn up without the specific approval of the Management-Labor Committee. Although the policies included in these instructions are basically sound and provide for giving consideration by the certifying officers of the Commission to the interests of free labor, so much is left to the discretion of the certifying officers that the basic policies can be and often are, disregarded. Under the present policy the anticipated importation of one hundred to two hundred thousand additional German prisoners within the next few months stands as a real threat to American standards of wages and working conditions for free American workers in many localities. Members of unions and city central bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who sit on the area and regional War Manpower Committees will need to take vigorous action to prevent the misuse of this prisoner-of-war work force.

Resumption of Civilian Production. With the levelling off of manpower demands for war production soon after the turn of the year, and the indications that an increasing number of production schedules would be revised downward, the Committee directed attention to the problems that would arise as a result of such action. Beginning in February, consideration has been given at various times to the planning of cutbacks and resumption of civilian production in a manner designed to lay down some rather broad principles on the basis of which agreements could be reached by the War Manpower Commission, the War Production Board and procurement agencies. Emphasis has been placed on the timing and location of modifications in war production schedules and resumption of civilian production so that local War Manpower Commission organizations would be in a position to handle the manpower problems involved and so that a minimum of hardship would result to the workers. Over-all plans are far from complete, but certain definite steps have been taken toward integrating the resumption of civilian production with reduced schedules of war production along these lines through the newly organized staff of the Production Executive Committee in the War Production Board.

The Byrnes Directive of August 4. On August 4, 1944, the Director of War Mobilization, James F. Byrnes, issued a manpower directive which, though intended to meet the particularly urgent manpower situations existing in a limited number of critical industries, included provisions which in the opinion of the Management-Labor Policy Committee were not in harmony with the voluntary program. The committee felt particularly that the reference to compulsions contained in this directive threatened the support which had been voluntarily given to effective and operating manpower programs in many areas. Consequently on September 6, the members of the Committee

submitted to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission a series of recommendations. The Committee recommended that the Chairman request the Director of War Mobilization to clarify his position with respect to the use of compulsion and at the same time to make clear the over-all policy under which the Commission could develop programs designed to meet the specific requirements of the few critical industries.

These recommendations were adopted and resulted in the issuance of a "clarifying statement" from Mr. Byrnes and an announcement by the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission to the effect that resort to sanctions and compulsion would only be made in rare cases of refusal to cooperate with a program generally supported by Management and Labor in a locality. He announced at the same time that controls over the free movement of labor would be relaxed just as soon as their wartime necessity ceased to exist.

PRICE CONTROL AND RATIONING

In the past year the American Federation of Labor continued to give its support to the price control and rationing programs administered by the Office of Price Administration. The Labor Policy Committee of the O.P.A. maintained close touch with the Administrator, who has lived up to his assurance that the committee be consulted on all major policy issues confronting the agency. In view of the fact that many price policy decisions originated with the Director of Economic Stabilization, the Labor Policy Committee on a number of occasions has made representations directly to him. The American Federation of Labor is represented on the Labor Policy Committee by Boris Shishkin, I. M. Ornburn, Frank P. Fenton, C. V. Ernest, Sam Doerner, David Kaplan and Solon Bell. On the staff of the Labor Office of the O.P.A. the American Federation of Labor had been represented by John T. Burke until the spring of 1944, when he was succeeded by Leo F. Lucas.

Price Control. As the agency responsible for the protection of the cost of living of the American people against further advances, the O.P.A. has gone through a period of growing pressure from many groups in industry and trade for relaxation of price control on their products. The O.P.A.'s ability to withstand these pressures has in no small measure been due to Labor's organized support of basic price control policies. The record of the O.P.A. will reveal that the strongest consumer representation ever achieved has been made effective through organization in the ranks of organized labor for consumer protection.

Disappearance from the market of low-priced goods, especially of low-priced clothing, and the growing tendency toward "trading-up," that is of pushing the sale of higher priced lines, has presented a challenging problem of hidden increases in the cost of living. These hidden increases could not be checked by price control alone. There was a clear need for measures directly reaching the production of essential civilian goods. The work of the Labor Policy Committee has brought to light evidence showing that in many lines of textile manufacture, producers deliberately curtailed or even withheld production of low-priced goods in order to force their demands for price

increases. In December, 1943, the Committee launched vigorous opposition against increases in the prices of chambrays, denims and other low-cost textiles unless there was conclusive evidence that the operations of the producers in their entirety justified price relief. At the same time the Committee continued to press for joint action on the part of all government agencies concerned aimed at achieving adequate production of inexpensive clothing at sound prices. Despite the urgent need for clothing for children, work clothing and many other essential items of low-priced apparel and almost complete disappearance of a number of these items from the market, production controls available to the War Production Board have not been put into use and no concerted inter-agency attack on the problem has been made. Of special concern to Labor, in addition to the fact that the efforts of government agencies to secure needed production were falling far short of the expectations, was the unwillingness of the W.P.B. to require minimum quality specifications in the low-cost clothing to be produced.

Labor was successful in blocking the pressure to relax by regulation the limitations placed on the highest priced lines in the apparel field—a further threat to the flow of merchandise to the market in the low-priced fields. However, Congress finally yielded to the pressure which O.P.A. had successfully resisted and the limitation on the highest priced lines was abandoned by amendment when the Price Control Act was extended. Thus, “trading-up” or the shifting of sales volume to the highest priced and most profitable items will continue to be encouraged, with the result that the consumer will be forced to buy higher priced goods as the dwindling supply of basic cost-of-living items it supplanted by high-priced and luxury goods.

The Committee also opposed the revision of retail price regulations which would have permitted price relaxation, insisting that instead dollars-and-cents prices be maintained based on pre-ticketing at the manufacturer's level. Prior to the adoption of the used-car price regulation, the Committee had contributed a number of suggestions whose effect will be to protect the consumer more adequately. The most severe pressure for price rises has continued to come from the food industry. Despite the urging by Labor that dollars-and-cents ceilings be maintained as the only means of assuring informed consumer participation and enforcement, a formula-pricing method was applied to the 1944 pack of canned fruits and vegetables.

In all these actions the American Federation of Labor representatives in the O.P.A. sought the application of procedures which would not impose unfair hardship upon the industry and trade concerned, but at the same time would give foremost consideration to the plight of the consumer. In the past year the Committee established a growing measure of understanding and mutual confidence with the Price Administrator in striving for more effective and more statesmanlike price control administration.

Rationing. In dealing with the problem of wartime rationing, representatives of the American Federation of Labor on the O.P.A. Labor Policy Committee have sought to achieve two objectives: (1) To secure modification and improvement of rationing programs to assure better protection to workers

and other consumers; (2) to provide maximum participation on the part of Labor in the application and enforcement of rationing in every community throughout the nation.

In the summer of 1944 the Labor Policy Committee opposed premature removal of most meats, canned fruits and vegetables from rationing by reducing point values to zero. The Committee's view that this procedure would create artificial scarcities making choice cuts of meat and other items virtually inaccessible to wage earners was fully borne out by experience. In view of this the Committee pressed for the restoration of these de-rationed items to the rationed list until the supply situation fully warranted the suspension of rationing of these items.

Administration. Extended experience has demonstrated that enforcement of price control as well as rationing can be only as effective as the active and understanding support of them by consumers themselves. Trade unionists, housewives in union families and the membership of our women's auxiliaries are the bulwark of consumer protection against black markets and price profiteering. The American Federation of Labor representatives in the Office of Price Administration have considered it of foremost importance, therefore, to assure the fullest possible measure of direct trade union participation in price control and rationing administration in every region, every district and every community. To accomplish this, appointment of district labor advisory committees has been secured in every important O.P.A. district in the country. Vigorous steps have been taken to assure Labor representation on local war, price and rationing boards and on special panels. Cost-of-living conferences were sponsored in cooperation with the O.P.A. in a number of key communities. Information explaining O.P.A. regulations and enforcement procedures has been distributed to our trade unions. In addition, agreement has been reached with the O.P.A. Administrator for the appointment of labor coordinators from trade union ranks in some 30 Class A district offices of O.P.A. to relate the work of district labor advisory committees and of labor organizations in each district to the O.P.A. programs in that district.

Amendments passed by Congress on June 21 in connection with the renewal of the Price Control Act surrendered large areas of effective price control to the pressure of inflationary forces. The most serious blow dealt by these amendments was to the enforcement of cost-of-living controls. In an unprecedented move Congress permitted violators to use the plea of ignorance of the law as a valid defense. It provided that enforcement of the law be stayed while the violator litigates the validity of regulations. It eased legal penalties, placing a heavier burden of responsibility on the enforcement staff and, at the same time, cut the funds necessary to maintain that staff. In addition, the Holman-Taber Amendment, attached as a rider to the Appropriations Bill, prohibited expenditures of O.P.A. funds for fixing prices on canned goods based on standards not "in general use." Although the grades established by the Agricultural Marketing Administration have been in general use for grading canned goods, the intent of the amendment was

to prevent the use of the A.M.A. grades for the pricing of the 1944 pack, making it possible to charge top-grade prices for the low-grade cans.

These and other large and important areas of cost-of-living control have been left wide open to inflationary attack. This attack has already begun and will succeed unless Labor acts promptly in every community to protect the wage-earner's dollar. The full force of inflationary pressure will come not during, but after, the war. After the last World War the most critical period of inflation proved to be the eighteen months following the Armistice. The crucial test of our ability to prevent a runaway inflation will come within two years after hostilities end.

In our opinion, there is a grave threat of curtailment of the real income of workers through price increases. We recommend that, to meet this threat and to assure wage earners and their families maximum protection as the nation's largest buyers and consumers, all central labor unions form consumer committees to maintain informational services and otherwise aid our affiliated unions, their members and families in dealing with their cost-of-living problems, and that all possible advice and guidance be extended to such consumer committees by the American Federation of Labor.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE

The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, known as the FEPC, was created in 1941 to assure workers the right to employment without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin. During the past year the Committee directed its attention primarily to complaints of discrimination in cases where severe manpower shortages were reported. This wartime agency, headed by a seven-man committee, on which the American Federation of Labor is represented by Boris Shishkin and Milton P. Webster, has been dealing with one of the most difficult and most tense problems of war employment.

War has shifted large masses of workers across the American continent. In communities in which war industries were concentrated, population has often swollen to several times the normal size by workers drawn from outside. Lack of housing, transportation, schooling, hospital and shopping facilities has led to artificial manpower shortages and greatly increased labor turnover. Under these conditions, full integration of minorities into war employment assumed importance in achieving fullest utilization of all available manpower for the effective prosecution of the war. These abnormal conditions have, however, in themselves created abnormal tensions, adding to the difficulty of effectively safeguarding to all workers the right to war jobs without discrimination because of their race, religion or color.

During the past year the FEPC has received 4,050 cases involving complaints of discrimination. Of this number 1,100 cases were brought to a satisfactory adjustment while 1,799 cases were closed due to lack of sufficient evidence or merit of complaints, to lack of Committee jurisdiction or other causes. During this time the Committee also handled over 1,000 cases received prior to July 6, 1943, by the predecessor Committee. That discrimination in employment was primarily on the ground of race or color is evi-

denced by the fact that 81 per cent of the complaints on the Committee's docket alleged discrimination on these grounds. The great majority of these cases involved negroes. Nearly 10 per cent of all cases involved complaints of discrimination because of religion. Most of these came from members of the Jewish faith.

Following its reorganization in July, 1943, the Committee set up nine regional offices and two sub-offices. In the course of the year, cooperative agreements were negotiated with the War and Navy Departments, War Manpower Commission, U. S. Maritime Commission, War Shipping Administration, the Office of Labor Production of the War Production Board, the National War Labor Board, and the U. S. Civil Service Commission. These agreements established procedures for handling cases arising in the jurisdiction of each of these agencies to further full utilization of manpower in conformity with the national non-discrimination policy.

In its direct handling of complaints the Committee was able to effect the largest measure of compliance through informal negotiations with employers in the field. Relatively few cases were brought to a formal hearing after direct negotiations had proved unsuccessful. The Committee action made possible hiring and up-grading of qualified workers without discrimination in many war industries.

Wherever Americans have fought for democracy they have fought for the right to equal opportunity. The right to an equal chance to get a job and to be promoted to a better job without discrimination because of race, color, religion, or sex is an inalienable right of every American so long as democracy endures. The American Federation of Labor has been in the past, and is today, unalterably opposed to any form of discrimination because of race, creed, color, or sex.

In the days of transition from war to peace the American Federation of Labor will have a special responsibility to extend the work it has done in the past in eliminating prejudices to the end that industrial equality of all men be firmly established in every part of the United States. In these times there exists an intensified need for systematic and positive educational efforts to remove handicaps and barriers of race or color in industrial employment, assuring full equality of economic opportunity to all Americans. Not only is the attainment of this goal essential to the fulfillment of the full promise of democracy, but it will also serve the best interests of Labor and of the American people as a whole.

The Executive Council recommends reaffirmation of the actions taken by previous conventions endorsing the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. It is our belief that, while protection of non-discriminatory employment is needed, especially during the difficult years that lie ahead, compulsory government regulation of free and voluntary associations of workers is inimical to the basic right of freedom of association. Government controls, interfering with the self-government of labor organizations, must not be permitted.

The right to union membership without discrimination because of race,

creed, color, or sex is a basic tenet irrevocably established by the American Federation of Labor. During the past year great progress has been made toward the universal acceptance of this principle by all constituent unions of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council is confident that this objective may be reached in the near future through the exercise of the prerogative of free self-government of our member unions.

WAR HOUSING

Experience of the past year has borne out our apprehensions regarding the insistent need of providing adequate shelter for war workers and families of war workers recruited for war production. Failure to plan for and provide the housing necessary to meet the minimum requirements of war production has subjected a very large proportion of workers in essential war jobs to extreme hardship. Much of this hardship could have been averted had the National Housing Agency approached the task before it more aggressively, with greater courage and realism and had it shown greater flexibility in operating procedures.

Evidence is now overwhelming that in many key areas of war production lack of housing accommodations was primarily responsible for difficulty experienced in recruiting needed labor and of retaining such labor supply as could be secured. Evidence is equally abundant that acute chronic housing shortages in many areas have not only created a depressing effect upon the morale of war workers, but in addition have served to undermine their health, diminish their efficiency and leave indelible scars on their future productive ability. When the balance sheet of America's war production record is completed, provision of war housing for workers will not be on its credit side. The story of the workers serving on the war production front who were forced to live in tent "cities" of Mobile, in the trailers, huts and stop-gap shacks of Ohio, Louisiana, Kansas and California; in crowded, squalid, unsanitary quarters, many miles away from their work, will be a story of real privation as well as of courage of the workers who chose to remain at their jobs. The fact that the *average* shipyard worker in Los Angeles was forced to commute 44 miles a day from his home to his job and that in many other war production areas thousands of workers had to travel as much as 70 and 80 miles to and from their place of employment will not be easy to discount in appraising the manner in which war housing was programmed.

Housing was never recognized as of primary importance to manpower mobilization or to the maintenance of top production schedules. This was due to a combination of several conditions. Most important was the unwillingness of the National Housing Agency to dramatize the issue, to take the public into its confidence, to make known the urgency of the need and of its significance to war production, hence the lack of understanding and support of a well-developed housing program on the part of the communities concerned and of the people themselves. No less important was the unwillingness on the part of Congress to appropriate adequate funds for public

war housing. It is significant that seven times as much public money was spent for plants housing machinery necessary for war production as for housing workers needed to operate the machines. With each successive cut in appropriations and each delay in authorizing the funds, the NHA responded by successively lowering its estimates of minimum need. Apart from this, the NHA's efforts to win Congressional support were characterized by its programming by far the major portion of the total requirement for private housing in complete disregard of the willingness or the ability of the private home builders to fulfill the NHA schedules. As the result, a major portion of the private war housing programmed on paper was in fact never realized.

It is true that much of the programming of war housing has proved to be an extremely difficult and thankless task. There have been many changes in the war production program itself, in the utilization of war plants and in the manpower requirements to man these plants. In the main, however, the NHA's programming of war housing has suffered most from lack of flexibility and failure to establish and maintain a working relationship with Labor and with the communities concerned. Under-programming of the housing need became the rule and was followed by the unwillingness to change locality programs in accordance with new developments unless overwhelming pressure was exerted. This under-programming was due to over-ready reliance on estimates of the local labor supply which were often no more than optimistic guesses, repeatedly overstating the number of local women expected to take war jobs and underestimating the withdrawals from essential to non-essential work.

The war housing program, limited as it was to in-migrant war workers, ignored the pressure for necessary accommodations within the community itself where a deficit of many years too often made the problem extremely acute. In addition, the locality lists of in-migrant workers were likely to grossly understate the number of workers and their families coming into the community from outside and seeking housing accommodations. In determining the need of eligibility for war housing, essential local trades and services were usually ignored. Thus where resident workers left jobs in service trades and went into local war plants the in-migrant workers who took jobs in essential service trades received little, if any, recognition despite their equally insistent need for housing accommodations. Even where housing was provided, lack of attention to the location of housing with reference to employment in many instances strained neighborhood housing facilities and taxed available transportation beyond limit. Failure to program adequate volume of housing for negro workers often resulted in a situation where negroes could secure not more than 5 or 10 per cent of programmed housing on war centers where negro migration represented as much as 40 or 50 per cent of the total migration into the community. Much of the racial tension was directly traceable to these conditions.

The early tendency to program housing for workers disregarding the need to accommodate their families resulted in extreme shortages and often absolute lack of units sufficient to house large families. Later experience

showed that there were too many one-bedroom units and too few three and four-bedroom units. On the other hand too many dormitory accommodations were programmed, as shown by the 62 per cent occupancy of dormitories, compared with 88 per cent for family dwellings.

Throughout, the NHA continued to program too large a proportion of private construction. Only when it became clear that private construction schedules would not be met did the NHA turn to public construction as a partial and belated remedy. During the past year, \$500,000,000 was authorized for privately built war housing under Title VI of the National Housing Act. During the same time only \$65,000,000 was appropriated for public war housing to be developed by the Federal Public Housing Authority. This allocation of responsibility between private and public housing is significant in the light of the actual production record. Only 153,000 privately built units, including both new and converted dwellings were completed between July 1, 1943, and June 30, 1944. Title VI housing accounted for 135,000 of the total. At the same time the Federal Public Housing Authority completed for occupancy a total of 222,000 family, dormitory, and stop-gap accommodations. Of these 175,000 were family units, 26,000 dormitory units and 21,000 stop-gap accommodations. Programming mistakes were remedied slowly, if at all, because of the delay involved in seeing whether the priority quotas are utilized and in recovering the priorities if it is apparent after some time that construction is not going to start.

One of the most serious defects in the private war housing program actually completed was the condition under which the units were made available to war workers. A provision that two-thirds of the units should be for sale for at least a 60-day period was widely violated. Builders in many cases would not rent to tenants unless they would promise to buy after 60 days, usually requiring a security deposit. On the initial sale, \$6,000 was the highest sales price permitted, but there was no regulation governing the resale of private war housing, therefore, war workers were often deprived of shelter programmed for them. Responsibility for assuring compliance with the two-thirds rental provision rested with the FHA and the regional offices of the NHA which were expected to report violations to the War Production Board for enforcement. The lack of effective enforcement by the FHA and NHA can be partly explained by their fear that the builders would not participate in the program if the two-thirds rental provision were strictly enforced.

A major proportion of war workers and their families who depend on temporary war employment for their short-lived income was forced to buy sub-standard, priority-built homes at inflated prices as a permanent encumbrance because they could find no living quarters, not even a room, for rent. The war worker has no protection against financial loss if he is unable to meet the mortgage payments after the war due to unemployment. On the other hand, the builder and lender are in almost all cases protected by the government since virtually all private war housing has been insured by FHA under Title VI, so that the government will be left holding the foreclosed

property. Furthermore, workers are forced to buy private war housing at inflated values. Finally, much of the private war housing is of inferior construction or poorly located, partly due to wartime conditions. Often the houses are located inconveniently for anything except temporary war employment, or the sites developed are unsuitable due to inadequate drainage facilities, lack of pavement, etc. The houses themselves were frequently built of poorly seasoned lumber with inadequate plumbing and heating equipment, and various structural defects.

The H-2 program announced by the NHA in July, 1944, was an interim program which makes workers currently resident in the community eligible to occupy homes to be built under it. This program provides that on projects of over 300 units, at least initially, half of these units must be for sale and half for rent. On smaller projects the rent or sale designation is left to the discretion of the NHA and it is expected that most of the projects will be designated for sale. In commenting on this program the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor stated: "This 'H-2' program is for construction of permanent homes mainly for sale to war workers. Workers buying these homes will buy dwellings of sub-standard wartime priority construction. They will be forced to buy these homes at inflated prices, as evidenced by the fact that the NHA will officially permit the piercing of the present \$6,000 ceiling when it lifts this ceiling to \$7,500—an increase of 25 per cent. Much of the proposed construction will clearly be postwar housing for the workers purchasing it, but without the safeguards of minimum standards of space, design, structural soundness and durability so crucial to the future growth of home-building after the war." The Housing Committee, while urging resumption of permanent construction as soon as materials become available, stressed the need for public scrutiny of standards and procedures used by the NHA in carrying out such construction and a full review of each locality program by a duly constituted agency of the community concerned.

The public war housing program was generally administered satisfactorily by the Federal Public Housing Authority, although its scope and operations were limited by the lines of policy and the programming of the NHA. Evidence of the excellent record made by the FPHA was the ability of the Agency to recapture a large proportion of the public funds assigned to its construction operations and thus provide considerable additional housing with the very limited resources placed at the Agency's disposal.

Wartime experience in housing activities of the federal government are intimately related to the success of the nation in meeting the accumulated need for housing after the war. We are firmly convinced that Labor can make an important contribution to the national housing policy in the days of transition. We therefore recommend that the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor and our local labor housing committees continue to press for a full measure of effective Labor representation on all housing agencies, nationally and in every community.

WAR BOND CAMPAIGN

As soon as the United States Treasury Department announced, in April, 1941, its plans for asking the American people to finance a substantial part of the cost of National Defense by the purchase of Defense Savings Bonds, the American Federation of Labor accepted this plan with great enthusiasm and became one of its original supporters.

Early in April Secretary Morgenthau invited President William Green and Secretary-Treasurer George Meany to his office to discuss the details of the Treasury's program and to give him their advice as to the best ways of obtaining the support of organized labor. Shortly thereafter, on April 25, 1941, President Green addressed a circular letter to the officers of national and international unions, state federations, city central bodies and federal labor unions. In it he outlined the three major objectives of the Treasury's plan: (1) To provide funds to make the national defenses strong against any possible hostile attack; (2) to help combat the threatened inflation and increase of living cost which an accelerated national defense program might bring with it, and (3) to provide a reserve of savings which might be highly useful during the adjustment which was likely to follow the existing national emergency. He ended his letter with the following appeal:

I ask the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor, and all our friends, to stand ready to cooperate in making the plans referred to successful in every way. I urge all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to create special committees for the purpose of supplying your membership with full information, and for the purpose of promoting the sale of government securities to individual members.

At the same time the publicity office prepared a very striking poster captioned, "A. F. of L. 100 per cent for Defense—Buy Defense Bonds." This poster was widely distributed in May, 1941, the first month in which Defense Bonds were put on sale by the Treasury Department.

Immediately the constituent bodies of the Federation got into action. At the convention of the Missouri Federation of Labor at St. Joseph on May 19, 1941, the delegates went unanimously on record in favor of the purchase of Defense Bonds by all members. The conventions of other state federations and international unions followed this lead. At about the time of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Federation itself was ready to initiate the greatest single financial commitment ever undertaken by a private organization, the pledge that its members would purchase one billion dollars of War Bonds during 1942.

This famous pledge was a great patriotic stimulant to the entire Treasury program for financing the war. It meant that war finance would not be committed to the hands of the banks and great corporations, but that the workers of America would individually have their share in participating in and directing the finance policy of the nation. The Series E Savings Bond, which is sold only to individuals on a non-negotiable basis but redeemable on demand by the Treasury at its face value (plus interest), is as completely a fool-proof method of protecting the wage earners' savings as has yet been

devised. When the American Federation of Labor promised that its members would buy one billion dollars of these E Bonds during 1942, it put the great stabilizing influence of organized labor behind the enlightened financial plans of the United States Government.

While it is difficult to prove *statistically* that the Federation lived up to this great 1942 pledge (because of the many different methods of handling War Bond purchases while the payroll savings plan was being built up throughout that year) the obtainable figures indicate that the \$1 billion pledge was fully met by members of the Federation. The Treasury received approximately \$6 billion from the sale of Series E War Bonds in 1942. Treasury statisticians are satisfied that at least one-half of all E Bond purchases come from American wage earners. Of the \$3 billion of War Bonds thus purchased by American workers in 1942, it seems evident that considerably more than \$1 billion can be attributed to members of the Federation.

The years 1943 and 1944 have shown marked increase in the purchase of War Bonds by individuals. In 1943 the payroll savings plan, which has always been enthusiastically backed by the Federation, showed a large increase and was responsible for the sale of approximately \$4,550,000,000 of Series E Bonds. In June and July, 1944, receipts passed \$500,000,000 a month. Close observers attribute two-thirds of these purchases to members of organized labor. According to Treasury officials, the Federation is entitled to credit for a substantial part of these great sums. Its organizers, officials of local unions, members of shop committees, shop stewards and other leaders of union activities have been key workers in this patriotic undertaking throughout American industry. The organization of the workers of America into unions has been freely acknowledged by the Treasury Department as one of the basic reasons for the success of its War Bond Program.

There have also been large additional purchases of War Bonds by labor union members during the five War Loan Drives conducted by the Treasury. These special efforts have raised the volume of War Bond selling to figures never before believed possible. In the Fifth War Loan Drive over 73,000,000 individual Bonds were issued, the roster of American citizens who own one or more War Bonds reached the impressive figure of over 80,000,000 persons, and the total sale of E Bonds amounted to \$3,036,000,000. It seems likely that there are very few members of the American Federation of Labor whose names are not included in this national roll of honor.

There were approximately \$23,000,000,000 of Series E War Bonds in the hands of American citizens on July 31, 1944, slightly over three years after the first War Bond was sold. This figure makes allowance for the fact that almost 12 per cent of all Series E Bonds sold have been redeemed for cash during the three-year period. Two-thirds of all the War Bonds now outstanding are in denominations of \$25, \$50 and \$100, and are held by persons of small means. A majority of these are obviously in the hands of members of organized labor.

This is a proud record for all American citizens. It represents a nation-

wide financial backing of our armed forces such as has never before been known in history. It represents a tremendous element of financial power in the hands of the wage earner. It should be a healthy insurance for the future of an organization like the American Federation of Labor.

The victory is not won yet. War Bonds can insure the winning of the peace as well as the winning of the war. Let the good work go on.

POST-WAR PLANNING COMMITTEE

This committee has continued its work during the year studying current problems as well as those of longer run significance.

Members of this committee have taken time from already crowded schedules to give to problems of such fundamental importance to wage earners as well as to the whole nation. The committee has met with most generous and constructive cooperation from many individuals, groups and organizations concerned with post-war problems. These problems themselves are so varied, so fundamental and so far-reaching concerning the future of our domestic affairs and our relationships with whatever world organizations the United Nations may set up, that only a large staff could explore and make findings upon them all.

The committee has therefore been obliged to rely upon the counsel of experts in whom they had confidence. However, the recommendations of the committee have been invaluable in dealing with reconstruction proposals.

The committee in addition to distributing pamphlets and Notes for Speakers to our local organizations, planned and carried through a most successful and useful Post-War Forum, which was held in New York City in April. In this conference government officials, economists, educators, representatives of employers joined with representatives of Labor in considering the problems ahead.

The proceedings of this Forum were published so as to be available in their entirety to those members of unions unable to attend the Forum. Both the Forum itself and the volume containing the discussions of the Forum have met with high commendation.

The Federation's Post-War Committee prepared for this Forum a post-war program, which was submitted to and approved by the Executive Council. This report follows:

Part I—The Bases of Lasting International Peace

Guiding International Principles

I. *War is the Enemy.* The American Federation of Labor believes that war among the nations waged by the modern engines of death and destruction is the supreme enemy of the well being of the common people of the world. We recognize that our own movement of organized labor—a movement which is the product of the long struggle of workers for economic and social democracy—has no future of promise in a world living under the threat and burden of the war system. We consider that the elimination of war as an instrument

of national policy is a condition essential to the perpetuation and the further development of our democratic way of life.

II. *Lasting peace must rest on social justice and include all peoples.* We reaffirm this principle set forth by Samuel Gompers at the close of the First World War in the Constitution of the International Labor Organization. This principle has now to be incorporated in the peace settlement at the end of the Second World War. We are in full accord with the way in which it is elaborated in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms set forth in President Roosevelt's message to Congress, January 6, 1941. We note with satisfaction the declaration of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin at Teheran, in which they stated, "We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and in mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into the world family of democratic nations." It is our belief that these principles must be translated into policies and acts, both now and in the future.

III. *The only safety from war is in the international organization of peace.* The industry of war has now been taken over by modern science even more completely than the industries of peace. It is no longer a local conflict but spreads its disturbance over the lives of everyone everywhere. Labor is especially aware of its destructive power, which drafts so many workers in the fighting forces and creates economic confusion at home. The conflicts of today have proved that we can no longer rely on our favored geographical position to maintain our national safety. Moreover, the vast majority of the workers of our country realize what it would mean to respond to this changed situation by engaging in that rivalry for power which is inherent in any effort to make ourselves secure through a program of national expansion and militarism. The outcome of such a policy is not security, peace, and a rising standard of living, but increasing suspicion, mounting military expenditures, imperialistic adventures and war. We believe, therefore, it is imperative that the United States do its full part to help develop a general system of mutual security.

IV. *Victory is not enough.* The total defeat of the Axis Powers is essential to clear the way for democratic international reconstruction; but to stop with that alone would not furnish us with any permanent guarantee of security. The United Nations must be ready and equipped to use whatever means are necessary to prevent the outbreak of war. This will surely require programs for policing and the use of armed forces, but we do not believe that the mere massing of force on the part of the United Nations will be sufficient to provide lasting security. In order to maintain international peace, political and military programs must be associated with a far-reaching economic program which will be designed, not to advantage certain nations at the expense of others, but to organize and utilize the new productive powers of industry and agriculture for the advancement of the standards of living of all peoples. World-wide economic health is essential to security. The American Feder-

tion of Labor is convinced that the acid test of the leadership of the United Nations will be whether they can organize the post-war world for this kind of economic and cultural progress.

V. *Prosperity can be achieved by a free people under a regime of social justice.* We have demonstrated during this war that a free economy can produce goods in unimagined abundance. In the years of peace a sustained high level of production and employment is also possible if there is assurance of economic justice within nations and between nations. To accomplish this, it will be necessary to get rid of that kind of exploitation which tends to concentrate income in the hands of the few and prevents the great mass of workers from having the purchasing power to buy the things they need for daily life. It also will be necessary to lessen the barriers between nations so that there may be a larger interchange of goods and services for all. The basic test of freedom is the welfare of the common man. We hold that under freedom society can be so organized that everyone will have an opportunity to earn his own livelihood.

VI. *Freedom of thought and expression must be safeguarded throughout the world.* This is the ultimate moral purpose, underlying all others, for which we are fighting the Second World War. Tyrannical governments which would crush out freedom of thought in their own lands endanger spiritual freedom everywhere. In the world community of today, we cannot be indifferent to cruelty and oppression because such indifference strengthens the arm of the oppressor. Mere verbal protests are not enough, and yet we must be careful not to interfere in the domestic affairs of other peoples which are properly their own concern. The growth of freedom throughout the world depends upon the growth of the public conscience without which laws and international agreements are of no avail. We hold that labor organized in free unions has a high place in the development of the conscience of mankind and that in this field its vigilant and active service for the public good will be fundamental for the safeguarding of human rights in the post-war world.

VII. *Long-range plans must be made now.* While the full realization of these principles will have to await the establishment of final peace, we recognize that piecemeal and experimental procedures will have to be followed in the construction of these new world economic and political institutions. During the transitional period, however, the direction in which reconstruction must move if it is to meet the needs and the aspirations of the common people of all lands should be nevertheless definite and clear. The world-wide depression of the previous decade, and the world-wide war which followed have proved once again that we are members one of another. Poverty, unemployment, and widespread economic insecurity are not endurable in the midst of potential plenty. To organize the economic life of the world so that these possibilities are made actual is the ultimate aim of organized labor. It will be satisfied with no lesser program for the years of peace.

They must not be left as mere objectives and principles, however. The urgency of the situation requires that all of the great functional groups of our society—Labor, Business, Agriculture, and the professions unite to dis-

cover the concrete means by which these aims can be attained. We believe that the primary emphasis should be placed, not on the creation of a new sovereignty, but rather on the development of definite ways of working together in the international field to accomplish these purposes.

Part II—International Program

The program for the establishment of a lasting peace must provide for the continuing cooperation of the nations of freedom in the three great areas of their common interest, security, livelihood, and justice. This cooperation does not involve the creation of a world government, but the acceptance of definite obligations to work together under agreed conditions and within the limits set by them. The basic principles are those of the Atlantic Charter and the other pronouncements of the United Nations, developed along the lines indicated in the first part of this statement.

1. *Security*

The program for the prevention of war has already been set forth in the Four-Nation Declaration signed by the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China:

That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security.

That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small for the maintenance of international peace and security.

That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.

The substance of this declaration was incorporated into the (Connally) Resolution of the United States Senate on post-war policy. Steps should now be taken to insure the speedy realization of these plans. These steps should include:

1. The calling of a United Nations Commission either to establish the "General International Organization," referred to in the Moscow Agreement, or to serve provisionally in that capacity,

2. The transformation of the wartime alliances of the United Nations into an organization for peace. The initial organization for policing will grow out of the military situation at the end of the war and will remain a primary responsibility of the Great Powers. It should be recognized, however, that this is a purely temporary necessity. The program for international security in the future will have to be worked out by the United Nations as a whole. For this purpose the "General International Organization" will need the advice of civilian as well as military experts. The problem is one which will continually change with the progress of science. Therefore, this Commis-

sion of experts should advise the United Nations concerning all the technical questions involved in armament and disarmament.

Unilateral action and regional understandings are only valid when in accord with the measures taken by the general International Organization and conform to the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter which bind the United Nations to "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live," and to make "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned."

We believe that the United States has much at stake in the maintenance of these foundation principles, and the American Federation of Labor pledges its full support in any steps to supplant tendencies toward unilateralism with genuine cooperative action which will broaden and deepen the mutual relations already achieved by the United Nations.

2. Livelihood

The program for economic and social welfare, like that in the sphere of security falls naturally into two parts: the provision for relief and rehabilitation during the war and transitional period, and the provision for long-range plans and policies capable of development under the conditions of peace.

1. Emergency measures arising from the war. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (U.N.R.R.A.) is deserving of universal support. It should have an adequate representation from Labor on its staff. The aim of relief should be to make it possible for the peoples who have suffered in the war to become self-supporting. We do not believe that either they or the United States would profit from continuing charity after the restoration of normal conditions.

2. Long-range planning. A certain number of international functional agencies will be necessary to insure the consistent development of sound economic policies in a world which will be increasingly responsive to the advances in technology due to scientific discovery and invention. The frontiers of the world of labor are those of economic as well as political geography, and the economic barriers to freedom of intercourse must not be permitted to block the pathway to prosperity. These problems by their very nature cannot be solved in any single set of laws or agreements because the conditions with which they deal are forever changing. It is, therefore, necessary to maintain and create the pertinent institutions for dealing with them.

(a) The International Labor Organization (I.L.O.) has abundantly justified its existence. It should be enlarged and strengthened as an instrument for raising the standard of living of peoples in all countries and for safeguarding the rights of the working people.

(b) The Food and Agriculture Organization (F.A.O.) which has now been planned receives the full support of Labor. There should be parallel organizations to deal with problems of health and social welfare, such as the promotion of child welfare, education, the prevention of epidemics, traffic in drugs and traffic for immoral purposes.

(c) In the world of commerce and industry there should be agencies to

deal with such problems as (1) the stabilization of foreign exchange, (2) communications and transport on land, sea and in the air, (3) the commercial policy including cartels, (4) fiscal policies and foreign investments, (5) access to natural resources and raw material, (6) to coordinate these activities there should be a United Nations Economic Organization with consultative and advisory functions.

In each case there should be provision for objective studies of the facts which should be made available to the general public.

3. Justice

The program for the re-establishment and development of justice in international relations in the post-war world has a sound foundation in international law, but must be strengthened and developed with the growth of the common interests in the substitution of pacific means of settlement for force and violence among nations.

(1) The Permanent Court of International Justice should be adopted as the supreme judicial tribunal of the international organization.

(2) The scope of arbitration should include the settlement of economic as well as political disputes.

(3) For the settlement of political disputes conciliation is a ready and approved method for which the permanent political structure of the United Nations should be used as well as special bodies for specific problems.

(4) For the safeguarding of human rights, there should be a permanent international institute to study and report to both international and national bodies on the problem of developing the principles and procedures of international justice with respect to groups or individuals.

Part III—Post-War America

Guiding Domestic Principles

1. *Our immediate responsibility is to win the war.* From the beginning, organized labor has recognized that the winning of this war is essential to the promotion of the interests of the common man in our own country and in the world. We have given unstinted support to the war effort, even voluntarily suspending the exercise of the hard-won right to strike. The result has been an achievement of production without precedent in the history of mankind. Such deeds demonstrate that the American Federation of Labor wants no peace of appeasement. We will continue to support the war effort until a complete victory is won.

2. *Our long-time responsibility is the well being of all men: Our distinctive function is to promote the well being of workers.* In serving this purpose the American Federation of Labor has been both an expression and an organ of American democracy. There has been, there is, and there can be no lasting conflict between a movement created by the working people and democratic purposes and processes. Throughout the history of our country, the working people have asserted and fought for recognition of the worth and dignity of Labor; for the rights of the worker in his job; for a living

wage and a rising standard of living for all; for social security; for political freedom; for civil liberties; and for free public education. Confronted by the present period of profound social, economic, and political change, we reaffirm our historic commitment to these ends—to both democratic purposes and democratic means. We expect to be represented in both the domestic and international processes by which the post-war world will be organized.

3. *The well being of the worker depends upon his rights on the job.* The whole life of the worker is pervaded and molded by his job, by the physical conditions under which he works, by the length of his working day, by the adequacy of his pay, by the extent to which he is protected against arbitrary discharge, and by the nature of the strains under which he works. Only as he engages in an occupation recognized as useful by his fellows does the individual have an inner confidence that he is needed by and belongs to his community. The harmful spiritual consequences of enforced unemployment are no less real than its material deprivations. The essence of slavery—one of the most evil of all human degradations—is to be compelled to work at the dictation of another. The right to work and the right to quit work are among the most basic rights of free men. The free and independent mind, which is the moral foundation and source of our democratic way of life, decay and become corrupted in a society in which workers are insecure.

At long last and after more than a century of severe struggle, the right of the worker to unite with his fellows to protect and advance his interests has been made a part of the law of the land. This right has been given memorable expression in the National Labor Relations Act of 1937, which declares "employees shall have the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection."

The American Federation of Labor is determined to defend this right against any and all forces that may challenge it.

4. *Unemployment is the entrenched enemy.* The war has shown the vast productive potential of America, once our material and human resources are mobilized for common purposes. In the short space of three years, we have increased the total productive facilities of our nation by nearly one-half. During this same period we have also doubled the total national income. This remarkable record in production calls for a revision of all former estimates of what is possible and desirable. Future productive capacity can provide better homes, better food and clothing, more adequate medical care, finer communities, and richer educational and cultural opportunities for all. We believe that our country can maintain its internal unity and strength and take its necessary part in promoting world security and economic and cultural advance, only as it creates means by which this higher level of production and employment is sustained. In order to preserve and extend our standards of living, American democracy must enter upon this bold and creative task. The American Federation of Labor refuses to tolerate the defeatism which

holds that under a democratic regime of freedom, it is not possible to make this abundance actually available to our people.

5. *The stability of our democracy will require the provision of productive jobs and services for the millions demobilized from the armed forces and the war industries.* Demobilization allowances for returning soldiers. Federal interim placement benefits for all in the labor market, unemployment insurance and provisions for retraining are all necessary, but in and of themselves they do not touch the heart of the problem. In the last analysis the demobilized can have economic security only as they are employed in productive work. There is no substitute for a job. Close cooperation of private enterprise and government—federal, state and local—will be required to maintain production and employment during this difficult period of the shift from the war to the peace economy. The American Federation of Labor is eager to do its part to organize, and support a national rehabilitation, retraining, production and employment program adequate to meet the needs of all who have served on either the fighting or the home fronts.

6. *Free and independent organizations of the people are an indispensable means of checking concentration of economic and governmental power.* If the common people are to exercise effectual control over the conditions which determine their livelihood, two things are required. On the one hand, it is imperative that the trend toward private monopoly and the concentration of wealth be reversed. History has demonstrated that concentration of wealth and economic power in private, monopolistic hands undermines the very foundations of a free society.

In our interdependent industrial society, with its vast mass production enterprises, government regulation is necessary to care for the general public interest. It can, however, assume dangerous forms.

We contend that it is only as organizations of labor, farmers and other functional groups maintain their essential freedom that the danger of both industrial and political despotism can be averted. We therefore demand that in both industry and government more adequate means be provided whereby these functional groups can be directly represented in the formulation, administration, and the evaluation of over-all economic policies.

7. *The common good requires the cooperation of the great functional groups.* We recognize that organizations of business, of finance, of farmers, and of the various professions as well as of labor have their indispensable part to play in the development of our common modes of living. Each of these groups should press for the adequate recognition of its own peculiar interests. Fortunately, each of the major functional groups is beginning to understand that the impoverishment of other groups endangers its own security and prosperity.

The workers of the city and the workers of the country have deep mutual interests. The prosperity of the one ultimately requires the prosperity of the other. We believe that the welfare of the nation now requires more than ever the cooperation of farm and city workers.

Impoverished agricultural and industrial workers cannot provide an ade-

quate and stable market for goods and services. All will suffer disaster if the powerful organizations of finance, business, farmers and labor seek merely to advance their own interests without regard for the consequences on the community as a whole. We believe that the cooperation of these functional groups in the development of a framework of controlling policies for the conservation of natural resources and the progressive organization of our productive powers is a primary need. The American Federation of Labor proposes to do its part to create means for joint consultation and cooperation.

8. *Free enterprise is an essential part of the democratic way of life.* As political freedom assures the individual basic civil rights which entail corresponding duties, so economic freedom assures economic rights which constitute contract and entail their corresponding duties. We believe wholeheartedly in free enterprise as an essential in personal freedom. The right to start a business and the right to choose a job is the basis of a free life. Free enterprise and free labor are interdependent. Neither can last without the other. Our free economy rests on community of interests and it maintains itself through cooperative action mindful of the interests of all concerned. Experience has demonstrated that when the rights of free unions are impaired, free enterprise is no longer secure. By free enterprise we mean a progressive economy which provides incentives and opportunities for individuals and groups to take the initiative and to assume the risks involved in launching new forms of productive activity. Thus organized labor means by free enterprise bold initiative for the increase of the range and efficiency of production, not the disregard of the needs and rights of others.

We want a regime of economic freedom, but our enterprise system must demonstrate that it can function so as to husband and utilize, not to waste and dissipate our natural resources. We want free enterprise, but our productive system must be committed to the progressive raising of the national income and the maintenance of full employment. Such a system is necessarily opposed to all tendencies toward monopolistic restriction. We want free enterprise, but we also want an economy which will provide ample support for the health, educational, recreational and similar public services so essential to the welfare of the working people in our industrial society. Finally, we want a program of economic enterprise which will not be repressive, but will support the free exercise of civil and political liberties.

9. *Equality of opportunity is an authentic goal of American democracy.* Unfortunately this ideal of equality is now denied in many of our established policies and practices. It is denied wherever children or adults do not enjoy equality of educational opportunity. It is denied wherever individuals are deprived of their civil and political rights guaranteed by the Constitution. It is denied wherever workers, because of race, religion or sex, do not have an equal chance to get jobs, and to be promoted in their jobs. The American Federation of Labor is opposed to any and all of these forms of discrimination—whether in the sphere of politics, of education, or of work. We believe that the dignity and worth of each worker should be respected, and

that our movement will be handicapped in its effort to promote higher levels of production and employment so long as any of these discriminations are permitted to exist.

10. *The preservation of our democracy demands vigorous support of the civil liberties and public education.* We live in a revolutionary age. America is in the process of making far-reaching adjustments in both her domestic institutions and her foreign relations. We believe that these changes in economy, government and foreign affairs can and must be made by and for the people. This can be done intelligently and peacefully only as we keep open the avenues of education, association and organization, discussion, investigation, publication and communication. In our fateful period, public enlightenment and free discussion define a social necessity, not a luxury. Those who would curb these basic democratic rights to protect narrow class privileges and those who would abuse them in the slavish service of foreign governments and alien party lines strike at the very foundation of our freedom. The American Federation of Labor, believing as it does in democracy as both means and end, will continue to fight for these rights and to expose and oppose all who would abridge or impair them for any reason whatsoever.

Part IV—Immediate Domestic Program

What we do now determines our post-war adjustment. We maintain that there must be close coordination of war mobilization and reconversion programs. Policies controlling both the letting of contracts and cutbacks vitally affect our peacetime economy and the potentiality of many industries. The issue has already been raised: Shall we have pools of unemployed or shall civilian industries begin resumption of production? Demobilization guided by Labor's dominant purpose can lead us directly into production at high levels or it can provide privileged security for some in an economy of scarcity. We demand that the United States choose production at high levels.

War Mobilization and Reconstruction

1. The American Federation of Labor proposes that Congress authorize the establishment of an Office of War Mobilization and Adjustment with an Economic Commission composed of representatives of the basic economic functional organizations of workers, employers and farmers. Its chairman shall be chosen from the general public. This Economic Commission shall make the policies to guide war mobilization, reconversion and reconstruction and reemployment. Representatives on the Commission shall be appointed by the President from panels submitted by the respective organizations of Labor, Farmers and Business and approved by the Senate.

2. This Office shall coordinate plans for production and reemployment and time demobilization of armies with work opportunities.

3. This Office, in order to facilitate employment after the war, shall be prepared to promote the effective and early resumption of private business by

- a. Negotiation of contract cancellation.
- b. Prompt settlement of claims.

c. Removal of government property from plants.

d. Disposition of government surplus property.

There must be over-all policies to assure free enterprise to small as well as big business to lead into maximum levels of production with high levels of employment at pay which makes possible steadily rising standards of living and to promote competitive business to safeguard our home markets.

4. The machinery for demobilization and reconversion should, wherever possible, be existing agencies operating under guiding policies and in accord with the coordinated programs of the Office and reporting to it.

5. The Office of War Mobilization shall make quarterly reports to a joint Congressional Committee.

6. The chairman with the representative policy commission shall provide for effective mobilization of manpower, training and retraining, placement of workers and demobilized servicemen and women, and the reintegration of enlisted persons into the civilian work force.

7. Price control and rationing shall be continued until scarcities disappear.

Veterans

For those in the armed services the American Federation of Labor proposes:

1. Demobilization pay to provide opportunity before adjustment to civilian life.
2. Hospitalization, medical care and rehabilitation for the injured.
3. Effective right to complete education and training interrupted by war service or to retraining.
4. Special assistance in finding employment.
5. Interim placement benefits effective three months after demobilization and to continue for two years after reentering the work force.

The National Work Force

For all wage earners the American Federation of Labor proposes:

1. Federal interim unemployment benefits for two years.
2. Early enactment of a federal social insurance system covering all workers in private industry and groups of self-employed persons, providing insurance for emergencies interrupting work: unemployment and short-time incapacity, long-time incapacity and old age, with provision that the Social Security Board may enter into compacts with individual states or their subdivisions, for the purpose of extending social security coverage to their employees.
3. A national employment service essential to advise workers of suitable jobs and employers of suitable workers.
4. Restoration of shorter workweek without material reduction in weekly earnings.

During the war wage earners have contributed increased productivity to the war effort without compensation by increases in wage rates. Justice therefore requires that they return to normal hours without material change in weekly earnings.

5. An end of the evil of child labor.

6. Adequate protective labor legislation at both federal and state levels.

Union responsibilities in an economy of abundance. In addition to its responsibility for craftsmanship and discipline of members, and selection of officers to represent the union and negotiate contracts protecting members' rights and interests, the union must assume the responsibilities accompanying the establishment and maintenance of maximum levels of production and employment. This implies the unreserved cooperation necessary for full employment with review and revision of rules and practices which were developed to protect workers in a depressed and severely fluctuating economy.

Employers' responsibilities. As the price of free competitive enterprise—with profits to cover risks—employers must accept responsibility for directing initiative toward organization of production, employment and marketing that will maintain maximum levels of production and employment.

Through personnel policies and in collective bargaining employers should promote higher incomes for the work force. This is essential to an economy of abundance.

Union-Management Cooperation. After collective bargaining has become a customary practice, it is possible to develop plans and agencies for regularized cooperation between unions and management. Such cooperation contributes to efficient production and can materially lower production costs. It makes possible a real sense of partnership in the day to day problems of joint work.

We urge for all production undertakings genuine collective bargaining as the only basis for union-management cooperation.

Housing. Cities and towns, large and small, have been blighted by the years of stagnation in residential building. Mass shifts of workers brought about by war mobilization and war curtailment of construction activity have multiplied the already acute need for housing.

We propose that work of practical and definite advance planning of rebuilding of communities be undertaken at once as a task by citizens of each and every town. This is an urgent job for local agencies on which private industry, organized labor and government can work jointly toward assurance of economic growth and security after the war. Home reconstruction provides the broadest single base for production and reemployment in major industries. In keeping with other plans for an economy of abundance, we should carry on slum clearance and re-housing of families whose incomes keep them out of reach of the private homebuilding markets. This must be done through a program of low rent housing with public aid of local housing agencies backed by federal government.

Private initiative should play a leading part in post-war housing reconstruction with safeguards against speculative abuses in construction and financing. Slum clearance and re-housing of low-income families must supplement private effort to bring decent homes within reach of every family and assure healthy, normal growth to all children—our future citizens.

Public Works. A program of needed public works and services ready to

be let to private contractors should be available to supplement private employment in the conversion period and to start as soon as a trend toward production decline appears obvious.

Fiscal Policy. Our national fiscal policy must promote our fundamental purpose—high levels of production and employment. Our accumulated national debt and interest charges thereon will mean sustained high tax rates, but if we maintain high production levels this will not prevent our providing adequate educational opportunities, child welfare, housing, health, public assistance and similar services.

Proposal. We propose representatives of farmers, employers and workers organizations should get together in advance of legislation to agree upon our joint responsibilities.

This program deals only with immediate plans. Additional recommendations will be made from time to time.

This report deals only with fundamental principles which are of basic importance and which are guides in making the blue-prints of concrete proposals for dealing with issues as well as providing the machinery needed to deal with changing economic and political situations and forces.

It is obvious that we are now entering into the period of reconversion through cutbacks by which the procurement agencies adjust production and orders to changes on the fighting front. The turning point in the battle of Europe against Hitler was the loss of North Africa and the inability of the Nazis to defeat Russia by blitzkrieg. They are now fighting a war the Prussian generals know is lost. These facts actuated the insistent demand that Congress enact necessary over-all legislation. That reasoning applies with equal force to our organization which will have responsibility for leadership for our seven million members.

The Post-War Committee has already set up a committee on post-war wages. We have the difficult and urgent problem of readjusting wage rates which have been frozen during a period of unparalleled production activity and increased productivity so that workers' earnings will provide the necessary market for industries converting to basis of maximum production and full employment.

We must also be prepared to counsel workers by industries and by areas on fluctuations in employment and unemployment in order that localities and industries may expand or contract plans. High levels of employment with high national income, because the maximum number of persons are employed at high wages and salaries in producing the things and services the nation needs, is an ideal which challenges our desire and ability to achieve it. Only by the most patient, painstaking planning with sensitive measuring rods to show results can we hope to achieve this ideal.

It is imperative that the Post-War Planning Committee undertake this further responsibility and that means be provided for the employment of the necessary technicians.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

The American Federation of Labor has continued to participate in the activities of the International Labor Organization. Since the last convention, the outstanding event of the I.L.O. was the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labor Conference held in Philadelphia in April-May, 1944. The American Federation of Labor was represented at this Conference by President William Green, Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, Vice-President Matthew Woll, Marion Hedges, Research Director, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and Robert J. Watt, International Representative, American Federation of Labor.

The agenda of the Philadelphia Conference was decided upon at the meeting of the Governing Body held in London in December, 1943, and consisted of the following items: (1) future policy, program, and status of the International Labor Organization; (2) recommendations to the United Nations on present and post-war social policy; (3) the organization of employment in the transition from war to peace; (4) social security; principles and problems arising out of the war; and (5) minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories.

The Conference lasted three weeks and was attended by government, employers, and workers' delegates from forty-one member countries. The entire work of the Conference was based, as the Acting Director of the International Labor Office declared, on the victory of the democratic forces in the war, and the unity and determination of these same forces in ensuring a just and durable peace when military victory has been won.

The discussions of the Conference culminated in the unanimous adoption of the "Declaration of Philadelphia"—a "Declaration covering the aims and purposes of the International Labor Organization." In view of the importance of this declaration its text is contained in this report. The Philadelphia Declaration constitutes a re-statement of the aims and purposes of the common people of the world and of the responsibilities of the International Labor Organization in relation to these needs and aspirations.

THE PHILADELPHIA CHARTER

The General Conference of the International Labor Organization, meeting in its 26th session in Philadelphia, hereby adopts, this tenth day of May in the year 1944, the present declaration of aims and purposes of the International Labor Organization and of the principles which should inspire the policy of its members.

I

The Conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the Organization is based and, in particular, that:

- (a) Labor is not a commodity;
- (b) Freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress;
- (c) Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere;
- (d) The war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigor within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of governments, join with them in free dis-

cussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

II

Believing that experience has fully demonstrated the truth of the statement in the preamble to the Constitution of the International Labor Organization that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice, the Conference affirms that:

(a) All human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity;

(b) The attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy;

(c) All national and international policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, should be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective;

(d) It is a responsibility of the International Labor Organization to examine and consider all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective;

(e) In discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labor Organization, having considered all relevant economic and financial factors, may include in its decisions and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

III

The Conference recognizes the solemn obligation of the International Labor Organization to further among the nations of the world programs which will achieve:

(a) Full employment and the raising of standards of living;

(b) Employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well being;

(c) The provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labor, including migration for employment and settlement;

(d) Policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to insure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection;

(e) Effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the cooperation of Management and Labor in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures;

(f) Extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection, and comprehensive medical care;

(g) Adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;

(h) Provision for child welfare and maternity protection;

(i) Provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture;

(j) Assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

IV

Confident that the fuller and broader utilization of the world's productive resources necessary for the achievement of the objectives set

forth in this declaration can be secured by effective international and national action, including measures to expand production and consumption, to avoid severe economic fluctuations, to promote the economic and social advancement of the less developed regions of the world, to assure greater stability in world prices of primary products, and to promote a high and steady volume of international trade, the Conference pledges the full cooperation of the International Labor Organization with such international bodies as may be entrusted with a share of the responsibility for this great task and for the promotion of the health, education and well being of all peoples.

V

The Conference affirms that the principles set forth in this declaration are fully applicable to all peoples everywhere and that, while the manner of their application must be determined with due regard to the stage of social and economic development reached by each people, their progressive application to peoples who are still dependent, as well as to those who have already achieved self-government, is a matter of concern to the whole civilized world.

As President Roosevelt stated in his speech of welcome to the delegates of the Philadelphia Conference at the White House, its principles are "the essential bulwarks of any permanent peace." He stated that:

Your Declaration sums up the aspirations of an epoch which has known two world wars. I confidently believe that future generations will look back upon it as a landmark in world thinking. I am glad to have this opportunity of endorsing its specific terms on behalf of the United States. I trust, also, that within a short time its specific terms will be whole-heartedly endorsed by all of the United Nations.

In addition to the Philadelphia Declaration, the Conference adopted a number of recommendations and resolutions, among them the resolution introduced by the American Government concerning the social provisions of the peace treaty. The Conference further took steps to implement the principles which it formulated by inviting the United Nations, and other interested nations, to call a meeting for the consideration of an international agreement on employment policies. A program of collaboration between the I.L.O. and the United Nations on all social problems connected with peace treaties and world organization has also been worked out.

The Atlantic Charter, with its promises of political and social freedom comprises, in the social field, freedom from want and social security; and in the political field, freedom of association and collective bargaining. Freedom from want further calls for a system of effective social security on international lines, minimum wage scales and the protection of labor in backward countries, and an economic policy to guarantee full employment. That all the governments represented at the Philadelphia Conference are committed to such a policy in a framework of international cooperation is of no less importance than the adoption of the social security recommendations by which the governments have committed themselves to the extension of their existing systems of social security.

International sanction has now been given to the principle that the free labor unions of the world are the basis on which social freedom must rest.

Organized labor has learned by experience that resolutions and recommendations, although they may embody important and much to be desired measures, are of little use unless they are acted upon. However well-intentioned governments may be, they need the spur of trade union activity to keep them moving along the path of progress. It will, therefore, fall to organized labor to press for the fulfillment in all countries of the comprehensive and far-reaching program laid down by the Philadelphia Conference.

Since December, 1941, the changing fortunes of war have dominated the whole life of the world and necessarily, also, the work of the I.L.O. whose activity during the period under review has been conditioned at every stage by these changing fortunes. The Office has been deprived of the constant contact with the representative bodies of the Organization which is so essential to make its work fully effective. However, fortified and supported by the resolutions of the 1941 session of the International Labor Conference held in New York, and by the decisions of the London Session of the I.L.O. Emergency Committee of April, 1942 (both of which meetings, Robert J. Watt, the International Representative of the American Federation of Labor attended), it has been able to make substantial progress in the discharge of the tasks committed to it. In spite of transportation difficulties, the Acting Director and other members of the I.L.O. staff have been able to pay a number of visits to London and thus keep in constant contact with the British Government and with governments-in-exile established in London, and the regular relationship between the Office's activities and the Governing Body has been maintained as closely as possible.

The Organization has continued to maintain its membership despite the acute political difficulties of total war. It is gratifying to report that during the period under review, arrangements were made for the maintenance of the membership of France and the continued participation of Haiti, Paraguay, Nicaragua, and Iceland, although not members of the Organization, sent official observers to the Philadelphia session of the International Labor Conference.

With regard to the progress of ratifications of international draft conventions, the number of ratifications has increased from 882 to 887. This is of considerable interest, because in time of war, when the application of the provisions of some Conventions has had to be partially suspended for reasons of *force majeure*, it was not to be expected that many ratifications would be registered.

The 1943 London Session of the Governing Body was in spite of all difficulties of attendance, one of the most noteworthy that the Governing Body has ever held, by virtue of the unprecedented scope and importance of the agenda laid down by it for the Philadelphia Conference. Its importance was emphasized by speeches by Mr. Ernest Bevin, British Minister of Labor and National Service, and by Mr. Anthony Eden, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Mr. John G. Winant, United States Ambassador in London and former Director of the I.L.O., attended the closing sitting.

The maritime work of the Organization has been resumed with consid-

erable success since the adoption by the New York Conference of a resolution which, *inter alia*, authorized the Office "to consult all interested organizations, institutions and individuals in order that at the end of the war, plans will be available for the immediate regulation of economic and social conditions in the mercantile marine." At its twelfth session held in London in June, 1942, at which Morris Weisberger, the Vice-President of the Seafarers' International Union of North America was present as a Seamen's delegate, the Joint Maritime Commission adopted a resolution on safety measures supplemented by a statement specially prepared by the Office at the request of the Commission. The resolution has undoubtedly proved of assistance to governments for the revision of their safety regulations in the light of the combined experience of the principal maritime countries. The Acting Commandant of the United States Coast Guard, Admiral Gorman, expressed his appreciation of the results achieved, stating that he had "followed closely the activities of the I.L.O., with regard to life-saving measures for merchant seamen in times of war" and felt "that through this interchange of ideas much is being done to further the safety of the merchant seamen." Another session of the Joint Maritime Commission will be held in September, 1944, with an agenda which will enable it to make a general survey of the present and future position of maritime employment.

During the period under review, technical assistance has been afforded to numerous governments. A number of Latin-American governments have requested the assistance of the Office, particularly in connection with actuarial problems. The Office placed the services of its actuarial consultant, Mr. E. Shoenbaum, at the disposal of several governments. This expert, after directing the actuarial work which led to the reform of social insurance in Ecuador, was called upon to assist the Bolivian Government in preparing a social insurance bill. From La Paz, Mr. Shoenbaum proceeded to Chile on the invitation of the Chilian Government, and thence to Costa Rica at the request of the Social Insurance Fund. Mr. Shoenbaum made the actuarial estimate for the Mexican social insurance bill in the autumn of 1942 and he revisited Mexico a year later in order to complete his work in connection with the measure which has now come into force.

Another interesting development during the period under review has been the requests for technical assistance received by the Office from new international bodies in process of being established, such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture. The services of a number of officials of the Office, and more particularly those of the Legal Advisor, have been made available to the bodies in an advisory capacity. Mr. E. J. Phelan, Acting Director of the I.L.O., attended as an official observer at the United Nations Monetary Conference held at Bretton Woods in June-July, 1944.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

The International Federation of Trade Unions, according to the "Report on Activities" for 1943-1944, has continued to register an increase of membership. The number of affiliated national trade union centers has remained

unchanged, except for France, which was reinstated in the list of affiliations by decision of the Emergency International Trade Union Council at the meeting in March, 1944.

The total membership is now over 16 million members, according to the most recent figures, with the following national centers affiliated:

American Federation of Labor.....	6,564,141
Great Britain	6,024,411
Sweden	1,200,000—estimated
Mexico	530,000—estimated
China	420,000—estimated
Argentina	300,000—estimated
Canada	264,375
Switzerland	231,000
New Zealand	218,398
India	144,000—estimated
Palestine	136,000—estimated
France	120,000
South Africa	120,000—estimated
Norway	20,000

The International Federation of Trade Unions also recognizes foreign trade union groups now located in Great Britain from the nations of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria, Poland, and Spain, and efforts have been made to establish a trade union group for the Greeks and Italians.

The situation in Argentina, according to the official "Report on Activities," has been difficult in recent months with severe curtailment of civil liberties. In India the situation remains confused with two trade union centers in operation. The relations between Mexico and the I.F.T.U. remain unchanged, since the national center has not paid any fees to the I.F.T.U. since the last regular Congress was held in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1939.

Relations have not been resumed between the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Finnish Trade Union Federation although several efforts were made by the Finnish trade unions through the Swedish Federation to resume relations. Under the circumstances, which found Finland allied with the Axis against the United Nations, it was not possible to officially reply to the appeal of the Finnish trade unions, although it was understood that this action would not prejudice the position which might arise as a consequence of Finland's ceasing to continue as an enemy.

In Denmark the position of the Danish trade unions is not quite clear. While they had been allowed to continue their activities without much interference by the Nazis for a period of time after the occupation, many recent disturbances have taken place. Outstanding trade union representatives have been arrested, with a few escaping to Sweden. In Hungary, because of lack of communications and any direct information, relations between the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Hungarian trade unions have not been possible.

The Council of Trade Unions in Australia, with which the I.F.T.U. has fraternal relations, has undergone an important change. A consolidation has taken place, with the headquarters of the Confederation being moved from Melbourne to Sydney. Since the loose structure of the trade unions in Australia was the most important factor in preventing affiliation with the I.F.T.U., it is now hoped that since this obstacle has been removed affiliation will follow in the near future.

The two preparatory studies undertaken by the Emergency International Trades Union Council concerning the international trade union reconstruction and the social and economic demands of Labor have now been terminated. These reports, which have been submitted to the American Federation of Labor, are under consideration by the Executive Council.

No changes have taken place since the last report in the composition of the I.F.T.U. Executive Committee. Sir Walter Citrine, British Trade Union Congress, is President; William Green, American Federation of Labor; Joseph Bondas, Belgium; and Knorad Nordahl, Norway, are Vice-Presidents; and Walter Schevenels is General Secretary.

RELIEF ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Labor's influence upon both the policies and functioning of public and private community service agencies is steadily growing. In this war for freedom and democracy, members of the American Federation of Labor have been proud to give of their sons, their strength and of their savings—not for destruction, but to achieve a future of liberty, security, and freedom from aggression for all democratic countries of the world. Relief funds which go to every front in Labor's name and in the name of the American people, are by no means the least important or the least significant of the contributions made to the war effort.

After the outbreak of war and before Pearl Harbor, we gave definite and concrete proof of our support to the democratic nations in their struggle against the Axis powers through Labor's League for Human Rights—of which President Green is Honorary Chairman, Sec'y-Treas. Meany is Honorary Secretary and of which Vice-President Woll is Acting Chairman. Under its auspices we formed the American Labor Committee to aid British Labor. The appeal sent out in behalf of British Labor met with a hearty and spontaneous response. More than 4,000 local unions in over 465 communities answered the call. In the six months' campaign, over \$350,000 was contributed on the part of our trade unions and trade unionists. This was accomplished without resort to any high pressure methods and presents ample proof of Labor's deep interest and great concern in the outcome of the present world conflict.

After Pearl Harbor the League dissolved the American Labor Committee to aid British Labor and formed Labor's United Nations Relief Committee. Through this Committee, we have ever since been undertaking a plan and program of cooperating with Community War Chests, National War Fund and the American Red Cross in their several relief fund-raising campaigns.

This plan of cooperation is now years old. It has furnished convincing evidence of the unanimous support being given by American Federation of Labor organizations, in every part of the country to the program of Labor's League for Human Rights. Unions and union members affiliated with the A. F. of L. have contributed, in the past two years, an estimated total of \$70,000,000 to the National War Fund through their Community War Chests, and to the American Red Cross.

This is an epic of generosity on the part of wage earners unequalled in the history of our country. We feel it will be surpassed in the future, as our organizations and our local labor leaders gain in experience, and as our vast memberships learn ever more clearly the purposes and aspirations of the League's program and the actual activities of their respective Community and War Chests. That this cooperation has been eminently successful and is accepted by the American Red Cross, the National War Fund, and the Community War Chests of the nation, is evidenced in the recent renewal of our agreements of cooperation for the third successive year.

American Federation of Labor organizations are cooperating with their respective Community Chests or National War Fund Committees and American Red Cross Chapters in more than a thousand communities throughout the land. Four hundred fifty-two central labor bodies have organized Labor League Committees with a total membership of 2,523 men and women officially designated by their central body.

Of this total, 1,902 committee members carry the responsibility of helping to organize and conduct fund-raising campaigns for their respective Community War Chests and American Red Cross Chapters. Hundreds of committee members, including some of those engaged in campaign activities, are organizing and helping to carry on Community Service programs, a new field for organized labor in which we attempt to develop the benefit of available community services in each community for the membership of our unions and all working people, and particularly to help solve the problems and meet the needs of demobilized veterans.

Greater respect and consideration for Labor's opinion, attitude and abilities are evidenced everywhere. From the public relations point of view, the increased prestige and respect which have come to the American Federation of Labor as a result of its relief activities are not the least part of its achievements in this field. The American Federation of Labor's participation in community work has in many instances brought Labor for the first time into direct and friendly contact with elements to whom organized labor had previously been an almost unknown quantity. This first-hand knowledge and understanding of the aims and ideals of the A. F. of L., plus the widespread publicity that has been given to the League's work on behalf of the National War Fund and Community Chests, have been of immense value in helping to counteract the anti-Labor trend that has lately been evidenced in the reactionary press of the country.

Front-page articles in influential newspapers, advertisements of appreciation in Chest publications and daily papers, messages of appreciation on the

radio, all reflect this general recognition of and respect for Labor's contribution to the welfare of the community. Further proof of Labor's new standing in the community can be found in the fact that there are already a number of significant instances where American Federation of Labor representatives have been elected chairmen of the community-wide campaigns, of budget committees, executive committees, and boards of directors.

Support of Labor's war relief program by the Community War Chests of the country, and, since its formation, by the National War Fund, is part of the agreement of cooperation between these organizations and Labor's League for Human Rights that has recently been renewed for the third successive year. The budget for Labor's War Relief Program has increased from \$2,000,000 in 1942-43, to \$3,100,000 in 1943-44 and \$3,600,000 in 1944-45.

The Program embraces relief activities in Britain, Russia and China and for refugees and victims of the various United Nations, including Norway, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Poland and France. In all cases, with the exception of Russia, Labor's War Relief Program is recommended to us by and conducted under the supervision of outstanding leaders and representatives of the free democratic trade union movements of each country. An interesting innovation is the start of a Labor War Relief Program in liberated Italy which we hope to conduct in cooperation with and through the new-born democratic trade union movement in Italy.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

The Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorized the Executive Council to select fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor to attend the convention of the British Trades Union Congress and of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada this year.

In conformity with this action of the convention, the Executive Council, through President Green, selected Brother Hugo Ernst, Secretary-Treasurer of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, and Brother Holt Ross, a General Representative of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, to attend the British Trades Union Congress as Fraternal Delegates from the American Federation of Labor.

The British Trades Union Congress convened in Blackpool, England, on October 16. Reports will be made to the New Orleans Convention by Brothers Ernst and Ross on their attendance at the British Trades Union Congress.

Brother Anthony Valente, President of the United Textile Workers of America, was selected to serve as fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada which convened at Toronto, Ontario, on October 23.

PROPOSED WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

On November 2, 1943, Sir Walter Citrine, Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, issued a call for a conference of representatives of the organized workers of all countries to meet in London on June 5, 1944.

It was set forth in the call for this conference that it was being convened for the purpose of considering the most pressing problems, both of policy and of organization, affecting the interests of the working people and thereby promoting the widest possible unity in aim and action of the international trade union movement.

In making reply to this invitation sent to the American Federation of Labor, it was pointed out that the American Federation of Labor was affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions; that it was of the opinion that international trade union matters should be dealt with through this agency, and that if a conference of the representatives of organized workers throughout the world was convened it should be called by the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Furthermore, the call issued by Sir Walter Citrine made it clear that he had extended invitations to the representatives of organizations which were not considered as bona fide labor organizations and, in addition, to dual unions in the United States and Canada. Because of this fact the officers of the American Federation of Labor declined the invitation to participate in this so-called world conference of alleged representatives of organized workers in all countries throughout the world, which was called to meet in London on June 5.

Correspondence passed between the President of the American Federation of Labor and Sir Walter Citrine dealing with this subject. In this correspondence the President of the American Federation of Labor made clear the reasons why the American Federation of Labor could not and would not participate in such a world conference.

On May 3, 1944, Sir Walter Citrine publicly announced that the plans to hold a world conference of alleged representatives of Labor were cancelled and that no such conference would be held. This ended the matter. The conference was never held and because of that fact the Executive Council considers the matter a closed incident.

WORLD PEACE

While war has long been the major enemy of human happiness and comfort, it has been accepted as a political instrumentality necessary both for aggression and in defense of liberty. There was much hope put in the Kellogg-Briand pact outlawing war as a political instrumentality. But we neglected to increase the procedures and agencies which a nation must exhaust before resorting to war and we neglected to lodge somewhere authority to compel appeal to decision by peaceful means. The League of Nations also was not effective in dealing with aggression.

The Second World War has mobilized all technical progress for incredible destruction so that the total labor force must be available for essential and needed work and for service in the armed forces. There is no longer possible a distinction between non-combat civilian workers and citizens in the armed forces. The whole of national life must be geared to the efforts on the

fighting front. We now have the robot bombs used against the homeland of the British army—thus extending the fighting front to the whole nation.

War has become so terrifyingly efficient as to menace our whole civilization. We have every reason to seek a peace founded on justice and to help build up the agencies for the peaceful adjustment of problems and situations such as have resulted in wars.

Peace Proposals. The American Federation of Labor believes that the United States has a responsibility for helping to plan and operate agencies to keep the peace between nations; to determine policies in promotion of world economic welfare; to develop an adequate body of international law with a world court of justice. Any world organization responsible for keeping the peace must have the means to prevent aggression.

The Federation believes that regional organization should be formed to deal with regional problems and to promote regional welfare covering such areas as the Pacific, Asia, Pan-America, Africa, Continental Europe or federations thereof. Federation in regional organizations would give small countries more effective protection and participation in progress.

We must safeguard the rights of individual nations while promoting international security.

The Federation believes the four fighting United Nations have a responsibility for submitting proposals to other nations and for taking the initiative in setting up such institutions as are agreed upon by representative nations.

International Labor. Labor, like all other functional groups in our national life, shall need representation in those international economic conferences and agencies dealing with matters which affect our welfare.

In connection with international labor conferences or agencies under governmental auspices, we reserve the right to select our own delegates.

In organizing our bona fide international labor organization we necessarily must insist that the basis be representative, bona fide trade union organizations.

SPECIAL REPORTS FROM DEPARTMENTS AND U. S. TERRITORIES

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

In compliance with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, this brief report of the activities of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor is submitted for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944.

By a resolution at the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, the convention took action not to elect a president, but gave authority to the Executive Council to appoint an acting president until the next convention. Richard J. Gray was appointed as Acting-President and served in that capacity until April 30, 1944, at which time he resigned but agreed to carry on and represent the Department on the Board of Review.

The Executive Council at its April meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, took action regarding the rendering of decisions on questions of jurisdictional disputes. It was voted that the resident members of the Executive Council

would make the decisions and they were then to be sent out by the Secretary-Treasurer.

The officers of this Department have at all times cooperated with the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor, officials of other departments of the American Federation of Labor and they in turn have given the Department the fullest degree of cooperation on legislative matters.

Since the last convention, a Bi-Partisan Wage Adjustment Board was set up under General Order No. 13, adopted October 13, 1943, by Secretary of Labor Perkins. The representatives of the building and construction trades are Harry C. Bates, Robert Byron and Herbert Rivers and, as alternates, Michael F. Garrett, John McCurry, John W. Garvey, William McCarthy and O. William Blaier.

This Department has cooperated with the War Department, Army and Navy to the greatest of their ability in assisting with the war effort in order to expedite all building and construction work.

This Department has also assisted as much as possible in the recruitment of building and construction tradesmen to man the various army and navy jobs throughout the country.

The finances of the Building and Construction Trades Department are in excellent condition and all affiliated national and international Unions are in good standing with the Department and will be represented at the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention.

We wish to take this opportunity to thank President Green, Secretary-Treasurer Meany and the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for their cooperation in matters affecting the Building and Construction Trades Department.

THE METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Since the Boston Convention, 1943, the international unions comprising the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and the cooperating international unions—United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators; and International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Warehousemen—have experienced an encouraging increase in membership.

Many of the members of these international unions are employed in the shipbuilding industry, which is covered by zone standards agreements, and on the Pacific Coast by the Master Shipbuilding Agreement. As the procurement agencies for the prosecution of the war are the customers for the work done in shipbuilding, their policy has been, to a large extent, a dominating factor. The shipbuilders, controlled by instructions from the procurement agencies, are much less free to negotiate with their organized employees than they were during peace times.

Some marked differences of opinion have developed between the procurement agencies and the Metal Trades Department over the construction to be placed upon certain agreements and the provisions of others. With the

exception of two outstanding questions, these differences have been adjusted through direct conferences with the heads of the procurement agencies, or through district conferences in which the procurement agencies' representatives took part.

In the other war production metal industries, the international unions comprising the Metal Trades Department have made encouraging progress. One outstanding accomplishment was the defeat of the effort made by the State National Labor Relations Board in Utah to determine what the jurisdiction should be between international unions. Involved was the question of whether an employer could legitimately negotiate an agreement with trade unions before employment on the project began. It was the first time that any state or federal agency had endeavored to hand down jurisdictional decisions or deny management's right to negotiate agreements in building construction prior to beginning operations.

The validity of agreements between our international unions, or their members, with employers, was again sustained by the action of Congress in June of this year, which reaffirmed the action taken in June, 1943, which denied the exercise of discretionary authority by the National Labor Relations Board in the case of all trade union agreements with employers which had been in existence for three months or more without protest being filed. In its effort the Metal Trades Department gratefully acknowledges the assistance received from the American Federation of Labor.

It is probable that the international unions comprising the Metal Trades Department will give adequate consideration to the problems facing the metal working international unions when peace comes. It is anticipated that a thorough-going program for the future will be reached.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor during the past year has pursued the same policy that it adopted in 1934. Our principal objectives are publicizing union labels, shop cards and service buttons adopted by the fifty national and international labor unions directly affiliated with our Department and also promoting the sales and services of manufacturers and merchandisers who employ only members of American Federation of Labor unions.

Union labels, shop cards and service buttons are the official insignia of certain A. F. of L. unions displayed to designate that their products are union made and that their services are *union* throughout. These emblems are really the "trade-marks" of the American Federation of Labor but they stand for much more than mere "brand names." They represent economic justice for the human element in industry. They stand for sanitary conditions both for workers in factories and for the products that are made by them. Union labels, shop cards and service buttons stand for American labor union standards established by the American Federation of Labor over the past sixty years. They are the symbols of human relations and not of commodities.

The union label cause is like a religion with our enthusiasts who are like

evangelists spreading the gospel and demanding that consumers hit the sawdust trail for union label goods and union services in order to gain industrial salvation. They inaugurate a union label campaign with all the fervor of the crusaders of old. They hold their union label banners high and are undaunted by skeptics and sweat-shoppers who try to discourage them. These union label boosters do not live in the past. They look forward to a *new day*. They demand the union label, shop card and service button *now* because they desire to maintain American Federation of Labor union standards for their children. They are planning for the post-war period and the future.

More than anything else union labels, shop cards and service buttons are the emblems of a wage adequate to buy *back* the full production created by union labor, thereby eliminating the cause of industrial depressions.

Outstanding economists inform us that if wages are reduced after the war we shall witness one of the worst depressions in history. Wages must be increased, they estimate, from 25 to 30 per cent after our war industries are closed in order to sustain the present purchasing power. There is no other way, or at least no better way, to maintain American wages for our workers than to buy *back* union label goods and use union services. Union label buying means greater economic stability for America. It also means normal prosperity because with low wages there is not sufficient buying power to keep America on even a normal level.

Union labels, shop cards and service buttons stand for hours sufficient to produce the goods necessary to absorb the mass purchasing power of all consumers, a vast majority of whom are workers. With the increased use of new inventions and machinery, hours must be continually reduced in order to maintain full employment of all the returning veterans as well as the workers discharged from our munitions industries when peace comes again.

In addition to the regular activities of the Union Label Trades Department, our officials and staff have contributed to our war effort. We have been very active in the Office of Price Administration, the sale of war bonds and stamps, the Red Cross, and especially the Nutrition Programs Branch of the War Food Administration.

The Union Label Trades Department inaugurated a campaign for free union label cigarettes for our fighting men overseas. The officials of the Union Label Trades Department take this opportunity to thank the American Federation of Labor, national and international unions, state federations of labor, central labor unions and local unions for their splendid cooperation in our campaign for free union label "smokes" for all the members of our armed forces overseas. Millions of cigarettes have been purchased by members of American Federation of Labor unions. From all battle areas A. F. of L. unions have individually received letters of gratitude from our fighting heroes. Unquestionably, these voluntary gifts of union label cigarettes have built good will for organized labor among our fighting forces in every war zone.

On the regular program of activities of the Union Label Trades Department are editorials, news releases, cartoons, and other union label features

for the Labor Press; the 1944 Union Label Catalogue-Directory, the Union Label Leagues, women's auxiliaries and the preparation of literature for general distribution to all labor unions.

Each activity will be described in greater detail under a special caption in the balance of the report of the Union Label Trades Department to the American Federation of Labor.

Editorials, News Releases and Cartoons. This is the 10th Anniversary of the Union Label Feature Service of our Department. Included in the many news releases are timely articles describing the various activities of affiliated unions in relation to their use of union labels, shop cards or service buttons; editorials in connection with cartoons, mats of which are furnished to the Labor Press. We also furnish to the Labor Press pictorial features from photographs of exhibits, new union label products, and other activities. These releases and pictorial features are widely carried by the official monthly labor journals, weekly labor newspapers, and also publications that are not strictly labor periodicals. It will be noted by casual observance of labor journals and newspapers that many of the features that are not timely in their nature are reprinted from year to year on Labor Day, Christmas, the Fourth of July and other holidays and seasonal events.

In addition to the regular features that are released to all the Labor Press, many special articles are prepared by the Department for the annuals of state federations of labor, local directories, special editions, labor programs and for the daily newspapers.

The *American Federationist*, official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor, has carried special feature stories for the Union Label Trades Department. It has also printed advertisements of union labels, shop cards and service buttons and cooperated by printing advertisements of our campaign for free union label cigarettes for soldiers overseas.

We hereby acknowledge the fine cooperation that we have received from the Labor Press, which includes the official monthly labor journals, weekly labor newspapers and other labor periodicals.

Radio Speeches. The Union Label Trades Department continues its effort to obtain time on the national radio networks and local broadcasting stations to carry the message of the union label to the general public. During the past year our Secretary-Treasurer appeared on four radio programs, one of which was the "Labor for Victory" program.

In several cities the central labor unions and other labor organizations have a regular weekly broadcast of labor news. These programs usually carry favorable mention of the various campaigns for the union labels, shop cards and service buttons.

Union Label Catalogue-Directory. The 1944 Union Label Catalogue-Directory was issued in March and has been distributed among officials and members of national and international unions, state federations of labor, central labor unions, union label leagues and committees, organizers, and secretaries of women's auxiliaries as well as union manufacturers and merchandisers. This catalogue-directory is the only official union label buyers'

guide in America and advertising is confined exclusively to unionized concerns. The Union Label Catalogue-Directory serves as a reference book on union label goods and union services for officials of all branches of the American Federation of Labor.

In addition to the Union Label Catalogue-Directory issued by the Union Label Trades Department, many union label committees, composed of representatives of central labor unions, women's auxiliaries and union label leagues continue to issue local union label buyers' guides in many cities throughout the United States.

In-plant Feeding. Our Secretary-Treasurer is a member of the Advisory Committee of the Civilian Food Requirements Branch of the War Food Administration. The objective of the industrial feeding program is to provide industrial workers with the food they need on the job to protect their health and to assure highest efficiency in production. Its goal for this year in manufacturing industries is to have in-plant feeding service made available for about ten million workers or about 60 per cent of those engaged in manufacturing. It is now estimated that five million workers in approximately half of the United States manufacturing plants engaged in war work can now obtain nutritious meals on the job. Another half million in other manufacturing industries also have access to food on the job. Our survey shows that 81 per cent of the workers employed in the manufacture of war supplies were in plants having some type of food service facilities. It has been the policy of the Union Label Trades Department to assure an adequate amount of food of the highest quality, at the most reasonable prices, for all war workers. We desire to express our appreciation to the various branches of the War Food Administration for the splendid cooperation we have received in this war effort.

Nutrition and Labor. The Union Label Trades Department is issuing weekly articles on the subject of "Nutrition and Labor" in cooperation with Dr. Mark Graubard, in charge of Labor Education, Nutrition Programs Branch, War Food Administration. These features have been quite generally printed in the Labor Press and have proven very popular among lecturers on food and nutrition, both before civilian organizations and the army and navy. There is still a great demand for the booklet "Nutrition and Labor."

These weekly releases laid the ground work for Labor's Food and Nutrition Conference held in Boston in October 1943; the exhibit, "Food in War and Peace," held at the same time, and for a traveling exhibit on the subject of "Food of All Nations," which has been displayed in many cities during the last year. These exhibits have been sponsored by the Union Label Trades Department in cooperation with the War Food Administration and have been extremely popular wherever they have been shown.

Movies have been made of the various booths and displayed at food conferences and conventions. These activities have received great praise from high officials of the government.

Great interest was shown in Labor's Conference on Food and Nutrition, sponsored by the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation

of Labor, held in Boston, Massachusetts, October 9, 1943, in the convention hall of the Hotel Statler. Few wartime activities of the Union Label Trades Department have aroused more interest than this conference. The problem is so closely merged in Labor's interest pertaining to rationing, equitable distribution of food and proper nutrition that the importance of this vital subject cannot be overlooked by the organized labor movement. The actions and recommendations of this conference will benefit not only American working men but also the nation as a whole.

In conjunction with the conference, an exhibit on food in war and peace was set up on the convention floor. The exhibit attracted crowds of interested spectators.

A.F.L.-Union Label Exhibit. The American Federation of Labor and the Union Label Trades Department sponsored a booth at the Twentieth Annual Women's International Exposition of Arts and Industries in Madison Square Garden, New York City, the week of November 22 through 28, 1943. The booth was complete with displays to demonstrate the war and post-war activities of the American Federation of Labor. The exhibit attracted a large number of spectators who were enthusiastic over the A. F. of L. Union Label exhibit.

The Union Label Trades Department distributed a pamphlet entitled "War-time Food Information," which included menus, recipes and other food suggestions and which proved to be very practical and popular among those in attendance at the exhibit. One of the panels displayed the war bond activities of the American Federation of Labor. It showed that A. F. of L. workers have purchased \$2 billion in war bonds since Pearl Harbor and have pledged to buy another billion during this year.

Union labels, shop cards and service buttons were displayed on the entrance and exit panels to the booth.

Other panels in the interior and on the exterior of the booth depicted what the American Federation of Labor and the affiliated women's auxiliaries have done in the past to increase the standards of American workers and also what these great organizations are now doing to help win the war.

This is the second time the American Federation of Labor and the Union Label Trades Department have collaborated in this annual event. Due to the fact that New York City is the center of the greatest number of people in America, we believe that it is worth while to participate in order to build good will for the Union Label Trades Department.

Victory Recipe-Menu Contest. The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor offered \$700.00 in war bonds and stamps as prizes in the Victory Recipe-Menu Contest for the best recipe of the principal dish of the main meal and menus for all three daily meals. This contest received the highest praise from officials of the federal government who are in charge of food and nutrition.

Thousands of copies of the announcement of the Victory Recipe-Menu Contest, together with the rules and a cut of the Basic Seven Food Groups' Chart, issued by the government, were distributed among officials and members

of labor organizations. The contest closed May 31 and the prizes have been awarded.

Primarily, this is a war activity but the fact that it was sponsored by the Union Label Trades Department gives a great deal of prestige to our work on the problem of food and nutrition. Every circular and every radio announcement regarding the Victory Recipe-Menu Contest carried the message that it was sponsored by the Union Label Trades Department and proved to the public, generally, that we are alive to the necessity of solving this most vital problem of food and nutrition and also that we are giving our all-out effort to win the war on the home front.

The announcement and rules of the contest were printed in the Congressional Record by Hon. Joseph C. O'Mahoney, United States Senator from Wyoming, and 50,000 copies were sent out through his office. In addition to these speeches, which are not printed at the expense of the government, the Congressional Record, itself, has a wide circulation.

American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor. The Union Label Trades Department, through the secretary-treasurer, is continuing to cooperate with the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor. We feel that there is no better market for union label goods than the women members of the labor unionists' family and that an educational campaign for union labels, shop cards and service buttons which has been instituted among the various women's auxiliaries is far more effective than any other method of reaching this union label-conscious market. The members of the A.F.W.A.L. are usually the heads of the household who make 90 per cent of the purchases for trade unionists' homes.

Officers of women's auxiliaries are playing a vital part in civilian war activities in addition to their support of all campaigns for union label goods and union services. Members of the A.F.W.A.L. are active in war bond drives, enforcement of O.P.A. price regulations, Red Cross, local nutrition committees and all the campaigns to save food and other vital materials for our war effort.

The president of the A.F.W.A.L., Mrs. Herman H. Lowe, appeared before the Senate Banking Currency Committee in support of the extension of the Emergency Price Control Act and has also attended numerous conferences with other leaders in every phase of our war effort.

Conclusion. The United States Government is the largest single purchaser of goods at the present time and it does not require that manufacturers place a union label on each article. Eighty-five per cent of the goods are union made, but there is no label to designate this fact. Consumers, generally, do not know whether or not a certain brand or product with merely a trade name is union made unless it has a union label on it. In fact, many articles that are manufactured by concerns that have company unions or employ members of other unions than members of the American Federation of Labor place the words "union made" on their products. Every official and member of American Federation of Labor unions, whether or not they are affiliated

with the Union Label Trades Department, are urged to put an all-out effort in demanding the union label, shop card and service button.

The Union Label Trades Department acknowledges the splendid cooperation it has received in the past from the officials of the American Federation of Labor, national and international unions, Building and Construction Trades Department, Metal Trades Department, Railway Employees' Department, state federations of labor, central labor unions, local unions, American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor, Union Label Leagues, and the international railway labor unions that are not affiliated with the A. F. of L. It is only through the assistance of these various heads of our affiliated and unaffiliated unions, together with the various Departments, that we are able to carry our message through to the members of the American Federation of Labor. We must continue to do everything possible to see that when wartime industries are reconverted into factories making civilian goods that the union label is displayed on all union made goods. One of the best ways of promoting the sale of union label goods is to continually demand the union label from merchandisers and manufacturers. The fundamental method of obtaining the display of union labels, shop cards and service buttons is to write a provision into each contract with an employer definitely stating that the union label shall appear on all goods and that the shop card or service button shall designate all services.

We recommend the buying of union label goods and using union services as the best post-war plan that has yet been suggested or devised. It will do more to maintain American standards than any other proposal that has come to our attention. It is the kind of a job that trade unionists know how to do and have been doing so conscientiously since the union label idea was first established sixty years ago. When trade unionists spend their union-earned money for union goods and union services, they are giving the best answer to anti-union propagandists and sweatshoppers who are trying to destroy the union labor movement and at the same time the American standards of living.

Just as Old Glory, the American Eagle and the Statue of Liberty are the symbols of our great republic which are setting an example for peoples of all nations, union labels, shop cards and service buttons are the emblems that set standards for wage earners all over the world who are striving to obtain industrial justice and economic freedom.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

The Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations have continued to make progress in extending their organizations and improving the wages and working conditions of the employees they represent. The dominant feature of this year's activities was the settlement of the nation-wide wage dispute involving substantially all of the railroads in the country. In addition, numerous agreements have been improved and sub-standard wage rates levelled up. Recently a movement was begun to liberalize the vacation agreement of the non-operating railway employees, while in

Canada a movement has just been concluded resulting in an increase in wage rates for Canadian railway workers.

Progress of Organization. Substantially all of the railroad mileage in the United States is now under agreement with the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations. In June, 1944, these agreements covered the mechanical trades employees on 94.2 per cent of the Class I railways and 94.5 per cent of the Class I railway mileage in the United States. There are, however, a few railroads which still remain to be organized and progress has been made in extending organization to these roads. During the past year representation has been established on six railroads not previously organized and for one or more crafts on ten railroads on which representation was established for some of the crafts. But the chief emphasis has been on the negotiation of revised agreements. In addition to thirteen new agreements which have been secured, twenty agreements have been revised, making a total of thirty-three agreements which have been negotiated during the year.

Wage-Union Shop Movement. The wage-union shop movement inaugurated by the following Fifteen Cooperating Standard Railway Labor Organizations in 1942 was still unsettled when our report was made to the last convention:

International Association of Machinists.

International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

Sheet Metal Workers' International Association.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America.

International Brotherhood of Firemen, Oilers, Helpers, Round House and Railway Shop Laborers.

The Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association.

International Longshoremen's Association.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

As was previously reported, notices were served by these organizations on the carriers on September 25, 1942, for an increase in wage rates of twenty cents per hour and the establishment of a minimum rate of seventy cents an hour and the union shop. Failing to reach an agreement on the individual properties in national conferences or through mediation, the organizations secured the appointment of an Emergency Board Panel which was composed of Messrs. I. L. Sharfman, Chairman; Walter T. Fisher and John A. Fitch. After conducting extensive hearings, the Board filed its report with

the President on May 24, 1943, and recommended an increase in wages of eight cents per hour but denied the establishment of a minimum rate or the union shop.

The recommendations of the Board would have become final after thirty days. On June 22, 1943, one day before the expiration of the thirty-day period, the Economic Stabilization Director, Mr. Fred Vinson, disapproved the increase. Later, on June 30, 1943, he issued an opinion stating that only the adjustment of sub-standard rates could be considered and suggested that the Emergency Board reconsider its findings and recommendations accordingly.

Although the Board was automatically dissolved with the filing of its report, the Chairman advised the Stabilization Director on June 30, 1943, that his suggestion was unworkable and further that there was no reason why the Emergency Board should change its original recommendations since they were made after careful consideration of all the facts and in the interest of safeguarding the stabilization program.

On August 7, 1943, an agreement was signed by the representatives of the carriers and the employees providing for an increase in wage rates of eight cents per hour effective February 1, 1943, as recommended by the Emergency Board. The Stabilization Director again objected to a uniform increase for all employees and indications were he would decline to approve the agreement. A sliding scale of wage increases was, therefore, proposed by the organizations representing the non-operating employees, but the government then took the position that no further action could be taken on the matter until after the report of the Emergency Board hearing the case of the operating employees, i.e., the engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen and switchmen, was filed with the President. When this report, recommending an increase of four cents per hour, was filed on September 25, 1943, the government declined to accept the sliding scale proposed by the organizations representing the non-operating employees. Instead, the President appointed another Emergency Board on October 16, 1943, consisting of Messrs. E. R. Shaw, Chairman; R. F. Mitchell and W. C. Clephane to reconsider the claims of these employees.

It is important to observe that the authority of this Special Board, unlike the emergency boards appointed from the National Railway Labor Panel, was limited, since it could recommend only such adjustments as were "within the limitations of the Act of October 2, 1942, and the Executive Orders thereunder, and in conformity with the opinion of the Economic Stabilization Director of June 30, 1943." All emergency boards, in filing reports, are required to certify that their recommendations are in conformity with the Stabilization Act and the Executive Orders of the President, and this was done by the first Board, but, in setting up this second Board, the stipulation that the adjustments recommended be in conformity with the opinion of the Stabilization Director of June 30, 1943, was tantamount to saying that the Board's recommendation should be limited to the adjustments therein suggested. In other words, the function of this Board was purely advisory.

On October 16, 1943, the Stabilization Director also approved the increase

recommended by the Emergency Board for the operating employees and in his opinion stated that the non-operating employees were entitled to an increase but that it should be based on sub-standards of living and inter-related job classifications and therefore the increases for the non-operating employees should bear some relation to the increase approved for the operating employees.

The Shaw Board, which, it should be noted, was the second board appointed to consider the case of the non-operating employees, held a one-day hearing on October 28 at which the employees took the position that the Board was illegally constituted, and further, that a mutually satisfactory agreement had been reached with the carriers and therefore no dispute existed. But on November 4, 1943, the Board filed its report with the President and recommended a sliding scale increase ranging from four to ten cents per hour as follows:

- All wages less than 47 cents per hour to be increased 10 cents per hour.
- All those receiving 47 cents and less than 57 cents per hour to be increased 9 cents per hour.
- All those receiving 57 cents and less than 70 cents per hour to be increased 8 cents per hour.
- All those receiving 70 cents and less than 80 cents per hour to be increased 7 cents per hour.
- All those receiving 80 cents and less than 90 cents per hour to be increased 6 cents per hour.
- All those receiving 90 cents and less than 97 cents per hour to be increased 5 cents per hour.
- All those receiving 97 cents and over per hour to be increased 4 cents per hour.

These increases were approved by the Stabilization Director on November 8, 1943, to become effective November 19, 1943. They were not put into effect by the carriers, however, because the organizations took the position that the agreement of August 7, 1943, could not be amended without concurrence of the organizations signatory thereto and the Stabilization Director was so advised on November 21, 1943, in a joint letter signed by representatives of the carriers and the organizations. In his reply the Stabilization Director took the position that the carriers were legally required to put the increases into effect. Accordingly, the carriers advised the Stabilization Director on December 10, 1943, that they would comply, but on the same day the organizations invoked the services of the National Mediation Board. That Board accepted jurisdiction, so under the Railway Labor Act, which requires that the *status quo* be maintained, the wage increases could not be put into effect.

The recommendation approved by the Stabilization Director for the operating employees was unacceptable and, therefore, the organizations representing these employees announced on December 15, 1943, that as the result of a ballot among the employees a strike was authorized to begin at 6 a.m. on December 30, 1943. On the same day the National Mediation Board intervened in this dispute and advised it would begin mediation proceedings in

Chicago on December 20, 1943, in accordance with the provisions of the Railway Labor Act. On December 17, the President requested the representatives of these organizations to meet with him in Washington on December 19, so the Board was obliged to postpone its mediation proceedings.

The President, when he met with representatives of the operating employees and the carriers, suggested that they accept the increase of four cents per hour approved by the Stabilization Director and confer on the question of granting an additional increase in lieu of overtime after forty hours per week and expenses away from home as well as a one-week vacation with pay. Conferences were begun immediately but on December 23 reached a deadlock. Upon being advised of this situation, the President called in the representatives of these organizations and the carriers and requested that he be permitted to decide the controversy. The representatives of the trainmen and the carriers immediately agreed to abide by his decision. The representatives of the four other operating organizations were required to take the matter up with their committees, however. Later the representative of the engineers' organization also accepted the President's proposal to arbitrate the dispute, but the representatives of the locomotive firemen, conductors and switchmen declined to accept his proposal.

Meanwhile, on December 20, 1943, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce deferred action until January 10, 1944, on S. J. Res. 91, which had been previously passed by the Senate on December 9, 1943. This legislation would have permitted the agreement of August 7, 1943, covering the non-operating employees to become effective. Since all reasonable efforts to secure a satisfactory settlement had failed and it was clear that no relief could be secured by legislation, the representatives of the non-operating employees, after canvassing the ballot taken among the employees, authorized a strike for 6 a.m. on December 30, 1943, the same as was done by the operating employees.

On December 23, 1943, after he met with the representatives of the operating employees and the carriers and received their reply to his proffer of arbitration, the President called in the representatives of the fifteen non-operating organizations and made a similar proposal. Convinced that they had exhausted every possible effort to secure the increase of 8 cents per hour as provided in the Agreement of August 7, 1943, and that the government was determined to adhere to Judge Vinson's action providing for a sliding scale increase of 4 to 10 cents per hour, the representatives of the fifteen non-operating organizations decided that further resistance was futile and therefore agreed to accept the graduated scale recommended by the Shaw Board. Since a wage increase was the only issue in the strike ballot, it was also decided that the strike should be cancelled. In addition, the President had previously indicated in May, 1943, that railroad workers, who were the only large group of employees not covered by the hours provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act, should get overtime after 40 hours per week, and it was contemplated that this matter would be taken up after the wage issue was settled. Consequently, it was proposed to the President that in addition

to accepting the Vinson wage award and cancelling the strike, an amount in lieu of overtime after 40 hours per week be granted to the non-operating employees. It was further suggested that this matter be the subject of negotiations with the carriers.

The proposal was acceptable, subject to approval of the Stabilization Director, and the matter was discussed with the carriers on December 24, but no agreement could be reached. On December 27 the President handed down an award in the case of the engineers and trainmen providing that in addition to the increase of 4 cents per hour recommended by the Emergency Board and approved by Judge Vinson, an increase of 5 cents per hour should be granted in lieu of overtime after 40 hours per week and away-from-home expenses. A one-week vacation with pay was also granted to these employees. The fifteen organizations representing the non-operating employees, therefore, advised the President on December 27 of their inability to reach an agreement with the carriers on the question of overtime pay after 40 hours per week and asked that he decide the question "shall the non-operating group receive the benefits of overtime after 40 hours per week offered to the operating group?" The President was also advised of the cancellation of the strike and the National Mediation Board was requested to cancel the invocation of its services since the wage dispute was considered settled.

Later in the day, after these developments occurred, the President issued an Executive Order by which the government took possession of the railroads. Under this order the Army was authorized to operate the railroads and all wage rates were frozen.

On December 29, 1943, the President was again asked by the non-operating employees to decide the question of compensation in lieu of overtime after 40 hours per week, but in deference to the carriers' position he advised on December 30 that he could not arbitrate the question of overtime unless he could also consider the question of wages. It was the position of the organizations that the wage question was settled and under no circumstances could it be considered as being pertinent to the settlement of the overtime issue. Accordingly, the President was advised on December 31, 1943, that arbitration of the question on the basis proposed by him was unacceptable.

On January 5, 1944, without previous notice to the fifteen non-operating organizations, the President issued an Executive Order reconvening the Shaw Emergency Board. This third Board was directed "to consider the unsettled claims for wage adjustments of the non-operating employees and recommend . . . such wage adjustments, if any, as should be made within the limitations of the Act of October, 1942, and the Executive Orders thereunder." Further conferences with the carriers and with Lt. General Sommervell, who was in charge of operating the railroads for the government, failed to produce an agreement, so the Emergency Board began hearings on January 13, 1944. After a brief session, however, the hearings were recessed on the request of the organizations in order that another effort might be made to reach a settlement. This also proved unavailing so the hearings were resumed

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

the next day and continued until January 15 when the Board, on the basis of certain material introduced at the hearings, suggested that the parties meet and, if possible, reach a settlement. These conferences resulted in the signing of an agreement on January 17, 1944, disposing of the controversy and providing for the following wage adjustments:

Rates of Pay	Increase Effective		
	Feb. 1 1943 (Cents)	Dec. 27 1943* (Cents)	Total Inc. (Cents)
Less than 47c per hour.....	10	1	11
47c and less than 57c per hour.....	9	1	10
57c and less than 70c per hour.....	8	1	9
70c and less than 80c per hour.....	7	2	9
80c and less than 90c per hour.....	6	3	9
90c and less than 97c per hour.....	5	4	9
Over 97c per hour.....	4	5	9

*In lieu of overtime after 40 hours per week.

Three of the non-operating organizations, i.e., the organizations representing the clerical station and express employees, machinists and blacksmiths, signed a somewhat similar agreement with the Railway Express Agency on January 18, 1944, which provided for the following increases in wage rates:

Rates of Pay	Increase Effective		
	Feb. 1 1943 (Cents)	Dec. 27 1943* (Cents)	Total Inc. (Cents)
Less than 47c per hour.....	10	1	11
47c and less than 57c per hour.....	9	1	10
57c and less than 70c per hour.....	8	1	9
70c and less than 80c per hour.....	7	2	9
80c and less than 90c per hour.....	6	2	8
90c and less than 97c per hour.....	5	2½	7½
Over 97c per hour.....	4	3	7

*In lieu of overtime after 40 hours per week.

These agreements were approved by the Economic Stabilization Director on January 18, 1944, and placed into effect immediately.

Meanwhile, agreements were also reached in the disputes involving the operating employees.

On the basis of the President's award, the organizations representing the engineers and trainmen signed an agreement with the carriers on December 27, 1943, providing for an increase in wage rates of 4 cents per hour effective April 1, 1943, and an additional increase of 5 cents per hour effective December 27, 1943, in lieu of overtime after 40 hours per week and away-from-home expenses. The agreement also provided for a one-week vacation with pay.

On January 14, 1944, the organizations representing the locomotive firemen, conductors and switchmen also signed an agreement with the carriers providing for similar increases and vacations with pay. Unlike the agreement signed by the engineers and trainmen, however, which provided that the

increase in lieu of overtime and away-from-home expenses and vacations with pay would terminate with the cessation of hostilities, the agreement covering the locomotive firemen, conductors and switchmen was subject only to the provisions of the Railway Labor Act which provides that a 30-day notice may be served by either party of a desire to change the agreement.

On January 18, 1944, the railroads were returned by the government to their private owners.

Canadian Railroad Wages. Early in the war, Canada inaugurated a price stabilization program which, in addition to controlling prices and profits, provided for the regulation of wages through a cost-of-living bonus. By stabilizing profits and prices, it was believed that under the cost-of-living bonus plan, wages could likewise be stabilized. Under this plan, wage rates were frozen but a cost-of-living bonus was paid when the cost-of-living index published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics increased within certain fixed limits.

The first measure relating to the control of wages was Order in Council P. C. 7440 which became effective on December 16, 1940. This Order merely set forth the policy to be followed by Boards of Investigation and Conciliation in their recommendations on wages and affected only the industries covered by the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. Later it was replaced by the Wartime Wages and Cost-of-Living Bonus Order, P. C. 8253, effective October 24, 1941, which extended the coverage to substantially all industries except agriculture, fishing and non-profit organizations. Making the payment of a cost-of-living bonus compulsory, this Order stabilized wages at the level of November 15, 1941, and provided for the creation of the National War Labour Board. This Order was subsequently amended and incorporated in Wartime Wages Control Order, P. C. 5963, which became effective on July 14, 1942, and on December 9, 1943, this Order was again amended by P. C. 9384 to provide for the incorporation of the then existing bonus into the basic wage rates effective February 15, 1944.

Under the provisions of P. C. 7440, an agreement was entered into between the railway labor organizations and the railways providing for the payment of a cost-of-living bonus amounting to \$1.93 per week effective June 1, 1941. Later the cost-of-living bonus was increased to \$3.20 per week effective September 1, 1941, and following the promulgation of P. C. 8253 the bonus payments were increased to \$3.65 per week effective November 16, 1941. Under the provisions of P. C. 5963, the bonus payments were increased to \$4.25 per week effective August 16, 1942, and further to \$4.60 per week effective November 16, 1943. By the provisions of P. C. 9384, this bonus was incorporated into the basic rates.

Meanwhile, dissatisfaction with the cost-of-living bonus arrangement and the fact that basic railroad wage rates in Canada had not been increased since 1927, prompted the Standard Railway Labor Organizations to inaugurate a national movement which was designed to bring Canadian railway wage rates into substantial parity with those of railroad workers in the United States. The rates in both countries were similar prior to 1927, but

as the result of several increases granted to railway employees in the United States, particularly those granted in 1937 and 1941, totaling fifteen cents per hour, serious disparities were introduced into the Canadian railway wage structure. These disparities were further widened with the increase of 9 to 11 cents per hour granted to railway workers in the United States in January, 1944. Since the railway workers in both countries did identically the same work, it was felt that the discrimination against Canadian railway workers should be removed.

On July 31, 1943, notices were served on the Canadian railways by the following seventeen Standard Railway Labor Organizations:

- Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.
- Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.
- Order of Railway Conductors of America.
- Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
- The Order of Railroad Telegraphers.
- Commercial Telegraphers' Union.
- Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.
- International Association of Machinists.
- International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.
- International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.
- Sheet Metal Workers' International Association.
- International Moulders' Union of North America.
- United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the U. S. and Canada.
- International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.
- Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America.
- International Brotherhood of Firemen, Oilers, Helpers, Round House and Railway Shop Laborers.
- Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

Except for the amount of the request, a uniform notice was served by all of the organizations requesting that the negotiations be conducted on a national basis between conference committees representing all of the organizations and railways involved. The wage adjustments requested were as follows:

1. For the running trades classifications, i.e., engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen, yardmen, etc., an increase in existing basic wage rates to the extent necessary to equalize Canadian rates with rates paid for comparable service in the Eastern United States, plus any amount by which such rates may be increased as a result of negotiations and hearings now being conducted in the United States.

2. For all other classifications involved an increase in basic wage rates of 23 cents per hour.

The Canadian Pacific Railway and the Canadian National Railways acknowledged the notices on August 24, 1943. These railways, which, with

their subsidiaries, represent the greater part of Canadian railway mileage, took the position that because of the wartime wages control policy of the government, as embodied in P. C. 5963 under which a cost-of-living bonus was then being paid, and as a result of the agreement entered into in July, 1941, between the organizations and the railways with reference to the payment of a cost-of-living bonus under the terms of P. C. 7440, the notices served by the organizations were without effect. The railways, therefore, declined the request of the employees for a national conference to discuss the proposed wage request, but did indicate that they would be willing to meet with the representatives of the employees to explain or amplify their position.

On August 28, 1943, the employees repeated their request for discussion of the wage proposal on a national basis, because the railways had not made clear in their reply whether they were willing to appoint a national conference committee for this purpose. The railways, in replying to this request on August 31, took the same position as in their previous letter, but named a committee to meet with the representatives of the employees to make any desired explanation of the railways' position.

The employees advised the Railways' Conference Committee on September 1, 1943, that an Employees' Conference Committee had been selected, and supplied the names of committee members. This committee, on September 14, made a full reply to the position of the railways, advising that since the railways were unwilling to discuss the request of the employees for an increase in basic wage rates on a national basis, the matter was being referred to the National War Labour Board.

Meanwhile, no reply having been received to the notices served on five small railways not represented by the Railways' Conference Committee, a communication was also addressed to these railways on September 14, 1943, reviewing the correspondence exchanged with the Railways' Conference Committee and stating that the wage dispute involving these railways was likewise being referred to the Board.

Accordingly, an application was filed with the National War Labour Board by the employees on September 15, 1943, advising that a dispute existed over rates of pay and requesting that the Board issue a directive instructing all of the involved railways to apply the proposed increases as of September 1, 1943. Copies of the notices served on the railways, as well as the correspondence between the representatives of the employees and the railways leading up to the application, were also furnished to the Board.

As required by the rules of the Board, the employees filed a brief in support of their requests on December 11, 1943. Later, when the wage agreements granting increases in wages to railway employees in the United States were signed, supplemental briefs dealing with these increases were also filed with the Board on January 29, and March 27, 1944. The railways filed their brief with the Board on March 16, 1944, and the rebuttal brief of the employees was filed on April 13, 1944. Shortly thereafter, the Board set the date for the hearing.

Hearings were begun in Ottawa on May 4 and continued until May 6, 1944. Representatives of the employees and the railways appeared and presented the material previously filed with the Board. In addition, the railways filed a reply to the employees' rebuttal brief so the employees were permitted to file an answer after the close of the hearing. The Board took the case under advisement and on July 31, 1944, rendered its decision.

The Board ordered an increase of 6 cents per hour for all employees represented by the seventeen Standard Railway Labor Organizations retroactive to September 15, 1943; a similar increase was granted to the employees represented by the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, which had earlier presented a separate case to the Board. The Board did not deny that the granting of the full increase, necessary to bring Canadian railway wage rates up to those prevailing in the United States, was justified on the basis of the evidence presented, but rather took the position that 6 cents per hour was all that it could grant under the stabilization program, i.e., Order in Council P. C. 5963, which it was obliged to observe. It was the reasoning of the Board that under this Order, comparisons could not be made with wage rates in the United States and, therefore, its decision was made on the basis of comparisons with the wage rates paid in other industries in Canada.

Whether or not this increase will be acceptable to the Canadian railway workers remains to be seen. This matter, as well as certain questions growing out of the incorporation of the bonus into the basic rates, is now being considered by the Employees' Conference Committee and will, no doubt, be the subject of further negotiations with the railway managements.

Vacation Movement. The following fourteen Standard Railway Labor Organizations entered into an agreement with the railroads on December 17, 1941, providing for a 6-day vacation with pay after one year of service, except that for clerical employees and telegraphers, the agreement also provided for a vacation of 9 days with pay after 2 years of service and 12 days with pay after 3 years of service:

International Association of Machinists.

International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

Sheet Metal Workers' International Association.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America.

International Brotherhood of Firemen, Oilers, Round House and Railway Shop Laborers.

The Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association.
International Longshoremen's Association.

On June 26, 1944, these organizations served notice on the various railroads of a desire to amend the Vacation Agreement of December 17, 1941, to provide for a 12-day vacation after one year of service, 15 days after 2 years of service and 18 days after 3 years of service.

Conferences are now in progress and it is hoped that an agreement will be reached promptly, so that the amended vacation plan can be made effective for the year 1945.

Railroad Employment. As the tempo of the war has been stepped up, the demands made upon our railroads and their employees have become disproportionately greater. With the amount of highway transportation reduced by rubber and gasoline shortages and intercoastal shipping hampered by submarine warfare, the railroad industry has been required to carry almost the entire load. As a result, railroad traffic has increased tremendously.

Meanwhile, little or no additional equipment could be secured by the railroads because of material shortages, and additional manpower has been difficult to recruit owing to the demands of war industries and the higher wage rates paid in other industries generally. This has focused an increasingly heavier burden on the employees in the railroad industry, who, through longer hours and almost superhuman effort, have managed to meet essential traffic needs.

While railroad management, as well as shippers and others have made their contribution through greater utilization of available equipment, the manpower problem is still critical, notwithstanding the increase in railroad employment during the past year. The long hours and general acceleration which have been characteristic of railroad employment, particularly during recent months, have taken their toll, and railroad workers are becoming "tired."

It is now generally recognized that employees who are overworked and not given sufficient time off for rest and relaxation, lose their effectiveness, and this has become the most important single factor in the manpower situation in the railroad industry.

The extent to which freight traffic has increased is indicated by the number of revenue ton-miles handled, that is, the number of revenue tons carried one mile. According to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Class I railways handled approximately 730 billion revenue ton-miles in 1943, which is an increase of 80.1 per cent over the freight traffic handled during the last war in 1918, 63.2 per cent over the pre-war peak of 1929 and 118.9 per cent over the year 1939 when the present war began.

The number of revenue passenger miles has likewise increased. Approximately 85 billion revenue passenger miles were handled in 1943, which represents an increase of 99.2 per cent over 1918, 81.4 per cent over the pre-war peak year of 1920 and 173.5 per cent over the year 1939.

While railroad traffic has reached new record levels, railroad employment has shown a decline since the last war, although it has increased somewhat

since the present war began. According to the Interstate Commerce Commission, there was an average of 1,354,611 workers on Class I railways in 1943. This is a decline of 26.4 per cent since 1918 and 18.4 per cent since 1929, but represents an increase of 13.7 per cent since the pre-war year of 1939.

Thus while the efficiency of the railroad industry has increased vastly since the last war, the most significant fact which becomes apparent is that since the present war began, railroad traffic has more than doubled, with an increase in employment of only about 14 per cent. Notwithstanding this situation, however, the railroad industry has continued to meet essential traffic needs. It follows, therefore, that a sharp increase in production per man-hour, as well as longer hours under severe strain, have been necessary to accomplish this result.

Such a rapid pace cannot be continued for too long a period because the accumulation of industrial fatigue on a wide scale would seriously imperil our entire transportation system. Some additional employees have been recruited in recent months as is indicated by the increase of 4.6 per cent of railroad employment in June, 1944, over the same month last year. Moreover, additional railroad workers are likely to become available with the return of former railroad employees who are discharged from the service or employed in industries in which cut-backs occur. But the solution of the manpower problem in the railroad industry cannot be achieved solely through additional recruitments. Railroad workers, as has been stated, are becoming "tired" and unless corrective measures are taken immediately, serious results are sure to follow.

It has been the consistent belief of the Standard Railway Labor Organizations that the manpower problem in the railroad industry must be viewed realistically on the basis of the particular needs of the industry. The closely interwoven character of railroad employment, where a mistake by any one man may spell disaster, requires employees of the highest skill and responsibility. For this reason the employment of foreign labor, prisoners of war, or workers of Japanese descent assigned by re-location centers, offers no solution. The railroad industry must be manned by responsible employees who are trained to do the job. Although there has been some employment of Mexican Nationals, principally on certain of the Southwestern carriers, the transportation needs of our country have been met for the most part by the railroad workers regularly attached to the industry. The demands made upon them have been such that some attention must be given immediately to the elimination of accumulated fatigue. This can be done by offering more rest and relaxation to existing forces. Meanwhile, steps must be taken to accelerate the return of former railroad workers to the railroad industry.

Amendments to the Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts. During the past year the Railroad Retirement Act was amended only slightly to extend the period during which prior service records may be collected, but extensive amendments are now before Congress which, in addition to providing more liberal benefits under both the Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts, would bring the Carriers' Taxing Act, now administered by the Bureau of Internal Revenue, under

the jurisdiction of the Railroad Retirement Board. Thus both the benefit and tax provisions of the retirement system would be administered by the Board, as is the case under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act.

By a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 227) passed by Congress and signed by the President on June 28, 1944, the Board was empowered to continue the collection of individual records of service and compensation prior to 1937, which was first authorized by a similar resolution on October 9, 1940. Under the new resolution, the collection of prior service records is extended until the balance of the original appropriation is expended, or until all the required data are obtained, whichever is earlier, but in no event later than July 1, 1945.

The most significant legislative development with respect to the Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts, however, was the introduction of the Railroad Social Insurance Bill in the Senate (S. 911) on May 11, 1944, by Senator Wagner (for himself and Senator Wheeler) and in the House of Representatives (H. R. 4805) on May 15, 1944, by Representative Cresser. This Bill, which has received the endorsement and active support of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, incorporates numerous suggestions which have come forward for improving and liberalizing the provisions of the present Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts. A general description of the outstanding provisions of the proposed Bill follows.

Four changes would be made in the present disability provisions of the Retirement Act: (1) an employee who became permanently and totally disabled for any regular employment would be eligible for an annuity regardless of age if he had 10 or more years of service or regardless of length of service if he was 60 years of age or over; (2) an employee who became permanently and totally disabled for work in his regular occupation would be eligible for an annuity regardless of age after 20 years of service or after 5 years of service if he was 60 years of age or over and, in either case, had a current connection with the railroad industry; (3) the reduction in a disability annuity payable to an employee aged 60 or over would be eliminated; and (4) the compensatory reduction in an age annuity payable to an employee who has been granted a disability annuity, but who recovers before attaining age 60, would be eliminated retroactively.

An employee would have a "current connection with the railroad industry" if he had at least 5 years of service and if in the 30 consecutive months immediately before the month in which his annuity began he had at least 12 months of service. The employee may substitute any other 30-month period, but if he does he must show that he did not work in any regular employment outside the railroad industry in the period after such 30 months and before the month in which his annuity begins.

Under the proposed Bill, survivor benefits would be more far-reaching than under the present Act. If an employee or annuitant, before his death, met certain qualifications in the way of service and compensation, survivor annuities would be payable (1) to the widow when she attains age 65 (unless she remarries); (2) to the widow before attaining age 65, if she has in

her care a child entitled to benefits (this benefit would cease if she remarried); (3) to a dependent child under 18; and (4) to a dependent parent when such parent attains age 65, if the deceased employee left no widow or unmarried child under 18. A lump sum benefit would be payable on the death of an insured employee or annuitant who left no survivors entitled to any of the survivor annuities described above. In addition, minimum annuities would be made more liberal.

The Bill also provides for a number of other changes which would facilitate administration. The concept of an "employment relation" as of August 29, 1935, would be broadened and retirement taxes would be collected by the Railroad Retirement Board instead of by the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Under the unemployment insurance provisions of the proposed Bill, the maximum number of days in a benefit year with respect to which benefits may be paid to an employee would be increased from 100 to 130. Benefits would be payable for days of sickness on substantially the same basis as for days of unemployment, and maternity benefits would be payable with respect to specified periods preceding and following childbirth.

To cover the increased cost of providing these additional benefits, the Bill provides for some increase in the taxes now included in the Carriers' Taxing Act, although no increase will be necessary in the 3 per cent tax on the carriers, which is provided under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. The net increase in retirement taxes, which are collected from the carriers and employees, would total 5 per cent. Of this amount 3½ per cent is necessary to cover the cost of the added retirement benefits above outlined, while 1½ per cent is to meet the cost of the present benefits because the present taxes are too low. The new tax rates, therefore, would be 5½ per cent on the employees and a like amount on the carriers for the years 1945, 1946 and 1947, instead of 3½ per cent as at present. In 1948, 1949 and 1950 the Bill fixes the rate at 6 per cent for the carriers and employees and in 1951 and thereafter this rate is increased to 6½ per cent.

The terms of the Bill had been under consideration for many months by the chiefs of the Standard Railway Labor Organizations. In response to numerous proposals submitted by the membership for changes in the Railroad Retirement and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts, the Railway Labor Executives' Association, whose affiliated organizations represent about 80 per cent of the railway workers of the country, appointed a committee on May 13, 1940, to study the various proposals submitted and recommend a program. After careful study, this committee, with the assistance of the Railroad Retirement Board, drafted a proposed Bill. Many of the changes suggested could not be included because the cost was prohibitive, so the Bill, which was introduced in Congress, contains only the most essential amendments consistent with reasonable taxes to meet the immediate needs of railway workers. Future needs and desires can, and will be met when conditions permit.

Hearings were begun on the Bill on May 23, 1944, before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Hearings before the Senate

Committee on Interstate Commerce have not yet been scheduled but a sub-committee of that body has been appointed to give consideration to this measure.

Employment Service of the Railroad Retirement Board. Under the provisions of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act the Railroad Retirement Board has set up an employment service which has been functioning on a nation-wide scale since 1940. This service, which is financed by the Unemployment Insurance Fund, is responsible for (1) obtaining labor for the railroad industry; (2) finding suitable jobs in the railroad industry for unemployed railroad workers; and (3) stabilizing employment within the industry so that the fullest use of existing personnel can be made. During the past year the employment service has continued the rapid expansion which has characterized this aspect of the Board's operations. At the present the majority of the field personnel in the Board's field network, which now consists of 9 regional offices, 45 district offices, 63 branch offices and 36 base points, are engaged almost exclusively in assisting the industry to meet its personnel needs.

In the 1943-44 fiscal year, placement activities attained an all-time high. Placements totaled 647,000 or more than three times the number in the preceding year and nearly 11 times the number in 1941-42.

During the year, the employment service was assigned many additional responsibilities under the employment stabilization program of the War Manpower Commission and was active in initiating and developing special projects to assist the industry in solving its manpower problems.

To channel a greater number of workers into the railroad industry, the War Manpower Commission, in August, 1943, issued an instruction bringing the industry officially within the scope of the employment stabilization program and supplementing the responsibilities of the Board previously established by a War Manpower Commission directive of April, 1943. Under the most recent instruction, the Board was authorized to issue statements of availability to railroad and certain non-railroad workers and to recruit and refer such workers to railroad jobs.

In May, 1943, under an agreement between the United States Government and the Republic of Mexico, the entry of Mexican Nationals into the United States for railroad track work was authorized. Since the program was put into operation, some 54,000 workers have been brought into the country. The Board has been authorized by the War Manpower Commission to recruit workers in Mexico, make arrangements for their transportation to work locations in the United States, keep all records relative to the program, inspect the camps at intervals, to insure that living and working conditions are satisfactory, and act as liaison agent between workers, employers, the War Manpower Commission, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and Mexican government officials.

Under this program, Mexican Nationals are brought in under contract for a period of six months which may be extended as conditions warrant, but all such workers must be returned to Mexico at the end of the war.

Their employment is authorized only where domestic workers are not available and they are paid the standard rates of pay and work under the conditions provided by the agreements with the organizations. Thus the importation of these workers is a temporary arrangement which was adopted to meet an emergency growing out of the shortage of laborers and will end with the conclusion of hostilities without greatly disturbing existing conditions.

Other programs which were designed to recruit manpower were also promoted by the Board. The employment of women, veterans, students and between-season agricultural workers was encouraged and training school programs were sponsored to train certain types of workers. In addition, special recruiting drives were inaugurated, notably the National Recruitment Drive, as well as several emergency freight-handler campaigns in the New York-New Jersey area. The Railway Labor Organizations, as well as the railway managements and other government agencies, cooperated with the Board in these programs.

Railroad Labor and the War. It is generally recognized that the railroads of the nation are doing a magnificent job considering the shortage of materials and cars and the other difficulties with which the industry has been confronted. The tremendous demands which have been made upon the railroads and their employees have been taken in stride, and great credit is due to both Management and Labor for their significant contribution to the winning of the war.

The war has presented many problems, and with their long experience in working out such problems together, the representatives of railroad management and the railway labor organizations have found that the obstacles to their solution were not insurmountable. One such problem was the question of wages and its corollary, manpower. The industry was adequately equipped to deal with this problem through well-established procedures. Unfortunately, these procedures were not permitted to function, and as the result of interference by certain agencies of the government, which were wholly unfamiliar with the problems of the industry, a near-disaster was precipitated. The railway workers have every desire to bring the war to an early conclusion and this is amply demonstrated by the contribution which they are making toward that end. But unless certain agencies of the government are willing to give more sympathetic cooperation in helping to solve the problems of this industry, no contribution of the workers, however great, will be enough. Complacency to take this industry for granted cannot produce the desired results and can only harm the war effort. Rather than disparage the character and loyalty of railroad workers, as was done by two high official sources on two occasions, the contribution which the railroad workers have been making should be recognized for what it is, for only through such recognition and the cooperation of the government can this industry successfully continue to perform its functions so necessary to the winning of the war.

ALASKA

Alaska during part of the year was an active war center. Transportation was a thing not to be had unless for reasons of importance to the country.

It must be said that the representative of the American Federation of Labor for Alaska was accorded every privilege to be expected.

Many members of the American Federation of the American Federation of Labor were working at an unbelievable tempo building bases.

Local unions have experienced difficulty in maintaining their membership because of this fast movement in many localities. The closing down of a job where active and large locals had been established sent these workers almost over-night to new locations at the call for more and more building of the world's frontiers in far-off places. The movement in many cases would deplete a local's membership so that it would be impossible to get a quorum at meetings for several weeks at a time.

The records of Alaska's unions are commendable in respect to the effort to hold down and roll back costs of living. However, much confusion and hardship has been the result of government agencies in this respect. Although Alaska has an office of the 12th Regional War Labor Board, a great amount of confusion and misunderstanding has existed in the past year.

A concerted action set in motion by the delegates to the Second Annual Convention of the Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor to establish a uniform wage scale for building construction trades in Alaska is beginning to show signs of getting action.

The Alaska organizer has been constantly called upon to participate in the activities of governmental agencies to represent Alaska labor due to all available members being determined to stay on the job until the job is done and that time is not yet. As a result of constant demanding by Alaskans that they be included when our working policies were determined, the Alaska representative was called to Seattle as a member of the Alaska salmon consultant group, comprised of members of Labor, Industry and the Bureau of Fisheries. The appointments were made by Secretary Ickes from recommendations submitted by Ernest Gruening, Governor of Alaska, and was for the purpose of deciding which salmon canneries would be consolidated with other operating plants in an effort to save manpower and equipment.

February 15 was the date set by the Alaska Area Director of the War Manpower Commission to hold the second yearly meeting of the Area Commission. The Alaska American Federation of Labor representative was requested to attend this meeting, which was attended by William Hopkins, Regional Director from San Francisco, Calif.; representatives from the Alaska canned salmon industry; Alaska Command, U. S. Army, and various representatives from contractors doing work on government and private jobs. Control of manpower was the main problem, though Alaska Labor profited by the endorsement of a seasonal guarantee for resident cannery workers.

The 12th Regional War Labor Board held hearings in Seattle. More than 60 representatives of branches of the government and construction contractors in Alaska and the Alaska representative of the American Federation of Labor were invited. There were more than 200 present, including officials from Washington and Canada, as well as local representatives. All labor representatives supported the Alaska representative in requesting that a uniform

wage rate be established for Alaska based on the wage rates being paid in the Seattle area and that a survey be made to determine the proper differential to be allowed to Alaska workers over this wage due to the extra cost of living in Alaska. A survey is being made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics at the request of the War Labor Board of wages and the cost of living in Juneau, Anchorage and Fairbanks. The survey will not include wages or cost of living of the building construction trades.

Alaska's was the only legislature in session in 1943 and did not enact labor legislation of any kind, though several meritorious bills were before that body. Non-partisan politics took on reality to Alaska Labor when the delegates to the convention indicated that organized labor of Alaska was ready to speak for themselves. The interest aroused in the four judicial divisions of Alaska previous to the primary elections proved that the time spent in this direction was not wasted for several of the Territory's most ardent anti-Labor representatives were ousted and a sufficient number of pro-Labor candidates were approved in all divisions to assure a legislature in 1945 that should give Alaska Labor the chance they have needed to enact or revise existing laws in a progressive manner. Industrially controlled newspapers in the Territory were so taken by surprise that they commented editorially about the upset, stating that it was not understandable that men who have for years received unanimous plurality could be defeated by unknown politicians. The general elections in September will be the test as to whether Alaska Labor was thoroughly aware of their duties or not. The Alaska Territorial Federation, through its press and council, have increased their efforts to keep the membership informed.

When the War Labor Board froze prices to the fishermen for salmon caught for canning purposes at the minimum of the 1942 season, eliminating competitive bidding by the cannery operators, it caused no little loss to the fishermen of Alaska. Requests were made of the War Labor Board for hearings in various places in Alaska to take testimony supporting our contention of discrimination. The 12th Regional War Labor Board appointed Dr. Battin to hold two hearings, one at Ketchikan and one at Kodiak. The Alaska representative was asked to attend and assisted in giving testimony and making up supporting briefs. So far, no action has been made public by the War Labor Board.

The practice of bureaucratic dictation as to the policies of Alaska without Alaskans becoming a part of the action again was manifest in the action of Secretary Ickes in making Karluk River, a prolific red salmon stream on Kodiak Island, an Indian reservation without making such intentions public knowledge to those it would affect. More than five hundred residents of Kodiak and nearby islands who for years had depended on that area to make a good portion of their yearly income are now deprived of this fishing ground. Those permitted to fish there must fish on property owned by the Alaska Packers Association, a large company of cannery operators, and the gear for that operation is owned by this company, giving them priority to the fish and full opportunity to take unfair advantage of the small group of native fishermen

of that area. Recent notices were given by the U. S. Department of the Interior that three areas in southeast Alaska have made a petition for reservations for use by Indians only. Copies of these were obtained by the Federation office and efforts are being made to inform those who would be affected so these fishing areas may be maintained for Alaska's main industry and for the use of Alaska's working residents.

There has been a great demand for more service and information from their international unions by local unions throughout Alaska. International representatives are obviously over-burdened with large areas and when one does undertake a service trip to Alaska the difficulty in obtaining transportation and the immense distances to travel on the allotted time they are able to give soon cuts their trip short and consequently the far reaches of Alaska do not receive proper representation. This year two representatives have visited Alaska: Irvin Kuenzli, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers, and John W. Bruce, International Organizer for the Plumbers and Steamfitters International, with headquarters at Toronto, Canada.

The obvious need for more and closer contacts by international representatives was recognized by William Green, President of the American Federation of labor, in a letter to the Alaska representative of recent date regarding the appointment of additional organizers for Alaska. The great demand upon the Alaska organizer to represent existing locals of internationals in their requests to the War Labor Board, Wage Adjustment Board, Bureau of Fisheries and others has caused neglect of other opportunities and has made it necessary to move headquarters to the capital city of Juneau.

The fact that most of the governmental construction in support of the war effort has now moved to inaccessible places has moved the Alaska representative to support the Washington and Oregon organizations' request for official representation on the site of the actual construction. Consequently, official union representatives are now housed on these jobs by the Army and paid by the contractors, and reports are received from these men at labor headquarters.

HAWAII

The past year has seen considerable activity throughout the entire labor movement and while much progress is noted a little ground has been lost in some few instances.

The coming to Hawaii of the War Labor Board is without doubt the biggest item of interest. Following a visit to Hawaii of Chairman William H. Davis of the National War Labor Board, a wage freeze was made effective throughout the Territory on June 6, 1944, and this was held until the Hawaii Board could be selected and set up their procedures.

The Hawaii Regional Board is now functioning and has already issued some rules and regulations governing wage adjustments. It is also interesting to note that the Hawaii Regional Board can deviate from national

policy, with National Board approval, in certain phases of operation because of conditions that exist in Hawaii.

There is no doubt that from Labor's standpoint the most important part of bringing the War Labor Board to Hawaii lies in the fact that complete surveys will be made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. These surveys should prove very interesting and enlightening, especially the parts dealing with the sugar industry.

Another matter of extreme importance to Hawaii was the reopening of the Federal Wage and Hour Office and the appointment of a representative of the Conciliation Service. These services are very much needed by Labor.

The War Manpower Commission has designated Hawaii to be an acute labor shortage area and while the local labor-management committee has a program of controls, referrals, priorities, etc., worked out, that follows very closely the mainland policy, up to this time the Army and Navy agencies have not given this program their final approval and they are still operating under the Office of the Military Governor. However, we do anticipate their early approval and, if so, many problems of local workers will be alleviated.

The Section of Labor Control, Office of the Military Governor, is still in existence and workers are still being "discharged with prejudice." Also workers are still jailed and/or fined for absenteeism. Labor has fought consistently against this vicious policy and practice.

Through the excellent work done by the Building Trades Council in compiling data, Wage Schedule No. 9 was revised upward effective November 1, 1943. Wage increases of 5 cents per hour were made and a 40-hour week from a 48-hour week was mandated. The new revision made some nice gains for construction workers and for the first time in Hawaii construction work went on a 40-hour week basis. The Building Trades Council was also successful in having Wage Schedule No. 9 incorporated in all federal and territorial public works and construction specifications.

Construction work on army and navy projects shows some diminishing activity. However, a considerable amount remains to be done and several new projects are anticipated, especially hospitals and supply depots.

The housing problem for civilians is very acute and while a few new units have been built there is an estimated need for 10,000 units. The United States Housing Authority very recently let a contract for a housing project for 62 buildings of 4 apartments each. This will accommodate 248 families and while this will help it falls far short of requirements. Various agencies are petitioning the W.P.B. to release material for private home construction as there is an estimated back-log of 2,000 orders for such construction.

Early in 1944 the Central Labor Council was reorganized after being under an administrator for a short period of time. New officers were elected and a new constitution and by-laws were drawn up and adopted. The Council is now progressing very well and committees on various activities are doing good work. Several local unions are as yet unaffiliated with the Council and every effort is being made to bring them in.

Organization drives are in progress in many industries and in the

past year the Teamsters have issued two charters in Hawaii covering the dairy workers and the general teamsters. The Teamsters jurisdiction was formerly covered by federal labor unions. The Masters, Mates and Pilots have also put two charters in Hawaii, one for licensed personnel and an apprentice local for unlicensed personnel. American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees have two new locals in Honolulu for Garbage Department employees and Road Department workers. Organization of these workers is going forward and showing gratifying results.

The Building Trades Council has put a full-time organizer in the field and with the assistance of affiliated local unions their organizing program is producing fine results.

Considerable activity is also noted in the sugar industry with the granting of the first American Federation of Labor sugar workers charter in the Territory. The second charter application for this industry recently went forward to headquarters.

The past year has seen many new agreements negotiated and several agreements re-negotiated. All have resulted in better wages and conditions for workers.

That the labor movement is growing in Hawaii there can be no doubt, and while it suffers occasionally from "growing pains" and a few mistakes are made, we are making progress. Perhaps the most significant tribute to the growing strength of organized labor in Hawaii was the formation of the Hawaii Employers Council. This Council is patterned after the San Francisco Employers Council and "imported" a mainlander to head up the organization, and while the Council has entered into agreement negotiations with local unions in some few instances, it is a little early to predict its effect upon the labor movement generally.

Organized labor in Hawaii, like their brothers throughout the mainland, will be very active in the coming political campaign and a legislative committee has been appointed from the Central Labor Council and is already at work drafting proposed bills for the next Territorial Legislature. Organized labor has not forgotten the Union Registration Bill which was passed by the last session and vetoed by the Governor.

PUERTO RICO FREE FEDERATION OF WORKINGMEN

Since July, 1943, the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen has fulfilled its war duties with enthusiasm and patriotism, has given effective cooperation in maintaining the morale of the people and has continued faithfully its historic task of fostering the social, economic and educational advancement of Labor.

The following are our most important achievements:

Agreement in the Sugar Industry. The three years' agreement negotiated by the Insular Council of the Agricultural and Factory labor unions with the Sugar Producers Association on January, 1942, has withstood all attacks on it.

In March, 1944, negotiations were begun by the parties to the agreement to amend said document so as to conform it to the Determination of Fair

and Reasonable Wage Rates issued by the War Food Administration in accordance with the Sugar Act of 1937, and to include in the agreement those wage rates and labor conditions of both the Determination and the decree of the Insular Minimum Wage Board. These standards were superior to those established in our contract.

Article IV: Wage Increases. For each fortnight of the period covered by this determination the wage rates shall be increased in accordance with the applicable scale set forth below, whenever the average price of raw sugar, duty-paid basis, determined in accordance with the prevailing method used between processors and growers for the computation of the price of sugar-cane, is more than \$3.865 per hundred pounds, for any such fortnight.

Fortnightly average price of sugar		Increase per day
<i>More than</i>	<i>But not more than</i>	
\$3.74	\$3.865	\$.00
3.865	4.115	.10
4.115	4.365	.21
4.365	4.615	.32
4.615	4.865	.43

Increases for part of a day's work shall be paid in proportion.

In case subsidies are granted to the employers the parties agreed to abide to the determination of the Federal Department of Agriculture in distributing said subsidies between employers and employees.

Negotiations were conducted by the Insular Council of the Agricultural and Factory Labor Unions presided over by our Secretary-Treasurer Nicolas Nogueras Rivera.

Petitions for Elections. After failing again in its intent to create a general stoppage in the sugar industry, the so-called CGT which claims affiliation with the Confederacion de Trabajadores de la America Latina (CTAL) filed a petition of elections both with the National Labor Relations Board and the Insular Labor Relations Board. The National Labor Relations Board was not inclined to order elections in the sugar industry where our agreements is in force up to December 31, 1944. But Tugwell's administration was interested in said elections. Through Governor Tugwell's influence, the Insular Labor Relations Board, which is a political dominated organism, succeeded in getting counsel from the National Labor Relations Board and the promise of the National Labor Relation Board to offer the services of its personnel to run such elections in behalf of the ILRB.

Public hearings were started by the ILRB to which we have attended under the counsel of our lawyer Brother Hipolito Marcano, who in turn is Vice-President of our Federation. The Sugar Producers Association also attended said hearings. Producers' counsel alleged the majority of the members of the Association were not inclined to negotiate an Island-wide agreement for the year 1945. Our counsel recommended the dismissal of the CGT's petition on the ground that a substantial representation of employees had not been shown, that the CGT has to file individual petitions of elections in accord with the position adopted by the producers.

In the meantime the Insular Council of the Agricultural and Factory Labor Unions adopted a resolution expressing the determination not to participate in the proposed elections in case they were accorded by the ILRB.

Decision of the ILRB is pending. But our Island-wide agreement will be in force up to December 31, 1944, covering all the sugar mills except two and over 125,000 workers.

President William Green and Director of Organization Frank P. Fenton who have been informed of the situation by the president and secretary of our organization have assisted us in our fight to protect our agreement.

Since the first Island-wide agreement (1933) wage rates and labor conditions have been notably improved. Present wages are 300 per cent higher than those specified in the first agreement signed in 1933.

Longshoremen Agreement. After five months of negotiations and inevitable delays, our longshoremen organizations reached an agreement with the shipping companies with a 10 per cent increase in the hourly wage rates and improvements in labor conditions. Negotiations were in charge of the Insular Council of our local longshoremen organization presided by Brother Ramon Gordils and the District Council of the ILA presided over by Brother Eusebio G. Moreno. Brother P. Rivera Martinez, President of our Federation, headed the negotiations.

The agreement covers practically all the ports of the Island and over 8,000 workers. It assured industrial peace on the waterfront.

Water Resources Authority Agreement. On November 17, 1943, an Island-wide agreement was signed by our Electrical Workers Union and the Water Resources Authority, an agency of the Insular Government. The following are the most important features:

- a. An increase of 15 per cent over previous wages, representing over 40 per cent increase in the wages since the union was organized.

- b. All the employees of the Authority under a check-off system and union security.

- c. Seniority rights, vacations and pensions.

The Insular Council presided over by Brother Swithem Perelez conducted the negotiations.

This is one of our strongest organizations although it was formed two years ago. It has 1,500 members.

Telephone Industry Agreement. The Telephone Industry Workers Union affiliated with our Federation May 10, 1943, and on September 13, 1943, an agreement was negotiated with a 15 per cent increase in wages retroactive to April 1, 1943. Seniority rights, union security, pensions and vacations were secured.

A committee of the union presided over by Brother Juan Rivera Robles with the assistance of Brother Hipolito Marciano and Nicolas Noguerras Rivera, negotiated the agreement.

The Union has a membership of over 800.

Bread Industry Agreement. Our bakers' union in San Juan, the capital of the Island, succeeded this year not only in maintaining an hourly system

of work in the bakeries but also in getting an increase of nearly 12 per cent in wages. The following are the minimum wages included in the agreement:

a. master baker	80c an hour
b. first official	65c an hour
c. second official	55c an hour
d. third official	50c an hour
e. auxiliary	40c an hour

This agreement was negotiated by a committee headed by Brother Nicolas Nogueras Rivera.

The Insular Council and the convention of the bakers' union demanded from the Insular Minimum Wage Board an investigation of the bread industry throughout the Island looking toward the establishment of hourly wage rates and decent labor conditions along the same lines as the San Juan agreement. Many locals in different towns have succeeded in signing stipulations with employers getting higher piece-rates under the so-called "bag-system"—increases fluctuating between 20 per cent and 33 1-3 per cent—and waiting the decree of the Insular Minimum Wage Board which is expected to be in accord with Labor's demands. Hearings were held by IMWB. Officials of the bakers' union and our Secretary Nogueras Rivera attended the hearings presenting the points of view of Labor. Over 3,000 bakers are receiving the benefits of our organized movement.

Foundry Industry. The collective agreement between the foundry industry of Sucesores de Abarca, Inc., and the Mechanics and Auxiliaries Union was renewed this year with important amendments among which we note: (1) a 7 per cent increase in wages; (2) union label; (3) union security; (4) seniority. The committee of the union presided over by Brother Abraham Cruz was assisted by Vice-President Hipolito Marciano and Secretary Nicolas Nogueras Rivera.

The union has over 400 affiliates.

Hair-Nets Industry Agreement. The Colette Manufacturing Company and the Hair-Nets Industry Workers Union renewed their agreement with fundamental amendments among which are the following: (1) union shop; (2) paid vacations; (3) increases in hourly wage rates fluctuating from 10 per cent to 20 per cent; (4) maternity clause; (5) seniority rights. The committee was presided over by Sister Maria Rodriguez and negotiations were headed by Brother Nicolas Nogueras Rivera.

Rum Industry. Notwithstanding the constant unrest created by the dual movement under Insular Government protection of the rum industry, trying to destroy our agreements and to influence a majority to file petitions of elections, we have succeeded in maintaining under the auspices of our Federation near three-fourths of all the employees of the industry throughout the Island.

Special mention of the Rum Carioca case should be made. The Distillery Workers Union, one of our affiliates, and the Rum Carioca Distillery, Inc., had a two-year agreement which both parties compiled until the CGT with the protection of the police forces attacked the women who were on the

way to the plant at Palo Seco. Many women and some of the men were badly injured. The maneuver was to close the plant temporarily until they could get through the Insular Department of Labor an "*ultra vires*" agreement recognizing their minority group. No attention was given to the complaints sent to Governor Tugwell. This situation was publicly denounced by our Federation. Brother Rivera Martinez, who was in charge of the case, reported the situation to President William Green. Suits are still waiting court action.

Elections in Rum Industry at Arecibo. Petitions for elections in the plant of the Ron-Rico Corporation were filed with the National Labor Relations Board by the C.G.T. which had succeeded in preventing negotiations between the employer and our local. Elections were granted and our union at Arecibo obtained a decisive majority. Under the same circumstances elections were held at the plant of Roses, Inc. Our union won a decisive majority also.

Brothers Prudencio Rivera Martinez and Hipolito Marcano, who have assisted these organizations, are cooperating in the negotiations of the respective agreements. Vice-President Nemesio Morales Cruz from the district of Arecibo has been very helpful.

Our locals in the rum industry at Ponce and Mayaguez have obtained complete control of the situation. At Ponce an agreement was negotiated in Boca Chica plant. La Bodega is in turn. Our local at the Licoreria Marin at Mayaguez filed petitions for elections.

Laundry Industry. Our union was forced to fight hard to convince the employers in the laundry industry that they should enter into an agreement with it. After the Conciliation Service failed due to the negative position adopted by employers, the union met and adopted an unanimous resolution to stop work until employers negotiate contracts with Labor. After fifteen days of stoppage, the employers began to break their agreement not to negotiate with the union, signing individual contracts one by one until all of them in the capital finally signed.

The contracts cover over six hundred employees with an average increase of 15 per cent in wages besides getting union shop and other improvements in labor conditions.

Brother Gabriel Blanco led the movement and headed negotiations with the assistance of Brother Francisco Diaz, president of the union, and of Brother Noguerras Rivera.

Ice Industry. The Ice Industry Workers Union of San Juan succeeded in renewing its contracts with employers T. Llamas, Inc., and Feliciano Hnos, bettering labor conditions and assuring the union a controlling position in plants. First Vice-President Paz Granela headed negotiations.

Agreements in Hospitals and Clinics. The clinics and hospital workers union after long months of patient working and waiting, got contracts with the Presbyterian Hospital, Industrial Clinic, Miramar Clinic and others. This movement forced the Insular Minimum Wage Board to investigate wages and labor conditions in the hospitals and clinics of Puerto Rico to conduct hearings which

led to an order covering wage rates and labor conditions. The movement was headed by Brother Gabriel Blanco. The union has over 400 affiliates.

Other Agreements. Other agreements have been negotiated in the Cement industry in Ponce, in the soda water industry (Royal Crown) at San Juan, in the gas industry at San Juan, in tobacco stripping at Caguas and other towns which represent effective advances in the labor field.

Pan-American Airways Drive. After various meetings with some of the employees of the Pan-American Airways operating in Puerto Rico, Secretary Noguerras Rivera succeeded in affiliating the union to the Free Federation on March 4, 1944. A proposal of agreement was submitted to the senior representative of the company in the Island advising him that the labor representatives were ready to start negotiations toward reaching an agreement. The union, after patiently waiting, sent cablegrams to the Federal Department of Labor, the National Mediation Board and to the president of the company urging prompt action on behalf of industrial peace. Representatives of the company have been meeting with labor officials in an effort to reach an agreement. Brother Hipolito Marcano is assisting the union in negotiations with the company.

Social Industry Committee No. 3. In accord with a petition filed by the Insular Council of the Agricultural and Factory Labor Unions demanding from the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division the appointment of an industry committee to investigate the sugar industry, Mr. Walling appointed Industry Committee No. 3, composed of representatives of the Public, Employers and Labor.

Brother P. Rivera Martinez and Charles V. Ernest, general representative, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America, from Baltimore, were two of the three members representing Labor. One represented the Free Federation and the other continental organized labor.

A committee of the Insular Council of the Agricultural and Factory Labor Unions presided over by Brother Noguerras Rivera offered testimony in the sugar hearings. Vice-President Antonio Arroyo and others testified in the tobacco hearings and other members of our organization offered evidence in the other hearings.

In the sugar industry we demanded that a 40-cent minimum be established in those classifications in the sugar industry covered by the Wage and Hour Law. The committee recommended 35 cents. The three Labor representatives voted against the decision, filing a dissenting vote in an extensive memorandum.

Hearings will be held by the Administrator in connection with the recommendations of Special Industry Committee No. 3.

The following industries were investigated:

Leaf tobacco, leather goods, handicraft art novelty, needle-work, full-fashioned hosiery, hairnet, sugar manufacturing, rum and industrial alcohol, shipping, banking, insurance and finance, cement, manufactured coconut, newspaper publishing and graphic arts, paper box manufacturing, cigar and cigarette.

Hon. Martin Travieso, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, presided over the committee.

Mr. Russell Sturgis, Territorial Representative of the Wage and Hour Division, is doing a very commendable job.

War Effort. Our Federation has been 100 per cent in line with the war policies of the American Federation of Labor. Representatives of our Federation are serving in almost all of the local and appeal boards of the Selective Service; unions and members are buying war bonds and stamps; industrial peace has been maintained by our organization; thousands of our people are in the army, and every one is doing his job with devotion and patriotism. Over 60,000 Puerto Ricans have been drafted by the Army, some of whom have given their lives on the battlefronts.

Latin-American Situation. Our Federation has followed with deep interest the labor movement in Latin-America and the efforts of the American Federation of Labor "to establish a sound and constructive labor relationship with the movements south of Rio Grande." We must recall here the interest and effective cooperation given to the Pan-American Federation of Labor by Brother Santiago Iglesias. Brother Rivera Martinez has presented resolutions referring to the Latin-America situation and Brother Nicolas Nogueras Rivera has sent a tentative plan to President William Green and other officials of the American Federation of Labor "to establish a sound and cooperative labor relationship with the Latin-American movements."

We are giving to the local press and radio programs the information and news published in the *Noticiero Obrero Norteamericano*.

Workers' Education. Every Sunday morning at 8:30 a.m., and by the courtesy of Station WKAQ our Federation broadcasts a workers education program by means of which unions and labor representatives are informed about different matters. Translation of news, reports, circulars and other educational subjects from the American Federation of Labor and information from the *Noticiero Obrero Norteamericano* are offered to the public in general but especially directed to Labor. Brothers Jaime Ramirez, Teresa Angeleri, Jose Pena, Herminia Diaz Cora are in charge of this program, which is under the direction of the central office.

Part of our time has been given to the O.P.A., which every Sunday sends information about its activities. We should say here that the O.P.A., under the direction of local Administrator Judge Jorge Luis Cordova, has improved its work with practical results to the public.

Conventions. The following conventions have been held by insular organizations affiliated with our State Federation having the attendance and cooperation of various members of the Executive Council:

- (a) Longshoremen Unions (U.T.M. and I.L.A.) conventions held at San Juan in December, 1943.
- (b) Telephone Industry Workers Union convention held at Santurce in December, 1943.
- (c) Agricultural and Factory Labor Unions (sugar industry) convention held at San Juan in January, 1944.

- (d) Rum Industry Workers Union convention held at San Juan in March, 1944.
- (e) Electrical Industry Workers (Water Resources Authority) convention held at Arecibo in May, 1944.
- (f) Bakers' union convention held at San Juan in July, 1944.
- (g) Plumbers' union convention held at San Juan in November, 1944.

The Sixteenth Convention of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor will be held during the first fortnight of March 1945 as specified in Article IX of our Constitution.

Industrial Commission. The Industrial Commission of Puerto Rico has decided 2,860 claims of workmen's compensation during the fiscal year 1943-44.

Fifty-nine decisions of the Industrial Commission were appealed to the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico, forty of which were upheld by that Court, eighteen were revoked, one was desisted by the State Insurance Fund and three are still pending before that Court.

Brother Francisco Paz Granela, First Vice-President of our Federation, has represented Labor in this organism for a period of over twelve years, serving his position intelligently and honestly.

Social Security. The Social Security Commission of Puerto Rico was created by Act No. 3, approved by the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico on April 2, 1941.

The Commission was created for the purpose of studying, drafting and reporting to the governor and the Legislative Assembly the plan or plans necessary for the establishment of a social security program to assure the families of the Island adequate protection in case of unemployment or inability to work. The Commission has drafted and reported a program for social assistance and of social security.

Brother Paz Granela, who is a labor member of this Commission, has done splendid work. Although he is in a minority position in said organization, he has labored hard so that the best plans may be drafted in accord with those fostered by the American Federation of Labor.

Our Federation hopes that in the near future all titles of the Federal Social Security Act will be extended to Puerto Rico.

Some Facts About Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is an island with an area of 3,600 square miles and a population of nearly 2,000,000 (1,869,255—1940 census). Puerto Rico, one of the most densely populated areas of the world, was a Spanish possession from its discovery by Christopher Columbus in 1493 until 1898, when it passed to the United States through the Treaty of Paris. In 1900 a civil government was established under the Foraker Act and in 1917 Congress enacted the Jones Act, or the Organic Act for Puerto Rico, granting the Puerto Rican people the privilege of American citizenship. Puerto Rico has been considered an organized territory but was not incorporated as a state, although the American Federation of Labor considers our labor organization the 49th State Federation of Labor.

The principal products of the Island are cane sugar, rum, tobacco, coffee and needlework. Over 300,000 acres of land are under sugar cane cultivation

and before 1935 the Island produced 1,113,000 tons of sugar. The Jones-Costigan Bill (approved in 1935) limited sugar production with retroactive effect to nearly 800,000 tons, affecting both Industry and Labor. In 1937, the Sugar Act fixed the quotas with compensation or benefit payments. The exportation quota fluctuated from 800,000 to 900,000 tons, while the quota of Cuba was nearly 2,000,000 tons. To this situation should be added the regimentation imposed by the Insular Government on this industry. It is asserted that over \$33 million was lost through the limitations, lack of fertilizers and transportation facilities.

The industry formerly employed nearly 150,000 workers both in the field and the mills. This has been reduced this year to 100,000 workers, but Cuba received the benefit of these limitations. While sugar is rationed in the United States, the 1944 sugar crop is in the storage houses waiting until the Commodity Credit Corporation negotiates reasonable bases for the buying of this sugar. Part of this money would go into the pockets of the workers in the form of increased wages retroactive to January 1, 1944, as a result of our constant demands.

Under an unrestricted production with sufficient fertilizers and economic facilities, Puerto Rico could produce nearly 2,000,000 tons of sugar, employing over 150,000 thousand workers.

The production capacity of the rum industry of Puerto Rico is 20,000,000 proof gallons per year. Near four thousand workers are employed in this industry, the majority of whom are organized with our Federation.

The War Production Board has limited the production quota of Puerto Rican rum to 9,125,000 proof gallons while Cuba is granted an exportation quota of 143,300,000 proof gallons and is free to produce an unlimited quantity which will be available for marketing in the near future, obtaining great advantage over Puerto Rico where production is restricted to half of its capacity.

There is pending in Congress a bill to retain the federal taxes imposed on Puerto Rican rum sold in the United States which customarily would have reverted to the Insular treasury. This will curtail Insular income more than \$60 million annually. Coffee, tobacco, needlework have suffered greatly due to foreign competition and lack of necessary governmental protection.

This economic situation has created an unemployment problem affecting over 300,000 workers. If to this is added the number of unemployed created by the restrictions on construction work and in other activities (they do not have war industries) it will represent a fundamental problem which deserves urgent action from Washington.

Conclusion. In spite of a dual movement led by politicians and sponsored by the Insular Government, the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen has carried on its organizing work, its promotion of the general welfare of Labor, and Puerto Rico in general, and has performed its war duties. It has had the moral assistance and support of the American Federation of Labor to which it has been affiliated since 1901.

The sense of responsibility of the Puerto Rican people to our nation is unalterable. Their faith in American institutions is unconquerable and their status as American citizens is above any other consideration to them.

CONCLUSION

Our report for the past year indicates how complex and varied are the problems of today and of the future. Many of these problems press urgently for solution and in some cases special reports on more recent happenings will be submitted. We in our country still have the opportunities and responsibilities of freedom. It will require all of our knowledge and experience to meet the obligations our free institutions lay upon us. There are many that sought escape from freedom by setting up institutions of control of a fascist nature. We want to meet the challenge of the future, advance the welfare of all individuals in our progress toward world peace and assure to each and all the institutions and responsibilities of freedom. The American Federation of Labor has a special service to contribute to this end.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.
WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,
First Vice-President.
MATTHEW WOLL,
Second Vice-President.
JOSEPH N. WEBER,
Third Vice-President.
G. M. BUGNIAZET,
Fourth Vice-President.
GEORGE M. HARRISON,
Fifth Vice-President.
DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Sixth Vice-President
HARRY C. BATES,
Seventh Vice-President.
W. D. MAHON,
Eighth Vice-President.
FELIX H. KNIGHT,
Ninth Vice-President.
EDWARD FLORE,
Tenth Vice-President.
HARVEY W. BROWN,
Eleventh Vice-President.
W. C. BIRTHRIGHT,
Twelfth Vice-President.
W. C. DOHERTY,
Thirteenth Vice-President.
GEORGE MEANY,
Secretary-Treasurer.
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany is recognized for further announcements.

REFERENCE OF SECTIONS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

SECRETARY MEANY: Reference of sections of the Executive Council's report to the various committees is indicated below:

Referred to Committee on Executive Council Report

New International Unions Chartered.
United Mine Workers Failure to Become Reaffiliated.
Reaffiliation of International Typographical Union.
Change of Title, Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers.
Trade Union Benefits.
War Bond Campaign.
Fraternal Delegates.
Metal Trades Department.
Railway Employees Department.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Introduction
Peace Negotiations With the C. I. O.
Retirement Plan for A. F. of L. Employees
Wages
Union Research
Consumer's Cooperatives
Credit Unions
Social Insurance
Old Age and Survivors' Insurance
Financing Old Age Insurance
Unemployment Compensation
Medical Care
Permanent Program
Work for the Coming Year
Fair Labor Standards Act
Labor Standards on Government Contracts
National Labor Relations Board
Raiding
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
United Brotherhood of Carpenters
International Harvester Case
United Garment Workers and Cohn-Goldwater Co. Agreement
American Can Case Doctrine (Lima Locomotive Case)
Amendments to the Act
The Amendment to the 1944 Appropriation Act
Taxation
Legislation:
Federal Appropriations
Armed Services
National Labor Relations Board

Immigration and Naturalization
Post-War Legislation
Contract Termination
Disposition of Surplus Property
Reconversion
Post-War Highways
Rivers and Harbors
Railroad Employees
Care of Children and Mothers
Subsidies
Interned Employees of Contractors
Pharmacy Corps, U. S. Army
Federal Employees
Canal Zone
Teachers, Policemen and Firemen
Clerical Workers
McCarran Amendment
Canal Builders
White Collar Workers
Legal Activities
Publicity, Radio and the Labor Press
American Federationist
Labor's Monthly Survey
North American Labor News
Overtime on War Work
National War Labor Board
The Special Panel
The Presidential Committee on the Cost of Living
The Wage Bracket System
The Statistical Record
A. F. of L. Voluntary Cases
Manpower and Production Achievements
War Manpower Commission
Organization of War Manpower Commission
Management-Labor Policy Committee
Regional Committees
State and Area Committees
Major Policy Matters Considered by National Committee
Price Control and Rationing
Price Control
Rationing
Administration
President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice
Post-war Planning Committee
The Bases of Lasting International Peace
International Program
Post-War America
Immediate Domestic Program
Relief Activities and Accomplishments
Proposed World Trade Union Conference
World Peace
Alaska
Hawaii
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen
Conclusion.

Referred to Committee on Organization

Organizing Activities.

Referred to Committee on Labels

Union Label Trades Department.

Referred to Committee on Education

Education
 Educational Reconstruction
 Apprenticeship Training
 Adult Education
 Federal Aid for Education
 Emergency Federal Aid for Education
 Training and Retraining of Veterans and
 War Workers
 Training for Service by all Youth
 International Aspects of Education
 Harvard Trade Union Fellowship
 Louis E. Kerstein Professorship
 Vocational Education
 Workers Education Bureau of America.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations

State Labor Legislation.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades

Post-War Housing
 Housing (Legislation)
 War Housing
 Building and Construction Trades Department.

Referred to Committee on Legislation

National Legislation
 Taxation
 Oleomargarine Tax
 Anti-Labor Legislation
 Repeal of Connally Act
 Fair Employment Practices
 Social Security
 Anti-Lynching
 Insurance
 Blind Veterans
 Physically Handicapped
 Health Conditions in Industry
 Special House Committee to Investigate
 Un-American Activities
 Extension of Price Control Act
 Freedom of Speech
 Prohibition
 Poll Tax
 Puerto Rico
 Retirement
 Postal Legislation
 Administrative Procedure
 District of Columbia
 State Anti-Labor Laws.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations

International Federation of Trade Unions
 International Labor Organization.

ASSIGNMENT OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Subject	Committee
Introduction	Resolutions
Organizing Activities	Organization
New International Unions Chartered	Executive Council Report
Peace Negotiations with the C.I.O.	Resolutions
United Mine Workers' Failure to Become Reaffiliated	Executive Council Report
Reaffiliation of International Typographical Union	Executive Council Report
Change of Title—Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers	Executive Council Report
Retirement Plan for A. F. of L. Employees	Resolutions
Wages	Resolutions
Trade Union Benefits	Executive Council Report
Union Research	Resolutions
Consumers' Cooperatives	Resolutions
Credit Unions	Resolutions
Social Insurance	Resolutions
Old Age and Survivors' Insurance	Resolutions
Financing Old Age Insurance	Resolutions
Unemployment Compensation	Resolutions
Medical Care	Resolutions
Permanent Program	Resolutions
Work for the Coming Year	Resolutions
Fair Labor Standards Act	Resolutions
Labor Standards on Government Contracts	Resolutions
National Labor Relations Board	Resolutions
Post-War Housing	Building Trades
Taxation	Resolutions
National Legislation	Legislation
Federal Appropriations	Resolutions
Taxation	Legislation
Oleomargarine Tax	Legislation

Anti-Labor Legislation	Legislation
Repeal of Connally Act	Legislation
National Labor Relations Board	Resolutions
Votes for Servicemen	Resolutions
Immigration and Naturalization	Resolutions
Fair Employment Practices	Legislation
Housing	Building Trades
Social Security	Legislation
Post-War Legislation	Resolutions
Contract Termination	Resolutions
Disposition of Surplus Property	Resolutions
Reconversion	Resolutions
Post-War Highways	Resolutions
Rivers and Harbors	Resolutions
Railroad Employees	Resolutions
Anti-Lynching	Legislation
Insurance	Legislation
Blind Veterans	Legislation
Physically Handicapped	Legislation
Care of Children and Mothers	Resolutions
Health Conditions in Industry	Legislation
Special House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities	Legislation
Extension of Price Control Act	Legislation
Freedom of Speech	Resolutions
Subsidies	Resolutions
Prohibition	Legislation
Interned Employees of Contractors	Resolutions
Poll Tax	Legislation
Pharmacy Corps, U. S. Army	Resolutions
Puerto Rico	Legislation
Federal Employees	Resolutions
Retirement	Legislation
Postal Legislation	Legislation
Administrative Procedure	Legislation
District of Columbia	Legislation
Canal Zone	Resolutions
Teachers, Policemen and Firemen	Resolutions
Clerical Workers	Resolutions
McCarran Amendment	Resolutions
Canal Builders	Resolutions
White Collar Workers	Resolutions
State Labor Legislation	State Organizations
State Anti-Labor Laws	Legislation
Legal Activities	Resolutions
Publicity, Radio and the Labor Press	Resolutions
American Federationist	Resolutions
Labor's Monthly Survey	Resolutions
Noticlarlo Obrero Norte Americano	Resolutions
Education	Education
Educational Reconstruction	Education
Apprenticeship Training	Education
Adult Education	Education
Federal Aid for Education	Education
Emergency Federal Aid for Education	Education
Training and Retraining of Veterans and War Workers	Education
Training for Service by All Youth	Education
International Aspects of Education	Education
Harvard Trade Union Fellowship	Education
Louis E. Kirstein Professorship	Education
Vocational Education	Education
Workers Education Bureau of America	Education
Overtime on War Work	Resolutions
National War Labor Board	Resolutions
The Special Panel	Resolutions
The Presidential Committee on the Cost of Living	Resolutions
The Wage Bracket System	Resolutions
The Statistical Record	Resolutions
A.F.L. Voluntary Cases	Resolutions
Manpower and Production Achievements	Resolutions
War Manpower Commission	Resolutions
Organization of War Manpower Commission	Resolutions
Management-Labor Policy Committee	Resolutions
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Price Control and Rationing	Resolutions
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War Housing	Building Trades
War Bond Campaign	Executive Council Report
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The Bases of Lasting International Peace	Resolutions
International Program	Resolutions
Post-War America	Resolutions
Immediate Domestic Program	Resolutions
International Labor Organization	International Labor Relations
International Federation of Trades Unions	International Labor Relations
Relief Activities and Accomplishments	Resolutions
Fraternal Delegates	Executive Council Report
Proposed World Trade Union Conference	Resolutions
World Peace	Resolutions
Building and Construction Trades Department	Building Trades
Metal Trades Department	Executive Council Report
Union Label Trades Department	Labels
Railway Employees' Department	Executive Council Report
Alaska	Resolutions
Hawaii	Resolutions
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen	Resolutions
Conclusion	Resolutions

PRESIDENT GREEN: I wish to announce that Commissioner McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, is here for the purpose of addressing the delegates in session at this convention. Commissioner McNutt responded promptly to the invitation I extended him to be our guest on this occasion and deliver an address to the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at the convention.

We recall with a feeling of pleasure the visits he made to us at previous conventions. His addresses have always been inspiring and educational. Furthermore, he has served in a most wonderful way as Chairman of the War Manpower Commission. I know from my association with him and from my knowledge of the work that he has discharged his duties faithfully and has done a wonderful work as Chairman of the War Manpower Commission. I am pleased to present to you our speaker for this morning, Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission.

PAUL V. McNUTT

(Chairman of the War Manpower Commission)

War has always focused a sharp light on nations, and on the human beings that make up nations at war.

The lightning of total war reveals both our own weak spots and the weak spots of the enemy. Weaknesses on war front or home front are shown up and paid for in casualty lists.

In total war, the meaning of national responsibility becomes clear.

Today, we meet in an hour of historic change and historic national responsibility.

All Americans—soldiers, workers, employers—know what is written on the ledger of these changing times. All Americans know

the nature of the four great problems confronting this invading nation.

These four problems are not separate—to be separately solved. They are one problem and add up to one answer: victory and lasting peace.

Let me list them again: One, to defeat Germany. Two, to defeat Japan. Three, to meet the challenge of reconversion. Four, to meet the challenge of peace.

We must add these problems together successfully or else our children will have to remedy our faulty arithmetic. To fail now means World War III—a rocket war of total death.

We dare not fail ourselves, our children, or our democratic civilization. We must meet the challenge of history as big men, not as little men—big men in management, big men in labor. It is a time for big Americans.

The great American people expect big decisions now and in the future. They have been the witnesses of and the participants in this terrible war. They have fought and they are fighting on all the fronts. They have seen with their own eyes the life and death of individuals and of armies. Against the burning light of war, our soldiers have revalued the truths for which men can die if necessary. On the home front, other Americans have helped create our new industrial maturity. On all the skylines of the forty-eight states, the new smokestacks, the new plants are outlined for all Americans to see and to think about.

Our war production has been total, unparalleled. I could cite innumerable examples, but at this convention of the American Federation of Labor it is easy to recall the magnificent achievement of your building trades unions in manning the two war projects at Pasco, Washington, and Knoxville, Tennessee.

Yes, American Labor and American unions in a thousand Pascos and Knoxville have out-produced the Berlins and the Munichs, the Tokyos and Yokohamas.

The great American people know that America has come of industrial age. They know that American production for war was and is unparalleled. And they know that American production can be just as unparalleled in time of peace. This is no Utopian dream, no "long-haired" speculation. Dreams and speculations did not make the jeeps, the planes, the munitions, the ships—all the materiel of war and of victory.

But Americann Labor and American management joined together to create the greatest industrial team in history. Management-labor committees in all the Pascos and Knoxville of America sat down at the same table to work out the problems of war production.

There were difficulties, conflicts of opinion, arguments, disagreements. Of course, the United States is no regimented state. We lack Nazi "perfectionism" as we lack Japanese fanaticism. But we had something better. We had democracy-in-action—American teamwork, American know-how, American love of freedom.

Our Americanism-in-action will smash Nazi "perfectionism" and Japanese fanaticism.

Americanism-in-action is another way of saying responsibility.

American management and American Labor, by and large, have lived up to their responsibilities to the American nation.

Labor, in the interest of the war effort, has accepted controls which in peace-time would have been unbearable. And, at the War Manpower Commission, the leading representatives of American labor, including William Green, participated in formulating these war-time controls. Words are inadequate for me to express what I have in my heart for the President of the American Federation of Labor—always responsive to the call, always wise in counsel, his hand has been a directing hand, and in this company on behalf of his nation I express grateful appreciation. (Applause.)

American labor recognized that in time of war, teamwork between such normal opposites as labor and management had to be achieved. Nobody in America, no groups, no individual, could escape initial responsibility to the common American people, and to the representatives of the people on all the global war fronts—the common American soldier—nobody—not government, not management, not labor.

This responsibility continues.

Germany has not been beaten. A long war with Japan looms ahead. Having lived in that section of the world I can say there is only one answer for Japan, and that is complete extermination.

Yet many Americans — workers, foremen, managers, executives, housewives—have today lost the deep sense of national responsibility that existed prior to D-Day. Some Americans have already hitched up the victory bandwagon and gone for premature victory hayrides.

Whenever these overly-optimistic Americans hear or read the statements of government spokesmen, labor spokesmen, management spokesmen, that the war is far from being over, they smile little cynical smiles. Such statements are considered to be a sort of

psychological near-beer, bottled in late 1944—not the real thing—but to be taken with a grain of salt and two grains of cynicism.

The retorts of these cynics vary from headline to headline. Isn't it true—they say—that MacArthur is in the Philippines? Isn't it true that Eisenhower's armies are smashing towards the heart of Germany? Isn't it true that Norwegian troops have entered Norway? Isn't it true that the Russians are nearing Austria? Isn't it true that the German Fortress is being steadily squeezed smaller and smaller in the coalition squeeze-play of the United Nations? Isn't it true that the Japanese Sea is evaporating?

All true, all true, thank God! The peoples of the world have a right to hope that soon the second German challenge to world peace will be entombed, the headstone erected: Here Lies the German Menace, Mourned by No One.

But even after this much-anticipated event finally occurs—and to date it hasn't—the challenge of Japan will still remain. It will be a long time, a long war, before we enter the Japanese Menace next to the German Menace in the cemetery of would-be world conquerors.

In fact, the end of the German war may very well favor the Japanese psychologically rather than the Allies. Here in the United States, where every day Americans are telling each other: "The war is over, all but the shouting"—what will the national atmosphere be like after V-E Day?

On V-E Day, we will have reached the halfway mark on the road to victory. There will be extensive changes in the war economy. Many government agencies, including the War Manpower Commission, will for the most part discontinue regulatory controls. There will be a relaxed atmosphere in the United States. But for the Japanese the end of the war with Germany will mean the beginning of Japan's all-out war with us.

Psychology will fight for the Japanese—the psychology of good Americans—unless great American organizations like the American Federation of Labor assume the responsibility as they will of pointing out the facts.

The facts about the Japanese war, after V-E Day, have already been publicized. But as one who has lived in the Pacific, I wish to add one more voice to the many voices that have already been heard. After V-E Day, geography, too, as we know, will be fighting for the Japanese. You have all looked at the maps or read about the staggering distances between our advance bases and the Japanese home islands. The further Japan is pushed back towards her home islands, the greater her logistical advantage becomes, the more adequate her merchant fleet. Our own supply lines will become more and more extended with every victory.

It took two years to stockpile the necessary war materiel with which we are currently hammering at Germany. The supply line to Europe is one third that of the supply line to Japan.

Japan has been fighting for many years but has not yet mustered its army to full strength. Her ally, geography, has been the equivalent of many divisions. Although Japan has 4,000,000 men in arms she hasn't considered it necessary to call up another two million men who are available and fit for service. Another 1,500,000 men, between the ages of 17 and 20,

are not yet subject to the draft. But we are drafting our 18-year-olds.

Despite our aerial victories, Japan is producing planes as fast as we destroy them. It will be a long war before we capture Tokyo. The "blood, sweat and tears," not only of the British people but of all the Allied peoples will have been expended.

American labor's responsibility continues in this changing total war.

Today, the overall manpower program has succeeded, despite shortages in certain war goods.

Why these shortages in heavy artillery and heavy ammunition, in radar, ships, dry cell batteries, cotton duck, forge and foundry products? The labor-haters shout their classical answer: "Labor."

They have confused large sections of the American people. North, South, East and West, the labor-haters and labor-baiters have been busy crepe-hanging. Wherever there is a smokestack, they can be seen digging graves for Labor. Fortunately, the labor movement is too busy smashing production records to lie down in the graves so provided. (Applause).

Shortages in trucks and other "must" goods of war are not due to the indifference of the American worker. They are due almost exclusively to military developments, to the unpredictable turns of war. In the shipbuilding and cotton-duck industries, for example, schedules have been greatly expanded in preparation for all-out war with Japan. In the radar industry, changes in design as well as manpower shortages, have held back production.

But this is not the complete answer. It is a little too generalized, there has been too much generalization.

Let's be specific from now on out.

The War Manpower Commission will name the specific war shortages as they occur, where, when, and how. This is our responsibility in the team of labor, management and government—responsibility and challenge.

First, let us examine the background of today's critical shortages. As we all know, in the beginning of the war higher wage rates induced labor to migrate from low-wage industries. For example, the shipbuilding and aviation industries helped drain away low-wage labor from the textile and the forge and foundry industries. Today some of these low-wage industries have become the critical industries.

Today, it will be difficult to attract workers back into low-wage war industries who are working in other war industries at higher pay and at better working conditions.

What is the answer?

A national conscription act for labor? No. We Americans are out-producing the slave factories of the enemy and his non-union plants with free American labor. (Applause)

Shall we have sanctions and penalties that would actually be a sugar-coated conscription act? No. We Americans believe in volunteer effort and volunteer responsibility. The answer to all our problems is a revitalized sense of responsibility to the American people, including America's fighting men. The team of management, labor and government must assume this respon-

bility. An all-American responsibility that will cut across all sectional, regional, industrial, class, and race lines. That is all-inclusive with one common goal: Get the "must" goods of war to the war fronts in the shortest space of time.

Inter-regional recruitment has proven successful in manning the shipbuilding industry. But in the cotton-duck industry, a special program is necessary to man the mills. But I do not propose to examine in detail each one of the "must" industries where critical shortages exist today. I do believe, however, that a realistic analysis of any one of them will throw a significant light not only on the present but on the future. Since forge and foundry output is basic to many of the most important munitions programs, suppose we throw the spotlight of fact on this critical industry.

Truck output depends on the castings made in American foundries. Our generals urgently need trucks. In the battle for France, American infantry used trucks to pursue the retreating Germans. German demolition and our own precision bombing of Europe's railroads have made our invading armies dependent on truck-convoys for food, ammunition and supplies. To paraphrase Napoleon, our army and the armies of our allies, the British and the Russians, are marching, not on their bellies, but on their truck-borne supplies.

When we invade Japanese-held China and land-mass fighting begins there, our need for trucks will be even greater. The fighting in China—a land with far fewer railroads than the European theatre of war—will be a trucker's war.

Why aren't the truck castings forthcoming, then?

The answer must include, of course, the drain of manpower from this low-wage industry to the higher wage industries, it includes Selective Service. But the full answer cuts into the inner meaning of responsibility.

It is a fact that even under the pressure of war, certain attitudes have changed slowly. The full answer illustrates that national responsibility can be blunted or defaulted or blinded by prejudice. That even our all-American team of government, management and labor can fumble in the winning drive to victory.

What happens to the worker who responds to a patriotic appeal to leave his job in a less-essential industry to work in a foundry or other critical industry? In some states such a worker will lose his security against unemployment. Does this seem unbelievable? Unfortunately it is true. In some states, the patriotic worker who accepts a negotiated transfer requested or urged by the War Manpower Commission will lose his unemployment insurance rights as against the employer from whom he has been transferred. The unduly restrictive character of the disqualification provisions in many state unemployment insurance laws will have just this effect. Some state legislatures have, to date, not yet seen the need for liberalizing such provisions.

I say that this is fumbling the ball on the ten-yard line.

Our generals want trucks, foundries want manpower, and yet in some communities the color-line is allowed to take precedence over the all-American line in time of war. In other communities where foundries need manpower there is inadequate housing for non-Americans, non-whites, and other minority groups.

Home front indifference on the part of government, or on the part of the community, or on the part of management, or on the part of labor, should not take precedence over the needs of American boys on the war fronts. Management in some foundries is still producing non-essential products or is still clinging to peace-time employment restrictions of race and color. Unions, too, have a responsibility to see that democracy works within the ranks of labor. These are facts. They are the fumbles in the overall splendid story of production—and a challenge to the all-American team of government, management and labor.

But the team of government, management and labor is making progress. Top government representatives of the War Manpower Commission and the War Production Board have just returned from the Middle West where they sat down at the same table with management and labor to work together in the solution of urgent production demands.

This healthy trend towards more teamwork, a teamwork on the spot, must and will continue.

There are broad peace-time implications in how we meet wartime's many challenges. Success in meeting the challenge of the "must" war goods programs, for example, will forecast success in meeting the greater challenges of reconversion and of peace.

Success can only be measured by realistic action. Not platitudes—whether platitude by government, by management, or by labor. General Platitude has not won one single victory in this war. And will not win one single victory in the peace.

The great American people are a people of realists. There is a saying among the American people that we have all heard. Let me quote one hundred and forty million Americans: "Put up or shut up."

The great realistic American people have seen the challenges of this changing war met by realistic action.

By teamwork among government, management, labor. By the unparalleled mobilization of idle plants and idle machines. By the greatest utilization of American manpower in our history—a manpower that included womanpower and minority-group power, as well as the power of America's overaged and handicapped workers.

After V-E Day, after V-J Day, we will be challenged by the full force of problems whose beginnings have already appeared on the American scene.

The challenge of full employment is a challenge as tremendous as the challenge of creating a permanent peace. They cannot be divided. They are one total problem.

Today, this very minute we must begin to put into realistic action the two great democratic lessons of the war—the indivisibility of the United Nations; the indivisibility of Americanism.

World prosperity and world peace will be shared by all or else shared by none. This nation cannot separate itself from the family of nations. The result of international division will be World War III, and Pearl Harbor II. This is the simple arithmetic of our times. World War I added to World War II added to World War III—can have but one result: the cancelling-out of world civilization; the cancelling-out of American democracy.

International responsibility must be all-inclusive, total. Domestic responsibility also must be all-inclusive and total—now after V-E Day, after V-J Day.

We know that post-war America will witness serious lay-offs, crises in employment, crises in reconversion.

Even the best management, the best governmental planning, the best labor cooperation will not bring about an easy short-cut from all-out war to all-out peace.

But let us remember now and in the post-war that our economy, too, is indivisible. In this changing historic hour, we cannot arbitrarily divide it into a war economy and a civilian-goods economy. It is a total all-inclusive economy that simultaneously is producing the war materiel necessary for victory and the civilian-goods that will insure the permanence of victory when victory has been won. These two goals of American industry gear one into the other, to be regearred when Germany is defeated, and regearred again after Japan has been defeated.

We will regear successfully only if our sense of responsibility meets the challenge of each impending change.

Our social security structure will have to be strengthened—and we should not wait for victory. We should begin now. Tomorrow, Mr. Aitmeyer of the Social Security Board, will talk to you in great detail on this subject. Social security is a matter that concerns all of us as individuals. America is not only a nation—America is individuals.

Even when the nation is enjoying prosperity, there are people, individuals, whose earnings are cut off through no fault of their own. A comprehensive social security program must offer old-age and survivors insurance protection to all workers and their families—not only to wage earners in private industry and commerce.

Today, workers are protected against the risks of old age and death. Why not against sickness? Why not against permanent disability?

We must expand our medical services, expand our unemployment compensation. Enforce child labor laws. Multiply educational opportunities. Today, we are spending less than one per cent of our national income for all our social security programs. A less prosperous Great Britain is planning to spend 10 per cent of its national income for social security.

The challenges to a realistic democracy are many.

We will have to begin now to strengthen the war-born teamwork between management, government and labor.

Together with government, together with management, the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers and other labor groups have realistic responsibilities to the 140 million Americans—

responsibility to the veterans, responsibility to the war workers.

We will have to match the G. I. Bill of Rights with Bills of Rights for America's splendid women workers, for America's handicapped workers who proved that their handicap was no disability, given the right job, for America's overaged workers, for America's minority groups. They are all—to use a term familiar to the employees of the United States Employment Service—part of one job family—one job family, not to be divided into veterans and non-veterans, male workers and female workers, white workers and black workers.

The American people, too, are indivisible.

Flowery phrases will not substitute for realistic responsibility to America's vast "job-family."

Passing-the-buck will not satisfy the hundred and forty millions of Americans who have either created the miracle of American war production or else have blasted the enemy with war goods marked: Made in the U. S. A.

Responsibility cannot be faked, juggled, disguised, dissembled or evaded.

For look—the shape of the future already exists in all the Pascos and Knoxville's of this nation. After victory, the arsenals of a democracy at war can and must become the arsenals of the democratic American people, producing for peace and prosperity in a peaceful and a prosperous world.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have demonstrated your deep appreciation of the scholarly, illuminating and instructive address delivered by Commissioner McNutt this morning. I know the facts, the logic, the figures submitted in this address made a deep impression upon your hearts and minds, and if I could read the reaction of your hearts and minds to this address, I could see that you have resolved while listening that all you have, all you can give, all you can borrow, all you can get will be given in support of our governmental agencies, and in support of the war effort in order to win the war against Germany and Japan.

I know it is the resolved, fixed determination of the representatives of the 7,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor, in response to the call made by Commissioner McNutt, to rise to new heights and there exert further our skill and genius and ability to serve, and that we will respond wholeheartedly to this appeal. I want to thank the Commissioner for coming to us this morning, for being our guest, for visiting with us and for delivering this most inspiring address.

Now I have a very interesting representative of the New Orleans Army Air Base Transportation School. In fact he is the Commandant of the New Orleans Army Air Base Transportation School. He comes to tell us something about the workings of this interesting school.

I know he will present to us a very interesting address, and I am pleased to present to you now Colonel Stephen W. Ackerman, Commandant of the New Orleans Army Air Base Transportation School.

COLONEL STEPHEN W. ACKERMAN

(Commandant, New Orleans Army Air Base Transportation School)

Thank you, Mr. Green and distinguished guests of this convention assembled in New Orleans. Being the Commandant of the Transportation School my immediate Commanding General, Brigadier General Fremont B. Hodson, Port Commander of New Orleans, has asked initially that I express to you all his deep and abiding appreciation for the untiring efforts and the outstanding achievements of the International Longshoremen's Union which has made possible the achievement of loading a cargo never believed possible through this port.

You gentlemen may wonder initially how it happens that I should be before you. As Commandant of this Transportation School, one of the first things which we do is to contact the family of every candidate who is enrolled. So early in the career of Harry Stevenson, the son of the President of the International Molders and Foundry Workers' Union, he was contacted when he became enrolled as an officer candidate. That friendship grew through correspondence and Mr. Stevenson himself came down to inspect our school, going through it from beginning to end. Apparently he has communicated with Mr. Green and has asked that you know something of our school.

About two years ago General Marshall said, upon the initiation of the offensive in North Africa, "We have seized the initiative." Approximately at the same time the Army seized the initiative here in the United States, making it possible for every inductee who is selected for service to become an officer candidate, giving him the personal right of attaining the rank of a commissioned officer and to advance himself. Thereafter there came into being the Army Administration School No. 4, located at State College, Mississippi, one of four such schools whose primary purpose was the teaching of administrative jobs. That did not last very long, because it was seen very early what a tremendous role transportation would play in this war. Accordingly our school's program of instruction was changed from administration to transportation, remaining there until the 30th of June of last year, when it was moved to Camp Plauche, as it is now known. Some of you perhaps know it better as Camp Harahan, located about fifteen miles from here.

Our quarters were enlarged, and then as was natural we began decreasing. About January of this year we secured the services of the New Orleans Army Air Base, to which our school was moved. Approximately at the same time another significant change took place. We became the Transportation Corps School rather than the Transportation Officer Candidate School. Briefly summarized, this means that we became the Special Service School for our Corps in the same manner that Fort Belvoir is the seat of the

Engineers school and Camp Lee for the Quartermasters' school.

We are training officers and officer candidates. The courses which we prescribe for these young men last over a period of 17 weeks, and those for the officers last eight weeks. The officer candidate courses are generally designed to qualify them basically as officers, first, and then to give them an over-all background of specialized Transportation Corps subjects.

The officer courses, on the other hand, are specialized—three traffic regulation courses, rail, highway, inland waterways and coastwise, four water and allied operations and five stevedore operations. So much for the history and background of the school. We have grown and grown.

General Eisenhower says that the nation that wins the war of transportation wins the war. We are here in New Orleans to produce those officers to help win this battle of transport. We believe from all the reports that are coming back, both from our graduates and from our superiors, that this task is being accomplished.

But who are these officer candidates? What manner of men are they? They are your sons, our sons. They may be any man's son inducted into the Army who has qualified himself, through a reasonable amount of education, and who has had preferably a background of education in transportation, though that is not essential. These young men from the ages of 18 to 35 are assembled here in classes successively and are divided into platoons of approximately 50 candidates each. Over each class is a class commander. Thus, we have a supervisory body that is in daily contact with these young men. At the end of the sixth week every single platoon leader is required to state positively to his class commander, "Do you believe that this man will make an officer?" And if the answer is no, a broad line of action is set up, which will be discussed with you shortly. That happens again at the end of the eleventh and at the end of the fifteenth of seventeen weeks. In the meantime, each of these candidates has been living with buddies, squad mates, fellow candidates from early morning until late at night. They come to know each other better than you know those with whom you are working, because they eat, work and sleep together. What better way for men to learn to select leaders and thus foster exactly that procedure?

We require of every candidate that he rate every other candidate in his squad without regard to any personalities, but charging him with the responsibility of marking down those qualities of leadership which he most desires in his fellow candidate if he were to serve under him. He must answer also, "Would you be willing to serve under this candidate?" That is getting close to home. These ratings are taken together, compared and consolidated and form then the basis of a squad rating. This happens at the sixth, the eleventh and the fifteenth weeks. Each time that is done the platoon leaders must also independently measure the leadership ability of your sons, our leaders in transportation. If they are markedly below, they then appear before what we call

an Officer Candidate Department Board. Simply spoken, that is a group of officers, class commanders, generally with a particular candidate's platoon leader present for a hearing. At this Board meeting it is determined to the satisfaction of the several members whether or not a candidate is believed to be able to go on, whether he should be set back one or more classes, or whether he should be taken out of classes and be given additional basic and/or leadership trainings.

Thus for the man who, unfortunately, early in the game was needed so badly that he had to go overseas and did not get the full advantage of training his buddies who remained here have received, upon returning to this school he gets additional training before he is washed up, as we call it.

If recommended for relief a second test is held for him before what we call a Faculty Board, another distinct group of officers who then examine into his academic records, his squad ratings, his platoon ratings, and then question him personally as well. It is surprising to know how many things come out in these Faculty Board meetings. Our mission is not to mend families, but on many occasions just that result has been produced.

Our objective, I would like to repeat, is leadership. Does he have something there which his own officers are confident will result in handling men, be they other officers, other enlisted men, women or civilians, of whom we have so many in our own service? If the recommendation of that board is for relief, again the candidate is interviewed. Authority is given to commandants to pass finally on each individual case. We are very proud of our record. It is unfortunately not as high as regards relief as some others, and recently, through our intensive extra training, we are gaining better results than ever before. This testing of the individual, we would like to assure you, is to assure that every single candidate has his day in court, that not one is passed over by any rule of thumb, nor is there any arbitrariness in his manipulation.

May I repeat, the mission of the Transportation Corps School as it pertains to officer candidates, which we believe to be our immediate and major mission, is to get officers who will get the goods there in the proper condition, at the proper time.

Upon the occasion of you being assembled here, if you would like to witness an inspiring sight, will you kindly accept our invitation to come out to the New Orleans Army Air Base on next Sunday afternoon at 4:30 and witness a graduation parade for the class that graduates on Wednesday next. At that time you will see some two hundred embryo officers step front and center and take their places in the reviewing stand—the proudest moment of their lives thus far—and witness the remainder of their fellow candidates pass in review. We will be glad to see you.

Thank you very kindly for hearing me and my appreciation to you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We thank Colonel Ackerman for a few minutes' address he delivered and I hope a large number of you will find it possible to respond to his invi-

tation to visit the Army Air Base on next Sunday afternoon.

DELEGATE BATES: The committee on Executive Council's report will meet at 1 P. M. in Parlor I, Roosevelt Hotel. All the members of the committee will kindly be present.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I now call upon the Secretary to read to you a message sent to you through me from the President of the United States.

Secretary Meany read the following letter from the President of the United States:

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington

November 13, 1944

Dear Mr. Green:

Thank you very much for your sincere and cordial invitation to attend and address the Sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. I regret exceedingly that I cannot be with you in New Orleans but the job of going ahead with the war makes it impossible for me to do so at this time.

This war job is of first importance and concern to all of us, to American soldiers, sailors and marines who are winning it on land and sea and in the skies all over the world, to American workers, to American employers and to American farmers. It is the task of us at home to leave nothing undone so that our fighting men may continue getting their glorious victories on every front.

We have been discharging that high duty in a very full measure. American working men and women have done a production job the like of which the world has never seen before. They have supplied our fighters with the finest weapons in record quantities, weapons with which they are besting the enemy and with which they will keep on beating him everywhere they meet.

American employers with their ingenuity and drive and American farmers with their industry and patience have shared with American working men and women in getting done so well the job of producing the weapons, materials and supplies needed by American fighting men. We have all worked to that end and it has paid off in victories and the saving of lives. We can and we must stay unceasingly at the production job so as to shorten the war.

I know there will be no letdown in this task by any group of patriotic Americans and I know that such cooperation will continue after the war is won so that we can win a peace for the world which will be just and lasting and in the interest of the safety, protection and well-being of generations yet unborn.

Please extend my greetings and best wishes for a successful meeting to those attending your annual convention.

Very sincerely yours,
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Honorable William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

(Applause).

PRESIDENT GREEN: The message of the President will be incorporated in the proceedings of today's convention.

Secretary Meany read the following message:

The annual meeting of the Workers Educational Bureau's Executive Council will be held in Parlor H in the Roosevelt Hotel tonight at 8:00 p. m.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have a little time before the adjournment hour as set by the committee on Rules and Order of Business and approved by the convention yesterday. I will take advantage of the opportunity to present to you Brother Holt Ross, for a brief report on his visit to the battlefields of France. Brother Holt Ross, representative of the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, and Brother Hugo Ernst, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Union served as fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress held at Blackpool, England, a short time ago. They have returned and made their report to the convention. Their addresses will be included in the proceedings of the convention.

Brother Holt Ross is a veteran of World War I. He discharged his duties along with Brother Ernst in an admirable way and made a trip to Europe to attend the British Trades Union Congress. Both of these brothers rendered excellent service.

While visiting in France, Brother Ross met General Eisenhower. General Eisenhower submitted a message to this convention through Brother Holt Ross and he will read that message to you when he speaks to us briefly just now.

I am pleased indeed to present Brother Holt Ross, who served as a fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. Later I hope Brother Hugo Ernst will find time to address us.

HOLT ROSS

Report on Visit to Battlefields of France

Mr. President, Delegates and Friends:

Prior to the convening of the British Trades Union Congress, by invitation, I visited numerous of our army installations of various types throughout the United Kingdom.

Immediately after the adjournment of the Trades Union Congress, General H. B. Vaughn, Commanding General of the United Kingdom Base, recommended to General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces, that I be assigned to undertake a certain mission on behalf of the United States Army in France.

As a result of this suggestion and by subsequent invitation of General Eisenhower, I completed the mission to which I was assigned.

Lt. Charles Irwin of the Army Air Force, who had been decorated many times for bravery, was assigned to accompany me on my trip throughout France. Upon reaching France, Lt. Lewis Dumont, a French officer, was also assigned to our official party as an interpreter and to perform other work. During my stay in France, I had an excellent opportunity to secure first hand information from our troops and get their reaction regarding the prosecution of the war and to those on the home front.

My mission took me over extensive areas throughout France and other territory. We traveled many hundreds of miles by air, by automobile, by jeep and by foot. I slept in the bed rolls with our men in the field and in the Ritz Hotel in Paris. I ate field rations and I ate with high ranking officers in the officers' mess.

My talks were with the GI's, privates, corporals, sergeants and ranking officers from lieutenant to general. I talked with these men individually and also in groups. I talked to our wounded in the hospitals. I listened to them as they were being evacuated by land, by air and sea.

My contacts were not limited to our own troops. I talked to the French, the British, the Canadians and the Czechs.

We saw our men and women at work and at war. We laughed with them and we sorrowed with them.

We saw the miracle of transportation in war. We saw hundreds of thousands of tons of cargo being unloaded and saw these supplies moved in thousands of army trucks up to the battle lines.

On the docks of Cherbourg, we saw a port that had been completely devastated and rendered useless by the Germans now completely restored.

Here and elsewhere, we saw longshoremen discharging the cargoes of vital war material. On the beaches where our troops landed on D-Day, we saw thousands of amphibious ducks and Higgins landing craft bringing cargoes from ships riding at anchor. This cargo was efficiently shifted by conveyor belts and lifts to long lines of waiting trucks and then on over the famous Red Ball and alternate routes to the front.

We saw the bridges, roads and railroads that had been restored by our army engineers staggering under the massive loads of cargo that had been produced by our American workers. It must be remembered that our lines of communication have been considerably lengthened while those of the Germans have been considerably shortened since D-Day.

I wish that every American Worker could see the enthusiasm displayed by our troops and see the movement of vital war supplies in this great efficient organization in Normandy. We have truly "praised the Lord and passed the ammunition."

I saw dozens of French cities and towns that were once thriving and peaceful now a mass of ruins. I watched thousands of the former residents return to what had once been home and dig into the wreckage. They were grim but even now are seeking to bring order out of chaos.

I saw the great American Red Cross at work and listened to the praise heaped upon

this great humanitarian organization by our service people. Amidst all this suffering and sacrifice I was overwhelmed to find no bitterness. I found only a determination to fight on and on until final victory.

On the beaches of Normandy, I was inspired to find a huge German pillbox that had been used to slaughter our American boys now being converted into a beautiful memorial to those boys who had made the supreme sacrifice. This conversion job is being done by German prisoners of war under the direction of Col. Eugene Caffee.

I saw thousands of German prisoners being forced to handle material and do other work that will expedite the elimination of the Nazi menace. I talked to these prisoners and assure you that there is no spirit of defeatism among the German troops.

Hundreds of boys and girls in the service inquired of me regarding developments on the home front.

Surprising as it may seem and diametrically contrary to newspaper accounts of the attitude of our service men and women toward American labor, I did not hear one single word of condemnation of our workers here on the home front. On the contrary, I found only praise and expressions of gratitude.

The attitude of our armed forces seems to be "send us the materials of war in ever increasing volume and we will win the war even quicker." As one soldier put it, "You of labor on the home front will determine to a large measure how quickly we shall return home and how many of us will return."

I assured them all that as far as labor was concerned we would do everything humanly possible to bring back as many of them as possible and bring them back as quickly as possible.

We visited the cemeteries where thousands of our boys are resting after giving their all.

I assured these fine boys and girls of yours and mine who are yet living that we would continue to produce to the limit until the last shot is fired and an honorable and lasting peace is won.

In London I saw great sections of the city in ruins and thousands upon thousands of homes destroyed. I saw men, women and little children sleeping in the subways and air shelters. Not once did I hear any complaint from any of them. Notwithstanding deprivations these workers are working with more determination than ever before.

On a church in London that had only three walls left standing and without pews, I noted a sign that read "Although blitzed, our services will continue." This is the spirit of a blitzed people.

In the twenty-four hour period before I left London there were fifteen air raid warnings. One rocket bomb, perhaps a V-2, exploded near my hotel and the windows were shattered. Notwithstanding all of these bombs and although their nerves may be jittery, these workers of Britain continue to carry on.

There is a matter that seems to annoy our troops more than any thing else. It is: "Why do the newspapers keep playing up that the war will soon be over?" They say,

"We know damn well that we are going to have a long bloody war and it is high time the folks back home know the truth."

Summed up, our fighting men appreciate what the overwhelming majority of the people on the home front are doing and I am sure we will strive even harder to show our lasting gratitude for their devotion and sacrifice.

Just before leaving France, General Eisenhower requested me to deliver to you this personal message:

MESSAGE FROM GENERAL DWIGHT EISENHOWER

SUPREME HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE
Office of the Supreme Commander

October, 25, 1944.

Dear Mr. Ross:

Your interest in the problem of equipping American troops in France is indeed encouraging to us who are employing that equipment against the enemy. I want to assure you that we all know and appreciate the part that American labor has played in supporting our efforts.

It is my sincere hope that you will convey to American labor our full appreciation of their fine support. More particularly do I ask that you tell them that the job is not yet done. We are not through fighting, nor are they. We on the battlefronts and they at the benches, in the mines, and in the fields of America must carry on until the enemy is completely defeated in battle. It is, therefore, your battle as well as ours.

Sincerely,

S/DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

MR. ROSS: I suggest that this Convention forward to General Eisenhower the following reply to his communication:

Supreme Commander,
General Dwight D. Eisenhower,
Allied Expeditionary Force,
c/o War Department,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir:

Your expressions of appreciation contained in your October 25th letter for the part American Labor has played in supporting the war effort are highly appreciated.

We assure you that we realize the job is not yet complete and that we of Labor will strive even more to carry on until the enemy is completely defeated and an honorable and lasting peace is won.

The American Federation of Labor,
WILLIAM GREEN, President

In conclusion, may we not all say, "They have fought a good fight, they have kept the faith."

We of labor shall strive harder for each to keep the faith with those who have kept the faith with us. We shall keep on keeping on.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We deeply appreciate this report submitted to us this morning by Brother Holt Ross. The suggestion he made will be acted upon promptly.

ESCORT COMMITTEES

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair wishes to report that Arthur J. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Social Security Board, is scheduled to speak to us tomorrow, also Edward J. Phelan, Acting Director, International Labor Office, and Major Albert J. Stowe, personal representative of Major General Bissell (Military Intelligence), and Joseph D. Keenan, Labor Representative of the War Production Board.

I appoint as a committee to escort Chairman Altmeyer, Brother Harvey J. Brown, of the Machinists International Union, Brother Max Zaritsky, of the Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers, and Brother James McDewitt, of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

I appoint Brother Elmer Milliman, Maintenance of Way Employees, David Dubinsky, International Ladies Garment Workers, and Woodruff Randolph, of the International Typographical Union as a committee to meet Acting Director Phelan and escort him to the hall.

I ask that Brother Gus Bugniazet, Electrical Workers, Brother George Hugh Lynch, Pattern Makers, and Brother Richard F. Walsh act as a committee to meet Major Stowe and escort him to the hall.

On Friday the Fraternal Delegates from Great Britain and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress will bring their messages to you.

Opportunity was given for announcements as to time and place of committee meetings.

At the hour of 12:30 o'clock, p. m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, November 22nd.

THIRD DAY — WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

New Orleans, Louisiana, November 22, 1944

New Orleans, Louisiana
November 22, 1944

The convention was called to order at 9:50 o'clock by President Green.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair presents Dr. H. H. Harper, Pastor of the Napoleon Avenue Methodist Church, New Orleans, to deliver the invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

(Reverend H. H. Harper, Pastor,
Napoleon Avenue Methodist
Church)

O God, our Gracious Heavenly Father, as we come into Thy presence may we not come lightly, thoughtlessly or irreverently, realizing Thy great presence. May we consecrate ourselves to Thee in all things, no matter what they may be. And especially now do we pray Thy Blessings upon this great convention in session assembled in all that it has before it. We ask Thy blessings upon each one who is here with his family and all of his concerns. But above all we ask Thy blessings upon each one as a member of this great convention and of the working forces and the great armed forces of our country. Bless them all together, we beseech Thee in the efforts being made to keep the home fires burning, the factory wheels turning and the supplies going to the fighting men on the front.

Be with us in all things, we beseech Thee, that we may honor Thy great and good name and that through the tremendous sacrifices now being made we may come to a speedy termination of this appalling war and to a peace that may rest upon justice and brotherhood for all of men.

To Thy name be all honor and glory, through Christ Jesus, Our Lord. Amen.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary Green of the Committee on Credentials, for his supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT,
COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Green submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has been requested to substitute the name of Alexander Hylek for Raymond J. Jamieson, pre-

viously reported, as delegate to represent Office Employees' Union No. 23250, Providence, Rhode Island, and the Committee recommends that he be seated with two votes.

Your Committee has also been requested to substitute the name of John Reid in place of George W. Dean, previously reported, to represent the Michigan State Federation of Labor, with one vote, and we recommend that the delegate be seated.

Your Committee has been requested to propose the substitution of Michael J. Cashal for John J. O'Rourke as delegate from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, and the committee recommends that he be seated with 1,048 votes.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Escort Committee

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to appoint the following committee to escort our very dear friend, Brother Jos. D. Keenan to the platform: Brother John J. Mara of the Boot and Shoe Workers, Brother Max Zaritsky of the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers and Brother Herman Winter, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers. He will be here in the hall in just a few minutes, and I ask the committee to escort him to the platform when he arrives to address the convention.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

AMERICAN RED CROSS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 15, 1944

CHAIRMAN'S OFFICE

My dear Mr. Green:

To the delegates and officers of the American Federation of Labor meeting in convention, I extend the hearty greetings and good wishes of the American Red Cross.

The substantial and consistent support which the men and women of organized labor have accorded their American Red Cross has added vital strength toward the performance of our common, world-wide task. To bring to our fighting men the basic necessities of lifesaving blood plasma and surgical dress-

ings, to provide them with comforts and services, your members have given most generously of their time, energy and money.

The job ahead is tremendous. The Red Cross must continue the full performance of its wartime responsibilities for as long as the war may last. Moreover, it must serve the war veteran and his family wherever need exists. Members of the American Federation of Labor, who are active members of the American Red Cross, will aid in seeing the job through.

A people's organization, based on the ideal of the dignity of man, and developed out of the will of all the people to help themselves, the American Red Cross goes forward with full confidence that the support of all the people will continue undiminished.

Sincerely yours,
BASIL O'CONNOR

Mr. William Green
President
American Federation of Labor
Hotel Roosevelt
New Orleans, La.

V-MAIL

Somewhere in Italy.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Hotel Roosevelt,
New Orleans, La., U. S. A.

Dear President Green:

This is to say hello to you and all the delegates attending the convention in New Orleans, La. Please tell them I regret very much not being able to be there, but my job here is not yet finished.

I say to you and all the delegates you are to be congratulated for your splendid record in behalf of the membership for turning out planes, guns, tanks; in fact, all kinds of war machinery. You all should be very proud of your fine results. I know I can speak for many of the boys over here that we all do appreciate it a great deal. I know for one I am very happy to be a union member.

Kindly assure all the delegates and friends attending the convention that we'll do our part gladly till it's over—Over Here.

I am personally looking forward with much pleasure to being with you all next year and renewing old friendships and making new ones. Good luck to you all.

Sincerely,
(Signed) PAUL R. ORNBURN.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Perhaps I ought to explain this briefly, to those who may not remember Paul Ornburn, son of Brother Dick Ornburn, Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department. Paul Ornburn was called to the service early and has been engaged in the service of our country for some length of time. No doubt you will recall that he attended conventions of the American Federation of Labor and served as a messenger and in various capacities.

He sent a message to be read at the Boston Convention. He did not forget us this year, and I notice by the expression of appreciation that you manifested that you were pleased to hear from him. He was an employee of the Union Label Trades Department.

The following message was received from the Secretary of the Navy:

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY WASHINGTON

November 10, 1944.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Green:

Thank you very much for your kind invitation of October 30 to attend and address the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is with most sincere regret that I must decline, owing to a previous War Bond speaking engagement in Minneapolis. Please convey to the delegates my best wishes for a successful meeting and the Navy's appreciation for what American labor as a whole has done to speed the day of victory.

Sincerely yours,
JAMES FORRESTAL.

MESSAGE FROM GEN. MacARTHUR

President Green received the following message from General Douglas MacArthur:

WAR DEPARTMENT SIGNAL CENTER

November 10, 1944.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Nothing has been more impressive in the mighty war now waging than the magnificent effort of the mass of American labor. It has not failed us in the past. I am supremely confident it will not fail us in the future.

(Signed) MacARTHUR.

President Green's Reply

Western Union Telegram
Washington, D. C., Nov. 15, 1944.

General Douglas MacArthur,
Cable Address: AMGUFA.

Thanks for your highly pleasing message. Good luck and God bless you.

WM. GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Machinists-Engineers

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair submits a supplemental report of the Executive Council on the jurisdictional dispute between the International Association of Machinists and the International Union of Operating Engineers for inclusion in the proceedings of today's convention:

At a meeting of the Executive Council held in Chicago, Illinois, August 21, 1944, consideration was given to a jurisdictional dispute which arose between the International Association of Machinists and the International Union of Operating Engineers regarding the making of necessary repairs on machines operated by members of the International Union of Operating Engineers in order to keep said machines in operation.

A committee was appointed by direction of the Executive Council for the purpose of meeting with the official representatives of the two organizations directly concerned and directly interested for the purpose of working out a solution of the jurisdictional problem and with instructions that said committee report back to the members of the Executive Council. The committee was composed of Vice-Presidents Bates, Birthright, and Doherty.

The committee reported to the Executive Council that it was agreed between the representatives of both unions involved that the dispute was "Whether the Engineers or Machinists would make the repairs on machinery operated by the Engineers at the site of the operation." Because it was impossible to bring about an agreement between representatives of the Operating Engineers and the representatives of the Machinists upon the question in dispute, the committee recommended to the Executive Council "that the jurisdiction over all repairs necessary to keep the machine in operation on machines operated by the members of the International Union of Operating Engineers on the site of the operation belongs to the International Union of Operating Engineers." The recommendation made by the committee was adopted by the Executive Council.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I am pleased to present to you one of our own colleagues, a devoted member of the American Federation of Labor, one who has long been associated with the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

When the War Production Board was created the American Federation of Labor was requested to recommend a representative to serve as a labor member of the committee set up by the War Production Board, we selected our friend who is here and who will speak to you this morning, Joseph D. Keenan. Later he was promoted to the position of Vice Chairman of the War Production Board. He has loyally and devotedly represented us there. We are all under a great debt of gratitude to Brother

Keenan for the faithful, devoted and successful way in which he has represented the American Federation of Labor and labor as a whole, as Vice Chairman of the War Production Board. He comes to us for the purpose of submitting a message. I know you are waiting and will be pleased to hear him.

I present to you our friend and fellow worker, Brother Joseph D. Keenan.

MR. JOSEPH D. KEENAN

(Labor Division, War Production Board)

I want to thank President Green for his very kind remarks. I feel deeply the honor of being introduced to this great convention by President Green. I am very glad to have the privilege and the opportunity of talking before the 64th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. This convention is taking place at a time of the greatest historic importance. Our words and our deeds at this convention can have a profound effect, not only upon the course of the war which we have not yet won, but upon the post-war period and the future peace of the entire world.

For the past four years, particularly the past three, working men and women in the United States have had but one objective. That was to produce the ships, the tanks, the guns, the airplanes, the shells, and all the other goods and equipment needed to win the war. Ours was the terrific job of producing war equipment in greater amounts, and better quality than was held by the enemy. We were producing this equipment not only for our own armies, but also for the armies of England and Russia and China, and for all the brave guerilla forces which have risked so very much to play their indispensable roles in the winning of the war.

I know of no better summary of the way in which American labor has met its objectives over the past four years than the statement of achievements in war production which President Roosevelt made in one of his recent speeches:

"At our peak, American labor and management have turned out airplanes at the rate of 109,000 per year; tanks—57,000 per year; combat vessels—573 per year; landing vessels—31,000 per year; cargo ships—19 million tons per year; and small arms ammunition—23 billion rounds per year."

Four years ago when we began this tremendous task of war production, France had just fallen and Britain was in desperate danger of invasion. Following the surprise attack at Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, we lost the Philippines, the British lost Singapore, and there were other serious territorial losses and setbacks in Asia.

Today we stand on the edge of a great and decisive victory in Europe. The Allied armies have ringed Germany completely in. The formerly all-conquering Nazi armies are

now making their defensive last stand with-in their own Reich.

No one can say that the end of the War in Europe will happen immediately. But we all know that the European war will be won soon, some time in 1945, we hope. The outlook of the war in Asia is much brighter, too. The Japanese Navy has undergone resounding defeats. And we have driven the Japanese soldiers from island after island. We are in the process of wresting back from them the Philippines, whose loss was one of the darkest moments in American history.

And so, these four years have seen the greatest feat of industrial production the world has ever known. They have brought about complete reversal of the tides of battle in the most world-wide, destructive war man has ever known. There is much yet to be done—labor will do its utmost to produce and keep on producing the full needs of our fighting forces.

Over the past year we have come to face a problem of the greatest magnitude—one which can set the pattern for world peace and world prosperity, or for more wars, more periods of depression, more wide-spread hunger, fear and want.

What kind of a post-war world, particularly with respect to jobs, are we going to make for our service men and women, and for our war workers, all of whom have toiled so hard and sacrificed so much in order to win the war?

The war period has brought great changes in our economy. War production has been carried on at so high a level that everyone who wanted to work could find a job, and employers were competing with one another for labor. The number of people wanting to work in the United States has increased, despite the fact that some eleven million young men and women have gone into the Armed Forces.

If we are to avoid a depression after the war, and resulting widespread misery; if we are to prove to our workers and our soldiers that their toil and sacrifice were not in vain, but have achieved concrete gains and a better way of life for the common man, then we must make sure that after the war there will be enough jobs to go around and wages high enough to permit workers to buy the goods and services they must have to live at decent levels. The only way that we can do this is to plan for post-war production to be carried on at levels high enough to provide jobs for all those who want to work.

How to achieve and maintain the necessary level of production is one of the major problems of our transition from a war economy to a full peace-time economy. To boil down to its essence what is really a most complicated economic problem, we can only achieve the necessary high level of production by having markets for goods, so that industry can produce at top levels and be confident that it will be able to sell all that it produces. This in turn means that workers must receive enough money in the form of wages to enable them to buy the things they need, as well as luxuries, in that way providing the markets industry needs.

In other words, both the consumer and the producer must have confidence. The consumer must have confidence that he can spend his savings because he will be able to find work. The producer must have confidence that he can produce fully because his products will be purchased. It is a continuous round of full production, full employment and full consumption. Each is necessary if the other two are to be kept going over the period of reconversion and on into the post-war period.

Achieving this high level of production is going to be hard to do, since every industry or plant, once it reaches the point of stopping its war production and taking up civilian production again, is going to face a period of change-over. During that period the workers of that industry or plant are going to be unemployed. While they are unemployed there is every likelihood that they will be afraid to spend their savings for civilian products, no matter how great their need. In that case, of course, there is danger that industry will be unsure of its markets, and production will fall below the levels required to furnish enough jobs.

The War Production Board has told us that after VE-Day as much as 40 per cent of industry will be released from war production, and that around four million workers are going to have to find new jobs in civilian production. It is also expected that from one to three million men will be released from the Armed Services during that same period.

How long it will take these industries to reconvert, or these displaced war workers or discharged service men to find new jobs is any one's guess. But it is all-important to every American worker or businessman that the time should not be too long, and that displaced workers should feel enough security about their chances for re-employment so that the new civilian goods will find ready purchasers.

Uncertainty about jobs and markets must be kept to a minimum. These unavoidable short periods of unemployment must be kept to a minimum. We must not permit a serious depression to develop.

The War Production Board staffs have made estimates as to what level production would have to reach in order to furnish jobs for everyone wanting to work. According to these experts, if we take into account the growth in the number of persons wanting to work, increases in labor productivity, and a number of other similar factors, production after the war will have to be about 50 percent greater than it was in 1940.

After VE-Day cutbacks some of the workers laid off will be only temporarily unemployed, because of the necessity for retooling of plants changing over to peace-time production. Others, aircraft and shipbuilding workers for instance, are going to have to seek new jobs elsewhere.

Thus there are two types of problems in connection with stepping up civilian production. First there is the problem of speeding up the reconversion of those durable goods industries which can go into the production of peace-time goods so that workers will be reabsorbed. Some work is being done

now to make the necessary preparations. Secondly, there is the problem of shifting workers into occupations entirely different from those they have pursued during the war. The solution to this problem depends upon the expansion after the war of two types of industry or service. The first is construction, the second is trade and services.

There is general agreement that a huge growth of construction activity is necessary if full employment is to be maintained in the post-war period. It has been estimated that construction activity should be high enough to raise construction employment from its present all-time low of 600,000 workers to roughly 3 million on-site workers, and 4 1/2 million off-site workers.

We need new housing, we need utilities such as electric, gas, water, telephone and telegraph, etc. There are whole cities in which centrally-located buildings have fallen into disrepair and which need rehabilitation and modernization. There is need for vast modernization of highways. Hospitals, schools, sewage and industrial waste disposal plants, water and sewage systems are needed in huge numbers. There is great need for rural electrification. There are pre-war industrial facilities which have become obsolete or war-built plants not suitable for producing civilian goods which will have to be replaced.

Increased activity in the construction industry would mean more than an increase in jobs in the construction industry alone. It would also mean increased markets for raw materials, builders' supplies and construction equipment. It would stimulate production of such metal products as heating equipment, plumbing fixtures, air conditioning, etc. And if new houses were to be built on a large scale, there would be increased markets for such household equipment as refrigerators, washing machines, furniture, electrical equipment, and so forth. Increased construction activity will thus provide many more jobs in mines, forests, mills, factories, and in the transportation industries.

The biggest expansion is expected in the construction industry. This will create problems such as reassembling supervisory and skilled manpower who have literally scattered to the far corners of the earth. Or building equipment may be run down or likewise scattered to distant places. Building supply stockpiles are pretty largely depleted.

It is not my belief that government should assume permanent responsibility for maintaining construction projects so as to furnish full employment in the construction industry. But I do believe that the government can help out with temporary construction programs in a period such as the present while the construction industry is expanding to the necessary levels. By planning now, local, State or Federal governments can sponsor enough needed construction projects to take up the slack until the construction industry is ready to carry the major part of the load.

The trade and service industry is the second group of industries in which a substantial increase in employment can take

place after the war. These industries include retail and wholesale trade, laundries, restaurants and hotels, domestic and similar services. Historically, employment in trade and services has followed consumer spending. Where the consumer was spending his money for goods at a high rate, employment in the trade and service occupations would likewise be high.

At present these industries are short of manpower, workers having shifted into higher-paying jobs in war production. If the present level of consumer spending continues on into the transition period, these industries by employing enough manpower to make up for their present shortage, and also by going back to the 40-hour week, should absorb about 2 million workers in addition to the 11 million now employed an average of 42 hours a week.

Full employment would bring such a rise in our standards of living as to cause an expansion of trade and service activities to the point where total employment would reach 15 million on a 40-hour week. But should consumer spending shrink because of failure to achieve full employment after the war, the trade and service industries would add only a few workers.

There is another aspect to this problem of full employment. We have made very definite promises to our men and women in uniform about their rights to their former jobs when they come back home. And we have enacted legislation giving them a number of benefits such as rights to training for new jobs, further education, the right to earn seniority while in service, and so forth.

However, if there is widespread unemployment after the war there will be a scramble for jobs with veterans of World War II competing with ex-war workers, and veterans of World War I, or with the parents of veterans. I have seen enough figures to obtain a good idea of what could happen in the event of widespread unemployment. Business Week in one issue had figures revealing what the post-war scramble for jobs could be in 16 industrial plants in Cleveland, Ohio. If employment were to remain at the same levels as in 1939 in these plants, there could be as many as 275 claimants for every 100 jobs. Were this picture to be repeated over and over throughout the country, it would lead to bitterness and strife.

It is clear then, that short of full employment we will not be able to assure suitable jobs at decent wages to all our veterans. Further, unemployment will bring about conditions which our war veterans must not find on their return.

Organized labor has already done a great deal in the way of waiving initiation fees, exemption from dues while in service, waiving of time limits for payment of fees, maintenance of death and disability benefits for members in the service and so forth. It is important that labor participate wherever possible in making plans and carrying out programs for returning veterans to civilian life. Labor representatives will want to work with the local, state and national committees handling these problems. And union representatives handling veterans' reemployment problems will want to be familiar with

all the regulations so that they will be fully equipped to do the best possible job.

One of the great tasks lying before us as a member of the Allied Nations is to encourage the rebuilding of Democratic institutions in Europe. The restoration of European nations to democratic governments and to democratic ways of life has a very obvious bearing on our own post-war peace and security. Equally apparent is the fact that healthy economic situations abroad will increase our economic well-being at home.

We cannot expect that European countries just picking themselves up from the devastations of war and fascism will be able to establish democratic movements and institutions unless a sound basis is laid for it by the re-establishment of vigorous and stable labor movements. Every effort has been made by fascist governments or fascist conquerors to destroy labor in Europe. Labor leaders have been killed; labor activities silenced.

Almost total reconstruction is needed in rebuilding European democratic institutions. The fact must also be recognized that European populations are now subject to extreme conditions of suffering and want, leading to violent emotions. In such a situation assistance is needed from experienced friends outside, if order and stability are to be brought out of chaos. To give such assistance men expert in labor conditions and labor relations, and proved in work in the labor movement are needed. Just as one would not assign a doctor to build a bridge or an engineer to cure a sick man so it is important not to select persons who are inexperienced in the labor movement to help rebuild the democratic labor movements.

American labor must be permitted to send from among its most experienced members to help in the task of reconstruction of Europe. It must be done in every country released from domination to a much wider extent, as a measure of importance to American labor as well as to European.

When I spoke before this convention last year, I made mention of the problem we were then facing of getting more participation by labor in government war agencies. During the past four years the Office of Labor Production has made vigorous representations to get for labor the fullest measure of representation and participation in government. We pressed this not only where labor's welfare was essentially involved but our primary purpose was to place every ounce of labor's ability, labor's strength and labor's patriotic devotion behind the all-out war effort. We pushed for labor representation because we were sure it was the best way to speed war production to all our fighting armies and our Allies on all fronts.

In war production, then, as now, our main responsibility and our immediate purpose is to do everything within our power to win the war. At the same time we have been mindful of the fact that labor's interest and labor's sights had to be set beyond the goal of achieving total victory. Labor, more than any other segment of our great economy, can and must pool its resources, its strength, its influence, its statesmanship to give full expression and the fullest backing to every clear voice that carries around the globe in pleading for liberty, justice, peace and prosperity for all peoples everywhere.

This is not going to be an easy task. The road ahead is by no means clear. We see many pitfalls, many hazards. But if we keep our goals clear and our objectives straight and have the patience, forbearance and the good sense to make minor adjustments here, small compromises there, I feel certain that the yearning of the world for a permanent peace will insure that the war will not have been fought in vain.

I hope that during the period of changing from war production to peace production labor will receive a clearer recognition, and will participate more fully in the work of guiding and directing reconversion. Labor's capacity and ability to contribute, as well as its stake, is too great to permit neglect of this responsibility.

As General Somervell told you on Monday, we have reached a fluid stage in the war. Changes in war production needs are going to occur suddenly from time to time and will have to be met with utmost speed. This will be so because experience has shown that a certain type of weapon is very successful in actual combat or it has proved disappointing and must be replaced, or because the shifting of fighting to new areas demands new weapons. Consequently, over the next months the Armed Services and the War Production Board will be passing on to you workers their requests for much larger quantities of a given piece of equipment than was originally anticipated, or for re-designed equipment. It will be essential that equipment so requested by the military be produced swiftly without delay of any kind. We will need your assistance if these urgent changes in war production needs are to be met promptly, and we will be making these demands upon you until we have defeated our enemies in both Germany and Japan.

In the months ahead, as in these last four years, we shall see great changes in the American industrial scene. It is up to American workers as well as to American business and American government, to see to it that those changes bring about a better world for our soldiers overseas, when they come back, and for our children. We have proved ourselves capable of great sustained effort over the last four years. I know that we will not fail the purpose toward which those four long hard years were bent, the achievement of a total victory, of a just peace, and a healthy sound economy, where there are jobs for all, wages that are fair, and life for everyone is happier and more useful.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank Brother Keenan in your name and in your behalf for the fine address which he delivered this morning. We appreciate his visit. We appreciate the very valuable information submitted in his address. We want to assure him that the great army of workers identified with the American Federation of Labor will stand by him and with him and cooperate with him fully in the discharge of his duties and in the performance of the valuable work in which he is engaged.

Now we have a representative of the Military Intelligence Branch of the Army who will bring to us what I know will be an interesting message. He comes here for the express purpose of bringing this message to the officers and delegates and visitors to this convention. He responded promptly and wholeheartedly to the invi-

tation extended him to visit with us and address you today.

I am pleased to present Major Stowe, personal representative of Major General Bissell of the Military Intelligence Division of the Army.

MAJOR ALBERT STOWE

Thank you very much President Green. I am sure it must be obvious to everyone that anyone privileged to have an invitation from President Green, issued in your behalf, certainly regards it as a personal pleasure as well as a privilege to meet with you. I assure you that is true in my case.

My mission here is to emphasize the importance of curbing LOOSE TALK in a nation at war; among a people intent upon early and decisive victory.

We are pursuing a vast program for this specific purpose. Many aspects of the program are national in their application. Other features are dependent for success upon the aggressive but sustained effort of local civilian leadership in numerous communities throughout the country.

We are not selling a commodity. We are trying to establish among all Americans an attitude of conscience, based on common sense. All Americans; wherever we may find them, at our own family breakfast table, in shop, office, town or village, have got to know that a trifling remark on the home front too readily becomes a coffin nail on the battle front.

As all of you are in a position to further the program, and because you are also a typical cross-section of relatives of loved ones in military and naval service, anxious for the ultimate return of those who are precious to you and your neighbors, it is highly important to have you familiar with the seriousness of the problem and why we must teach everyone the need of caution in conversation regarding military matters.

Perhaps as relatives and friends of those in military service you may not have fully sensed the importance of civilian responsibility to safeguard military information. It must be obvious to all that a soldier who carelessly pokes his head out of a fox-hole reveals his position to the enemy and virtually guarantees oblivion for himself and a few buddies. But carelessness in conversation among his parents and friends back home, less obviously maybe, but ever so certainly can spell annihilation for huge numbers of our troops and even consequent failure of an entire military operation.

In war the enemy is always trying to find out what you've got, what you're doing, and what you mean to do. At the same time you are trying to keep him from doing so. The different means used to blind him are collectively called security. His ignorance of our resources, locations, movements and intentions means much. Often it is more effective than great superiority of force. A puny opponent with good eye sight can usually defeat a blind Samson.

The enemy's knowledge of us will never be as complete as he would like, but he is always trying to see better, and any little scrap of fact which his spies can get hold of is much more important to him than the average man or woman would imagine.

Who here would think that there would be any harm in the publication of a picture showing British soldiers handling an unexploded delayed-action bomb in London? It was the enemy's own bomb; surely he knew all about it. What the enemy did discover from the picture, however, was the British method of handling such a bomb. Armed with this important information the Germans changed their detonators so as to insure that future unexploded delayed bombs would and did explode with such handling.

The whole long history of war is one of efforts to fool the enemy and at the same time to keep him from fooling one's own side. The Bible tells how Joshua, when intending to attack the city of Jericho, sent spies who entered the place and were received at the house of a woman of easy virtue. The local counter-espionage was working so that the appearance of suspicious local counter-espionage, although it was working, was not working well enough, for when she said that they had gone away her house was not thoroughly searched. The truth was that she had heard of previous Jewish victories and wanted to be on what she thought would be the winning side. Accordingly, she first hid the spies and then got them out of town by lowering them down the outside of the city wall with a rope. Thus they were able to return to Joshua with the valuable military information that the morale of the garrison, who like the harlot had heard of his victories was low.

In the same way the timeless problem of military information versus security run through all American military history. Washington spent much time in trying to fool the commanders opposed to him, and succeeded very well. In the decisive Yorktown campaign he was careful to conceal from the British, on Manhattan Island, the early stages of his march from the middle Hudson to Virginia. First he spread rumors that he was going to attack New York City. Next as he moved to Northern New Jersey he gave it out that his objective was Staten Island, and then it was Sandy Hook. And so on and on, through other wars, into this one.

The Japanese and German Intelligence Services already have a great deal of information about us, but they are hungry for more details. They can never get enough.

Every day on buses, on trains and street cars, in stores and taverns and other places of assembly, there is unloosed enough conversational "dynamite" to conclude this war on a basis vastly different than that which centers our every hope and our every prayer. I am referring to the seemingly unimportant bits of information about military matters that are all-too-easy to hear in entirely too many places.

Danger lies in the fact that many of you are sure you know nothing of value to the

enemy. You do not realize that what you know has any military significance.

"If we stood in the middle of the Union Station and told everything we know on any subject, it wouldn't help Hitler a snitch," you sincerely but mistakenly tell me. That makes our task so difficult. The need for security on the home front is understood in general, but is so often hard to appreciate with regard to the constant procession of little bits of military information, many of them tiny, atomic bits, which we see every day as they move past us in the routine of our daily lives.

It would be ridiculous to suggest that the enemy does not know that Americans have been sent to Australia or elsewhere in force. But how certain are we that they knew that Bill's regiment is there? We all realize that one of the important secrets about the strategy in the South Pacific is the number of troops with General MacArthur. What the enemy agent is commissioned to find out among other facts is the total strength of an expeditionary force, the arms and equipment they are likely to have with them and what special training they have had. A word picked up here that Bill is "down under," and then another tip that Ed met Bill there, added a third word, telling that the two might meet up with Joe, and this spy business becomes as simple as one, two, three.

We must come to the realization that every little bit of military information is of value to the enemy no matter how small. To keep the kind of information I have alluded to, or any other type of fact connected with our war effort to ourselves, means a measure of extraordinary care and even sacrifice for every one of us. None of us ever mean to tell the enemy anything, yet some of us do.

I was present recently at an espionage trial in Detroit, and heard things that makes us shudder to even read about. A government witness—a woman who had pleaded guilty following her apprehension by the Federal Bureau of Investigation—was testifying. She told how in Budapest, early in 1941, she had been hired to come to the United States as an espionage agent. Then followed an account of how she had been sent to Berlin for special training and instructions.

She testified to having been ordered to send back all manner of information, irrespective of how seemingly trivial. In fact, she went right down the list of all those things that we have been warning people not to discuss ever since Pearl Harbor.

How do these things get out? Almost always through carelessness. Sometimes a soldier talks. Sometimes his wife talks. Sometimes it is a clerk in a grocery store, or a bartender, or a draftsman, or somebody in a service organization, or perhaps a stevedore who has helped load munitions for overseas shipment, or the head of a great industry, or a banker, or an insurance agent. In other words, a cross section of the most talkative nation on the face of the earth—a nation which values its free speech, a nation which has never had to suspect its neighbors, or question its friends, whether

those friends live across the border or in the next block or in the next apartment.

It is not necessary to remind me that indiscretions are not limited to civilians; that we in uniform are not blameless. You may have encountered both officers and men who lacked caution regarding military matters. Naturally, since most of the men in our armed forces were themselves lately civilians; they have the same needs as you to be educated on the seriousness of security of military information. You may be assured they are getting such education in far more intensive ways than you realize. Morning, noon, and night, as soon as a man dons uniform, he is made continually mindful that he must guard his tongue.

But, as Mr. David Lawrence so aptly stated in his newspaper column: "Anybody who fraternizes with troops anywhere can learn things of value. The best trained troops in the world who may be instructed to keep their mouth shut, do not know at times what is or is not valuable information of use to the enemy."

Bear in mind that putting a uniform on an individual does not necessarily change his human nature over night. A braggart in khaki as in mufti, finds it pretty hard to admit that he isn't thoroughly "in the know". Sometimes, as a result, his conceit carries him off base and he divulges military information to his friends or exaggerates beyond all proportion what little he does know simply to seem important. Others are carried away by faith, enthusiasm, frequently by ignorance, the same, so often as you are. It makes no difference why people talk, they must be judged by the potential consequence of what they reveal. When they reveal even bits of scraps of military information they endanger lives—lives of tremendous value to both nation and families.

One brief illustration will indicate how rapidly the enemy has been able to gather information and get it to his headquarters.

When Brazil declared war on the Axis, the German radio in Berlin made a broadcast in Portuguese to Brazil. "We're not worried about Brazil's declaration of war," the Germans said,—"your soldiers are a lazy indolent lot. And if you don't think so," they continued, "go down to a certain wharf where Private So-and-So is supposed to be on guard duty. He is supposed to be guarding valuable military supplies, but the fact is that he is asleep behind some packing cases near the end of the pier." Brazilian staff officers drove immediately to the spot the Germans had described. And there, sure enough, was the soldier sound asleep in the exact spot the Germans had mentioned. Now, at the very most this man's total period of guard duty was four hours. Furthermore, in that time he had to be assigned his post, make a show of patrolling it until he was alone . . . find a concealed spot . . . and then go to sleep. What's more, a German agent had to see him there . . . and then send the news to Berlin . . . the news had to be edited, translated, and fitted into the broadcast . . . and then radioed back to South America. All within four hours at the most! While you're on a shopping trip, you could tell a friend an interesting bit of news about your boy . . . and before you got

home German Intelligence officers could be studying that news in Germany.

THIS war is realism on the most awful scale ever known to men. While it is global in its vastness it is as intimate as the tiniest home in our land. There's nothing the least bit abstract about war when it enters the home. Then and there it takes on mighty individual proportions. Its stark tragedy is bitterly personalized by every name on the casualty list. Then we're not smug any more; no longer complacent. We don't feel that war's demands must be tailored to our individual, personal convenience . . . that it is a part-time matter. At this point, we readily curb our impulse to chatter carelessly (and resent it among our neighbors) fully awake to the hazard loose talk puts in the way of all loved ones . . . bound and determined that we won't have on our conscience any of those names on the lengthening casualty list.

Throughout the world our forces are clearly on the offensive. In the light of current invasions it is simply common sense to realize that the enemy has to redouble his espionage efforts. He seeks to anticipate our points of penetration in an endeavor to meet us with force. Only a few hundred people in various parts of this country and in varied occupations, ANY OF YOU INCLUDED, each contributing his little bit of LOOSE TALK can provide the enemy with all he needs . . . a jig-saw puzzle picture of our invasion plans. SILENCE on the part of every one of us was never so necessary as NOW and in the months to come.

We are faced with a war too deadly as it is, from a standpoint of grim necessity, to persistently indulge in LOOSE TALK either through "carelessness" or through stubborn insistence on "our right to talk". Neither YOU who are in uniform, nor those of us who are in uniform, have any moral license to risk lives needlessly because we don't or won't "THINK BEFORE WE TALK".

War's end will not come with each of us cherishing a notion that we can be a nation of 135-million Little Napoleons. We have got to put out of our minds the idea that we, or any prophets among us, can predict the duration. Such speculation does not advance our cause; it gets us nowhere. Besides, it dissipates our needed energies.

No way to sugar-coat a war has ever been devised and we must reharden and rededicate ourselves to the business of winning this one. We must set our jaws with renewed determination to hasten victory; to do everything within the scope of our personal capabilities and influence.

We have immediate need to fortify ourselves emotionally against any self-deception that Germany's fall will mean the entire war is over; that Japan may then be defeated by mass purchase of ice-boxes, nylon stockings or new automobiles, and that we can all relax until the Victory Parade in Tokyo a week or two after German surrender. Sound reasoning dictates continuing regard for utmost security and the most vigorous continuation of offensives on home front as well as battle front until the whole job is done.

We're in a position now where every hit has got to be a "HOMER"! Until the final

play is over we mustn't relax for a single moment.

Until this fight is finished . . . and mind you it isn't finished until it is completely won . . . until this fight is finished, cautious conversation is simply one thing we expect of each other. Other opportunities to help on the home front continue to be varied and abundant. Big thing we've got to remember; we can't escape this war-torn world by wishful thinking; we can't walk out on the game.

You and I, combine to make the WE who are fighting this war, and WE'VE got to stay in there with everything we've got. Even though the present score seems running in our favor, it is just as well to pass the word.

"Gentlemen and Ladies: This Ain't No Time to Bunt!"

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know you would want me to thank Major Stowe for his visit here this morning and for the interesting and helpful address which he has delivered. He has awakened within us, or at least emphasized, the great need for us to be cautious, in our conversations as well as in our actions. We can contribute toward the winning of the war by carrying out the constructive suggestions he has made.

I thank you, Major, for your visit and for your address.

Now I want to present to you a very dear friend, one who has shown by his word and deed his deep interest in the welfare of the membership of the American Federation of Labor. You will recall that Brother Archibald McDonald Gordon was present at the Toronto Convention. He brought to the convention just a word of greeting. I have asked him to repeat the splendid service which he rendered at Toronto by extending to all of you in attendance at this convention a similar word of greeting.

I am pleased indeed to present to you Archibald McDonald Gordon, Labor Attache of the British Embassy in Washington.

ARCHIBALD McDONALD GORDON

(Labour Attache, British Embassy,
Washington)

Mr. President and distinguished visitors and delegates: I had no intention of trespassing on your time this morning, and what I have to say will be very brief. I am honored and privileged to have an opportunity of being here and to have received a personal invitation from President Green to attend your convention this morning. It gives me the opportunity to say thank you to President Green publicly for much good counsel and help and kindness since I began my work in this country. It also gives me the opportunity to say to many delegates in this hall who have given me the utmost help and cooperation on my travels around this country, thank you.

I am sure that the British Ambassador would want me to express thanks in his behalf and to say on his behalf, too, how much he ap-

preciates the help which many of you have given to him in going around the country, in the meetings which you have arranged for him and the discussions which you have been good enough to have for him. It is his wish to try to interpret Britain to this country and this country to Britain, and he cannot do that unless he gets around this country. Many of you have been very helpful to him in that respect, and he appreciates it.

Whilst I am on the subject of giving thanks it is perhaps well for any Briton to say thank you to an audience of this sort for the many things America has done for Britain in this present crisis. Britons remember many things before Pearl Harbor. They remember the help that America gave them with ships and with food. They remember that you took our children. They remember Lend-Lease, an act primarily intended to defend America, but nevertheless one of the greatest examples of magnanimity and international collaboration which history has shown.

We remember also your generosity in monetary gifts. You gave Britain gifts freely and generously which have enabled her to establish in time of want many amenities which she never would have been able to have—Navy clubs, social welfare centers and many other things have been available to Britain in dark days, through American generosity. But perhaps above all that, what will remain as a lasting memory will be the faith that American citizens have had in Britain.

If I may say one word in behalf of Britain it might be well to recapitulate that we found ourselves at Dunkirk facing a nation in control of other peoples, in fact, something like 200 millions of people, with Germany armed to the teeth and with ample supplies of munitions of war. We had something like 46,000,000 people, 33,000,000 between the ages of 18 and 64, unarmed and with nothing, and we just had to decide to stand or fall, and we decided to stand.

But to do that there was only one possible thing, and that was maximum production. We were faced at the time with a loss of shipping, sometimes 700,000 or 800,000 tons a month, many of these ships with valuable cargoes. We had to reduce our imports to one-third of what they were in peace-time, and after that we had to equip our forces and our defenses and then to provide our civilian population on the home front. We had to mobilize quickly. We had to have maximum production and maximum efficiency, and I think we can safely claim to have done it. And in doing that Britain received no greater strength than she got from your people.

I think I may say that much of our success was due to our industrial relations system. Cooperation between representatives of labor and of management enabled them to go to the government and cooperate with the government in providing maximum production, and well and truthfully and faithfully have they done it.

We have had to forego many of the customs and privileges which the trade unions in Britain have fought for for many years, but they have a bill which has gone through Parliament, the Restoration of the Pre-War Practices Act, which in time will restore many of those privileges.

There are many opportunities for service

in Britain. The women had to come into the picture. When our manpower sources got shorter we had to mobilize women to the maximum extremity. The women, perhaps, have borne a very hard burden in Britain. They have been subjected to many trials, both in their work and in their homes and in their lives, and I think we may safely say they have borne the greater share of the trials which Britain had to go through.

Now, notwithstanding these war pre-occupations we have tried to devote some thought to the post-war world. What we have in mind is a comprehensive program which we hope will give us a little better world in the future than we have had in the past.

We have proposals for education, for housing, for restoration to employment, for rehabilitation, for social security and workmen's compensation, and the whole field of wages is under active consideration.

If I may say in addition to that, we have a program on White Paper by the Government on full employment which we hope will provide for our more stable conditions than in the past.

I would like to talk about our Rehabilitation Act which we have passed in Britain today. When we were so short of manpower and had scraped the bottom of the barrel, we had to look to our disabled and found we had something like 187,000 people in Britain disabled and regarded as unemployable. By various methods we have been able to treat, train and place in employment in three and one-half years, not less than 169,000 of that 187,000.

We now have an act on the statute books which will provide for the treatment, training and placement of disabled workers, whether from industry or from the forces of war, and it will be compulsory on employers to employ a certain percentage of their employees from those trained disabled workers. This program may not satisfy everybody, but it is a wide and comprehensive program which we hope will bring us on the road to a better existence than in the past.

At this crucial stage of the war, we should give full attention to winning the war quickly and getting on with the peace. In the peace to come there will be many problems between your country and mine and between the Allies, too. During the war we have collaborated in many fields in an amicable and common manner in both the interest of ourselves and of the world. We shall be faced, when this war is over, with many material problems. There will be troubles arising, material problems to solve. There will be questions relating to oil, transportation, aviation and many others, but let us bear in mind these are perhaps material problems which human beings should solve, and let us not drift into any period of insecurity because we mistake the small things for big things.

In the past our two countries have collaborated, and I hope we can work things out for the future. I do not think any problems are too big for us and our Allies to solve, and we can look forward to a

peace and security for our children and our children's children yet unborn.

Thank you very much indeed for listening to me and thank you, President Green.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank Brother Gordon in behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention for the message which you just delivered. We hope you will enjoy your visit with us and that you will remain as long as you can.

Now we have reached that point in our program which we have been looking forward to in pleasant anticipation. We have with us this morning the distinguished Commander of The American Legion. You have noted in the press that he was promoted to this high honor at the convention of The American Legion that was held in Chicago just a short time ago. I know you will be pleased to learn that Edward N. Scheiberling, the National Commander of The American Legion, the one who is here this morning, not the one who was at Boston one year ago, is a son of Martin Scheiberling, who was a member of Local 201 of the Brotherhood of Painters, and who served several years as a member of the Legislative Committee of the New York State Federation of Labor—in fact for 15 years—also business manager of Local 201 of the Painters' Union, for 10 years prior to his death.

The Painters can feel honored because such a distinguished person was a member of the Painters' Union for such a long period of time, and it is inconceivable that the son of this father would fail to inherit the point of view, the philosophy and the logic of the trade union religion which his father endowed to him. So it is refreshing, and I repeat the word refreshing with emphasis, to have here the great Commander of a great organization, The American Legion, with such a record, enjoying the heritage of being the noble son of a noble father.

I present to you the Commander of The American Legion, Edward N. Scheiberling.

EDWARD N. SCHEIBERLING

(National Commander, The American Legion)

President Green, ladies and gentlemen of the convention: I am scared after that. First, may I tell you that the American Legion is a democratic organization—that is with a small "d" also, although I happen to be a Democrat, and under our constitution, a National Commander can only serve the Legion for one year. Now, of course, you have a little different policy here. You see I am only in for about 10 months more and then the Legion will select another leader, and what he will do to you then, I don't know.

I want to express my most grateful appreciation to your President for the very high tribute which he paid to my esteemed father. I only wish that my father might have been here today, because I know the thrill of pride that would be his to see his son addressing the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

There isn't any reason why the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor should not always be close friends.

Some weeks ago on a visit to Washington, I took occasion to call at the office of the American Federation of Labor and I had a very fine visit there with your President, Mr. Green, and with my esteemed friend of many years standing, George Meany, whom I have known during the years when he was President of the New York Federation of Labor and engaged in the work of your organization at the Capitol in Albany.

The committee which your President designated to escort me here today is composed of distinguished members of the American Federation of Labor and men of distinction in the American Legion. They are here on the platform with me: Dave Beck of Seattle, Maurice Hutcheson of Indianapolis, where our headquarters is located, and Jim Burns of California, who is a member of the Special Committee on Labor Relations of the American Legion. Then there is Senator George Berry, who served the American Legion with great distinction as a National Commander.

Now I have never had the advantage of membership in the American Federation of Labor. I want to tell you men and women, though, that some years ago when the Union Labor Life Insurance Company was organized, I was privileged to take one of the first one hundred policies in that company and I hold Policy No. 93 for \$5000, the highest amount which was at that time written by the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, so ably headed by your member here, Matthew Woll.

Now in order not to break faith with the press, I will have to ask you to bear with me while I refer to the manuscript which I have prepared. It is not too long, and I hope it will not be too boring.

Unity between The American Legion and the American Federation of Labor in their fundamental objectives had its beginning in France a quarter of a century ago. The late Samuel Gompers watched the creation of the Legion when its founders first gathered in the war-torn country they had helped to save.

I want to tell you men that one of the greatest thrills I ever received in my lifetime was when my esteemed father introduced me to Samuel Gompers at Albany, New York, some twenty odd years ago. He saw in our two organizations great hope and promise for the preservation of the United States, our institutions and our principles.

Out of this friendship, deep-rooted in our joint opposition to Bolshevism and later Communism, came the practice of exchanging speakers at annual conventions. This tradition has been maintained for two and a half decades. It has proven invaluable in strengthening the ties of our two organizations and providing for an interchange of thought on matters of great public concern. A great cross section of the Legion represents members of organized labor. We were happy to have your distinguished President, Mr. Green, address our Chicago convention in September.

While the purposes of The American Legion and the American Federation of Labor

are not the same in all respects, we are united in our broad objectives. Both organizations are steadfast in their effort to assure an enduring peace after total victory. Both organizations are determined to preserve the economic system that has made it possible for the United States to be the arsenal of democracy. Both organizations are dedicated to assuring full opportunity—jobs in accord with capabilities and care for disabled—when our fighting forces again resume their place in civilian life.

We may not always see eye to eye on the policies and programs for achieving our common objectives. We may sometimes differ on approaches to the solution of manifold problems confronting our people. We may sometimes differ on the methods of arousing public interest in these problems. But old friends who have known two wars and have stood together through one hectic post-war period and are ready for the tremendous challenge of another, will readily understand that differences of opinion are the very essence of democracy.

Among the things on which we are wholly united is unconditional surrender of our enemies. We want a victory so complete that it will pave the way for an enduring peace. We hope for an early victory. However, as the hours just before battle test the morale of men on the fighting fronts, the months, weeks and days before the end of a war test the stamina of the men and women on the home front.

Those of us who faced the brutal Germans in battle in 1918 know that today our sons are fighting their equally as brutal Nazi sons. This is total war. Unconditional surrender, annihilation, fighting to the bitter end, lightning and mechanized war, destruction at its worst—this is the lingo of this war. The word "Armistice" is as obsolete as the horse-and-buggy. We must face that fact.

It is unfortunate that all our people are not facing it squarely. Those charged with the responsibility for supplying the tools of war tell us that those tools are not going to the battlefronts in the volume required. Our brilliant Generals in the war zones are calling for the tools to finish the job. They must go forward or we must admit that collectively we are not "backing the attack." We must not tolerate any jockeying for peace-time advantages or peace-time jobs until the last German and the last Jap have laid down their last gun.

As our armed forces are fighting for total victory, we must give them total support. This responsibility does not rest with any one organization or group of organizations. It rests with the American people—all of us. It is not important to segregate those to be commended or those to be blamed. For example, the Army-Navy "E" is given war-time production plants and their workers. They both share equal credit. They must be prepared to share the blame equally if we fail our fighting men. And if we do fail our fighting men, it won't matter who is at fault. Our whole way of life will be gone.

The Legion's position on the production of the tools of war is straightforward and simple. We are pledged to no interruption

in the flow of equipment and supplies to our fighting forces; no gaps in the ranks of voluntary manpower needed to produce the tools for victory. This parallels the pledge of the American Federation of Labor. Your President has assured me that this pledge is being substantially carried out by labor. Our two organizations must do everything possible to make it fully effective.

When victory has been won, terms must be dictated to bring about an enduring peace and this time they must be made to stick. Here again The American Legion and the American Federation of Labor are in full accord. The Legion is behind an association of free and sovereign nations empowered to act with whatever force may be necessary to maintain world peace.

As I interpret Legion mandates of the last three conventions, our delegates to this international association of free nations must be clothed by Congress with the power to represent the United States instantly and effectively. This requires that they be ready to move at the outbreak of any international incident that might again engulf the world in war. It is the only experiment in the whole history of the world that has not been tried to prevent a recurrence of war.

I would like to see among those drafting the formula for world peace, representatives of our fighting forces and representatives of those who are producing the tools of war—working together united at the peace table.

When the glad note of final victory resounds around the world, and the way is being paved for mankind again to live together in peace, our job on the home front really begins. It will be up to us to make good every glowing promise we have made to our fighting forces. It will require the highest degree of united action we have ever known. It will mean some sacrifices—but none that even begins to compare with the horror and suffering of the battle fronts.

However, the impact of the demobilization period can be greatly eased if we recognize now two highly important principles. They are:

First—That the rehabilitation of veterans and their readjustment to civilian life, are as much a cost of war; as much a part of the overall cost of defending our country and our way of life, as any phase of actual warfare. We cannot afford to spend billions upon billions in war-time and then quibble over millions needed for the rehabilitation and readjustment of our fighting forces when peace comes. If we recognize this now and plan accordingly, we will prevent tremendous difficulties and avoid the extremely heavy cost of trying to do the job long after the war ends. Failure to recognize this principle has been the cause of serious repercussions after every war in the past.

Second—That the men and women in our armed forces, by every rule of right and fairness, should be entitled upon their return to pick up the competitive position in civilian life as near as possible to that they would have held had they not left to enter service. Obviously, they should not be expected to start all over again to win the place in life they held before war came. Any

attempt on the part of any segment of our people to maintain war-time advantages gained solely because of the absence of millions of men and women in the service will create one of the most tremendous employment problems we have ever faced. I am confident that public opinion will be on the side of those who are now on the global fighting fronts.

As a means of assisting both labor and industry in meeting its obligation to provide jobs, the Legion has created a committee composed of three representatives of labor and three representatives of industry with a neutral chairman selected by the members. It is charged with ascertaining all facts and giving advice on all questions confronting the Legion pertaining to industrial relations. It is evidence of our desire to cooperate with both management and labor. This committee is now actively functioning and I am constantly conferring with its members on matters of concern to the Legion and labor.

Through the years we have endeavored to build the American Legion as a protective force for our comrades of two wars and for our country. Our objectives can be highlighted under four separate headings as follows:

1. Protection of our country against future wars through an organized citizen militia ready to spring to military service should war come; through the security of off-shore bases powerful enough to repel any enemy attack and through a strong Navy, Air Force and Merchant Marine to assure respect for our flag and free commerce throughout the world.

2. Protection of our institutions through opposition to all foreign ideologies—the "divide and conquer" theories of those willing to accept the benefits but not the responsibilities of our form of government; through opposition to the coddling of war prisoners and permitting them to remain here when hostilities cease; through efforts to halt a free flow of immigration so long as we have an employment problem and through protests against the radio appeals of hyphenated dual-national groups who seek to undermine our economic, social and political ways of life.

3. Protection of our economic system through full post-war employment and the greatest encouragement to individual initiative and sound business leadership; through impartial treatment of both management and labor, each mindful of their rights and privileges and through a system of taxation that will maintain a high level of production and stimulate, rather than discourage, maximum business activity by encouraging a flow of capital into risk enterprise.

4. Protection of our comrades of World War I and World War II through adequate care and rehabilitation programs; through effective administration of the G. I. Bill of Rights with its opportunities for education, technical training, financial assistance for home ownership or entering business; through the re-employment system of Selective Service, through complete assistance to all veterans in securing proper employment upon their honorable discharge—jobs

fitting men of war and their peace-time capabilities; and through assistance for widows and orphans of those who have died in service.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the Legion's interest in veterans of World War II. In many instances they are the sons of Legionnaires, and in many instances they are the sons of men of organized labor. We want to give this vast force of more than ten million veterans who will be coming home, the benefit of our own experience in readjusting ourselves to civilian life; our experience in running the gauntlet of Government red-tape, and our experience in safeguarding their rights on the home front while they have been achieving victory.

The full resources and facilities of the American Legion—an investment of around \$65,000,000 in post quarters and equipment—are at the disposal of the veterans of World War II. We want their fresh leadership to play a vital role in maintaining the strength of the Legion as a national protective force. It does not matter whether they are absorbed into the present Legion posts or have posts of their own. In fact, in many communities posts for veterans of World War II have already been established.

As a means of assuring an enduring peace, one of the foremost objectives of the Legion is a strong civilian militia. It should provide that every qualified American young man shall receive the advantage of military training, integrated with his normal educational and business pursuits. They should be trained for all branches of the service.

The American Legion is not militaristic. We simply want preparedness. It is insurance against war. We visualize a vast training system in which young men in their late teens and early twenties will be given opportunities they have never before had. They will learn physical hygiene and become physically fit. They will learn to use their heads and their hands. They will find their place in life through training in business, in science, and in the mechanical arts. They will learn how to drive an automobile, how to fly a plane and how to keep both mechanically efficient. They will be ready to spring to arms if we fail again to preserve peace and war comes.

Quite obviously millions of young men being trained in a vast system of citizen-militia will help relieve the pressure for jobs in the immediate years ahead. And I am not being too optimistic when I express the belief that industry will give eventually job preference to these physically fit, qualified and trained young men who will flow from the training system the Legion proposes.

Our returning veterans—ten to fifteen million strong—will represent the greatest single force in America for the next twenty-five years. We cannot permit their fresh, vigorous leadership to become lost in a morass of bitterness and resentment. I am confident that these men will be helped through an opportunity to help guide young America in becoming prepared for peace and citizenship we hope, but for war if civilization totters again.

The greatest immediate challenge confronting the home front, however, is jobs for returning veterans. We cannot, we must not fall these men who have departed from the normal pursuits of life—left homes and families—to save our way of life. They are our first concern, now and when they come back. On that promise The American Legion will stand or fall. There will be no compromise.

Already there has been too much talk, too much planning, too little action. Surely if our tremendous productive system, with its brilliant leaders in engineering, science, management and labor, could make the United States the arsenal of democracy they can make our country the citadel of peace. It only requires the facing of cold facts and a determination on the part of both management and labor to work together for maximum production at the lowest cost. This will assure the widest distribution of products and the maintenance of the highest wages possible. It is all as simple as that.

Time does not permit me to review in detail all of the aims and objectives of The American Legion. I have tried to summarize. In brief, the Legion is building for Americanism. We want to see it a vital, active, living force. To the Legion, Americanism means peace, strength, the will and the courage to live as free men in a free land. It is a basis for unity on the part of all whose love and devotion to country stands above all else.

The foundation for Americanism is today as always, the church, the home, and the school. All else is dedicated to the maintenance of these. When they are maintained we have the highest degree of patriotism and a united people. Patriotism is an eternal thing. As we know it in the Legion, it is living for God and Country.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: A comparison of the aims, purposes and objectives of The American Legion as set forth by the distinguished Commander this morning with the aims, purposes and objectives of the American Federation of Labor as set forth in the report of the Executive Council and in statements made at this historic convention shows great similarity.

We have listened, I know, with profit to the very instructive and constructive address submitted to us by Commander Scheiberling this morning. The address he delivered will become a part of the permanent proceedings of the American Federation of Labor.

We like the note which he sounded: that it is impossible to expect, in a democracy and in a democratic form of government, that there will be perfect accord and complete agreement upon all questions. We find the line of distinction and difference running through our social, our religious and our family life. Frequently we find differences of opinion vigorously and emphatically expressed on questions of vast importance by the members of families, and if we cannot compose differences and establish a basis of accommodation and unanimity in the family life how is it pos-

sible for us to establish common accord and unanimity of opinion among all groups of people?

But we learn the virtue of the democratic way of life when, in democratic fashion, we respect the divergent opinions of others and when, in our search for education, we apply the differences that are so emphatically expressed through our every day thinking and our every day life. I note that there is one outstanding principle upon which we are in common accord with The American Legion, and that is in defense of the American way of life, in defense of Americanism, in protection of those vital principles that have enabled us to establish here in America free democratic trade unions administered by free American citizens who serve in the army of production.

And it is our purpose, Commander Scheiberling, to stand immovably in our defense of those principles of Americanism and in the maintenance and preservation of the best traditions of American life. We shall cherish them all as a common heritage, protect them during our day, and transmit to generations to come, unimpaired and protected, the vital principles upon which our great Republic rests. We ask that we work together, cooperate with each other, respect our differences of opinion, engage in team work where we can, and allow differences of opinion to rest until a correct and fair solution is found.

We have announced in this convention our intention, our purpose to serve the men who are serving now in the Armed Forces of the nation when they return to their homes and to their homelands. You will understand our interest in this matter, Commander Scheiberling, when I report to you that there are over a million and a half members of the American Federation of Labor serving in the Armed Forces of our country. We have exonerated them from the payment of dues, and we are determined that when they return home they shall find their former jobs and enjoy their former seniority unimpaired. And to those who are not members of our Unions, but who seek to become a part of us, we will extend to them an opportunity to become part of us without payment of initiation fees. And as comrades in arms, when they come back home we will share with them the work opportunities that we find in every community, in every village, and in every city throughout the nation. We have served with them during this war; we, members of the army of production, and they, members of the fighting forces—we giving our lives in the workshops, the mills and the factories and on the transportation lines of the nation, they giving their lives on the battlefields—and we will share with them the comradeship which we seek to establish when they return to their homes and their homelands. We have stood immovable, determined and inflexible in our purpose to call upon the law makers of the country to enact social security legislation that will guarantee to these men who come home that degree of pro-

tection to which a proud country feels they are entitled.

We want to see them receive unemployment benefits if they are forced into periods of unemployment when they come back home. We want to see that a grateful nation shall protect them against the pangs of poverty and suffering when they come back to America. We cannot believe that this country will fail them.

We supported the G. I. Bill of Rights; we will support another G. I. Bill of Rights, and we will support another Bill of Rights again and again and again until these men are accorded the protection to which they are entitled.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart, Commander, for your visit to this convention. I am speaking in a different tone in making reply to your address this morning than the tone I used when I made reply to your distinguished predecessor one year ago at Boston.

Let us stand together, developing this fine, cooperative, fraternal relationship established by my distinguished predecessor and the representatives of The American Legion when The American Legion was formed.

Let us minimize our differences and exalt our agreements. Let us proclaim and preach our virtues and forget our faults and imperfections.

I thank you sincerely.

Now I want to present to you a speaker whom you have been waiting to hear, one who will deal in an address at this time with issues, policies and problems that have arisen and in which you are deeply interested.

I know of no man who attends our conventions who can do it better and in a more appreciable way than our General Counsel. You are waiting to hear from him. He will tell you about legislation, about the attack that is being made on the American Federation of Labor under the guise of legislation. He will explain it to you and interpret its meaning, so that you will go out from here with a perfect understanding of what this legislation means.

Our General Counsel has rendered most valuable service to labor and to the American Federation of Labor. No man has served with a greater degree of devotion and sincerity. We cannot adequately appraise the value of the service which he has rendered. It far exceeds the compensation which we pay him.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you our distinguished General Counsel, Judge Joseph A. Padway.

JOSEPH A. PADWAY (General Counsel, American Federation of Labor)

President Green, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I deeply appreciate your very kind expressions. It is most gratifying to me to have you acknowledge before this great convention your satisfaction with the legal services performed by me and my associates for the American Federation of Labor.

My talk to you this year is in the nature of "unfinished business." Last year I reported to you in some detail on the anti-labor laws in the States of Idaho, South Dakota, Arkansas, Texas, Kansas, Michigan, Florida, Alabama, Massachusetts, Minnesota and Colorado. I made a short analysis and an explanation of the more important provisions of the laws passed by these states. I also brought to your attention that in some states lawsuits had been instituted to test the constitutionality of these laws.

At that time we had but one court decision, and that was in connection with the Colorado law. Judge Sackman, the trial judge, had passed upon the various provisions of the Colorado law, and he held those provisions in the law which provide for compulsory incorporation of labor unions and for regulation of the internal affairs of labor unions to be unconstitutional. However, he upheld other restrictive provisions in the Colorado Act.

Since then other court decisions have come down from courts of other states, and it is my purpose now to report to you on those decisions and the status of the court cases pertaining to these laws.

So that you may better understand these decisions it may be well for me to state again the basic objective of these laws. There are three major objectives:

1. Unions and officers of unions must register or obtain a license before they can proceed to do business as unions or officers.
2. Prohibition of striking, boycotting and picketing unless the strike has been authorized by a majority vote.
3. Vesting in the state control of the internal affairs of labor organizations by giving to the state the right to fix and regulate fees, dues and assessments of labor unions and to control the levying of fines, and likewise to regulate elections of officers, compel detailed financial accounting, etc.

As I pointed out to you last year, if the major provisions of these bills are upheld by the courts then it will spell the destruction of free trade unionism in this country. "Voluntarism" on which trade unionism has heretofore been based, will disappear and unions will virtually become the creatures of the state.

Colorado

In the analysis I made of the Colorado law last year I stated that this was perhaps the most vicious of all the anti-labor laws passed by the various states. It not only imposes compulsory incorporation upon trade unions but it contains every bad feature found in any of the other laws.

1. It prohibits what it terms arbitrary or excessive dues, initiation fees, and fines. It provides that the state will determine what is arbitrary and excessive.
2. It requires detailed financial reports.
3. Strikes can only be called by a majority vote of the workers in a plant.
4. A jurisdictional dispute cannot be the basis of a lawful labor dispute.
5. Employers can hire and fire as they please, regardless of seniority agreements.
6. Demand for a closed shop does not constitute a labor dispute.

7. Picketing and boycotting cannot be engaged in in furtherance of a jurisdictional dispute.
8. The law contains a "hot cargo" provision which makes it illegal to refuse to handle, install, use, or work on scab material.
9. Company unions are defined so as to make them legal.
10. A labor dispute cannot be possible between a union and a single employer such as a self employed barber, plumber or truck owner.
11. A bargaining agent can only be elected by a majority vote of all employees; so if a majority does not appear at a meeting no bargaining agent can be elected.

Then there is a complete code of what constitutes unfair labor practices by unions, for the violation of which unions can be put out of business.

As I have already stated, when the case came up before Judge Sackman he held those provisions relating to compulsory incorporation and the regulation of the internal affairs of unions to be illegal. He upheld, however, the requirement that a majority of the workers must authorize a strike, and he upheld the provisions which prohibit picketing and boycotting unless a majority vote in favor of the strike.

The State of Colorado appealed from that portion of Judge Sackman's decision which was in favor of the unions, and the American Federation of Labor appealed from that portion of the decision which upheld the contentions of the state. Briefs were filed with the Supreme Court of Colorado, and early in September I appeared before the Supreme Court in Denver, Colorado, and argued the case. The court considered it of such extreme importance that it set aside a whole day for the argument. The Attorney General of Colorado appointed special counsel to assist him in the presentation of the case. The special counsel are well known corporation lawyers, and we are informed that the Chamber of Commerce and other employer organizations are really the ones who engaged these lawyers to argue the validity of the law in the Colorado Supreme Court.

A decision has not been handed down as yet. The Colorado Court has in the past proved itself to be liberal in its attitude toward labor problems, and we are hopeful that it will not only sustain Judge Sackman in his holding that the provision for compulsory incorporation is unconstitutional, but that it will also reverse him in his holding that a majority vote is necessary before workers may strike or picket or boycott in furtherance of a labor dispute.

Kansas

One of the first suits to be started was in the State of Kansas before a three-judge federal court. Briefs were filed and arguments made before the court almost a year and a half ago. Last July, however, Federal Judge Murrah, acting for himself and his two associate justices, informed all lawyers in the case that the Kansas court would not render a decision on the Kansas law until the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision in the case of THOMAS v. COLLINS, appealed from the Supreme Court

of Texas and which is now pending in the United States Supreme Court. (I will discuss the Thomas case a little later on in my talk.) However, we informed the court that we would prefer to have an early decision, and we took the position that the Thomas case will not present the true issues respecting the Kansas law.

Florida

There were two cases started in Florida, one by the Attorney General in the courts of Jacksonville in which he is plaintiff, and another by the American Federation of Labor and the Florida State Federation of Labor in Tallahassee in which they are plaintiffs.

The Attorney General, in bringing his suit, confined it to only one provision in the law—that which provides for compulsory registration by unions and business agents. In his suit the Attorney General seeks to restrain the Florida unions and the officials of the unions from doing business unless they register. I moved to dismiss the suit on the theory that compulsory registration of unions and business agents violates the Constitution of the United States. I personally appeared before Judge Lewis in March of this year and argued the motions before him.

The Judge agreed with my contentions that the law as written violated the Constitution. However, he held that he would strike down the provision which vests in a board consisting of three state officials—the governor, the secretary of state and the commissioner of education—discretion to grant or refuse licenses, and that he would command them to issue a license in every case where one was requested. Thus the Judge re-wrote the law in order to declare it to be valid.

There is abundant legal authority to the effect that a judge cannot substitute his judgment for the judgment of the legislature and re-write the law. We therefore appealed his decision to the Supreme Court of Florida and we argued the case before that court last month. A decision has not yet been rendered.

But there is another case pending in Tallahassee brought by the American Federation of Labor and the Florida State Federation of Labor in which all of the provisions of the Florida law are attacked as unconstitutional. The Circuit Judge in Tallahassee has simply refused to hand down a decision in the case although briefs were filed and arguments made before him over a year ago. I think that this Judge, too, is awaiting some final decision of the Florida Supreme Court in the Jacksonville case, or of the United States Supreme Court in any of the other cases that might reach that court.

I should mention the fact that there is a third case pending in Florida and which is now before the Supreme Court of that State. In fact briefs have been filed and arguments will be made in December. That case involves the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. It involves another provision in the Florida anti-labor law—the one which prohibits workers from striking and picketing except after a vote of a majority of the employees concerned. In that case several members

of the Amalgamated Street and Electric Railway Employees were arrested and convicted for picketing in furtherance of a strike which had not been authorized by a majority vote. We did not participate in the trial of the case. After the convictions were had the case was brought to the attention of President Green by President Mahon of the Amalgamated. President Green directed me to handle the case in association with local counsel in the Supreme Court of Florida.

Here again we are hopeful that we can win the case. You will recall that this is similar to the case before the Supreme Court of Oregon involving a similar law in the State of Oregon a few years ago, and that court held that a law which prohibits workers from striking and picketing without having been authorized by a majority vote, was unconstitutional in that it interfered with the right of freedom of speech. The Florida Supreme Court has manifested an extremely fair attitude towards the rights of organized labor, and we think that the Florida Court will follow the Oregon Court and hold that the convictions in these Street Railway cases are invalid.

South Dakota

A suit was instituted by the American Federation of Labor in conjunction with the South Dakota State Federation of Labor attacking the constitutionality of the law. You will recall that when I reported to you last year I told you that the South Dakota law provides among other things that unions must file with the secretary of state annual statements of income and expenditures; also that union officials were prohibited from entering upon any ranch, farm, feed yard, shearing plant or processing plant for the purpose of transacting union business, and they were expressly prohibited from doing so for the purpose of soliciting membership in a union. The law likewise prohibited picketing in these industries and it also prohibited boycotts or interference with movement to market of agricultural commodities because the same were not produced by union labor.

Briefs were filed, arguments presented, and on June 29th, 1944, the trial court handed down a decision in which it declared all the provisions of the South Dakota law unconstitutional except Section 1 which requires the filing of financial statements. This is quite a victory for organized labor because those provisions prohibiting organizational activities, picketing, boycotting, striking, etc., were all invalidated. But even with this ninety percent victory we have appealed from that portion of the decision which requires the filing of annual financial statements, and that appeal is pending in the courts of South Dakota.

Idaho

Idaho passed a law identical in language with that of the South Dakota law. Therefore a suit similar to the one commenced in South Dakota was commenced in Idaho. Before the suit was commenced the Attorney General of Idaho examined the law and announced that it was his opinion that the law was unconstitutional, but some local dis-

trict attorneys, evidently influenced by reactionary employers, declared that they would make arrests for violation of the law, consequently we had to institute the suit.

The Attorney General, true to his beliefs, stated that he could see no object in contesting the suit and he abstained from contesting it. Thereupon a local district attorney stepped in and undertook to contest the suit. He filed what is termed in law a demurrer, which in effect is equivalent to a motion to dismiss. He claimed that there was no basis for the suit started by the American Federation of Labor; that it ought to be dismissed because the law was valid.

On the 20th of July of this year the District Judge before whom the case was pending denied the motions of the District Attorney and in doing so held that the American Federation of Labor and the State Federation of Labor had a valid cause of action and that the case should be heard upon its merits. The court also announced that Section 4, which prohibited boycotting, is unconstitutional. The court was a little caustic with the Attorney General for not coming in and opposing the American Federation of Labor. The court went so far as to say that the Attorney General was receiving his pay from the state and that he was supposed to uphold the constitutionality of the laws of the state.

I don't agree with the Judge's view on what is the duty of an attorney general or of a district attorney. I was always told that if an attorney general or a district attorney believed a law was unconstitutional or believed a person who was being prosecuted was not guilty, that it was his duty to stand upon that position. Since the Attorney General here believed the law to be invalid I cannot see how he could go into court and argue that it be upheld. However, when the case comes up for trial we are confident that we will get an injunction against enforcement of the law on the basis that it is invalid.

Alabama

Several suits were commenced by different unions in Alabama. One, however, is on its way to the Supreme Court of the United States and therefore it is the most significant. On instructions from President Green I am associated with counsel for the Alabama State Federation of Labor in presenting this case to the United States Supreme Court. A petition for certiorari and briefs have already been filed in that court.

After the trial judge had rendered a decision on the Alabama law it was appealed to the State Supreme Court, and on May 25th of this year the court handed down its decision. It held that the "hot cargo" section of the law, which makes it illegal to refuse to handle, install, or refuse to work on materials because the same were not produced or processed or delivered by members of a union was unconstitutional. That is an important holding since it is a decision of a state supreme court. Several states, particularly California, have enacted so-called "hot cargo" laws, but no state supreme court—nor has the United States Supreme Court—passed on their validity. Here, then, for the first time, we have a supreme court decision on this character of legislation, and

it will be of particular interest to the delegates of California to learn that the Alabama Court struck down the "hot cargo" provision as unconstitutional.

The Alabama law also contains the so-called majority vote provision, that is, the requirement that a majority of the workers must authorize a strike by vote before they can picket or boycott in furtherance of it. Here again it is interesting to note that the court held that section of the law to be unconstitutional.

And then there was another significant holding by the Alabama Court pertaining to political contributions. The Alabama law has a provision in it similar to the Smith-Connelly Act, making it unlawful for labor unions to make political contributions. The Alabama Court said that this, too, was illegal. Organized labor has taken the position with respect to these provisions, and particularly the provision in the Smith-Connelly Act, that the same is purely class legislation and therefore unconstitutional. As the President in his veto of the Smith-Connelly bill pointed out, these provisions prohibit labor unions from making political contributions but do not prohibit farm organizations, manufacturers' associations and chambers of commerce from making political contributions. In opinions rendered to President Green at his request respecting the validity of the provision in the Smith-Connelly Act prohibiting political contributions I have stated that the law was invalid because it constitutes unlawful discrimination and class legislation. It is gratifying, therefore, to find that the Supreme Court of Alabama held this provision to be illegal.

But the Alabama Court upheld those sections of the law requiring the filing of financial statements, prohibiting permit fees, and the section which makes it unlawful for supervisory employees to become members of a labor union. Because of this we have appealed the case, and as I have stated, it is now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Texas

The American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the Texas State Federation of Labor instituted suits in the courts of Texas early in 1943. A lengthy trial ensued. Briefs were filed and arguments made to the court. The trial judge declared Section 4 of the law, which attempts to regulate election of officers by limiting their tenure of office, etc., to be illegal.

The court declared Section 7 which regulates the internal affairs of labor unions in great detail to be illegal. (This section 7 contains the amazing provision that unions cannot collect by way of initiation fees, dues, fines or assessments any moneys "in excess of the reasonable requirements of the union.") You will recall my statement to you last year with respect to this provision—that no sane person who had the least knowledge of the law could declare that section to be valid.

The Texas Court likewise invalidated Section 10 (a) which prohibited unions from attempting to collect past dues or assessments on returned service men. The question here was not whether unions will or will not attempt

to collect these assessments — I dare say many of them will not desire or attempt to do so—but it was a question whether by law unions should be prohibited from doing so. The court held that the legislature had no right to interfere with the unions' discretion in the matter.

But the Texas Court did uphold some of the provisions of the law, as for instance the requirement that aliens or persons convicted of a felony cannot serve as officers of a union. Significantly the Texas Court differed from the Alabama Court on the subject of political contributions. For it upheld the validity of the provision prohibiting political contributions by unions. It held the provision prohibiting the charging of permit fees unless the member is admitted to full membership in the union to be valid. It upheld as valid the provision which gives the court the right to review any decision of a union expelling a member. It also upheld the provision requiring the filing of detailed financial returns.

(Thomas Case)

There is a provision in the Texas law requiring a union official to register before soliciting membership. A test as to the validity of this provision was made in what is now known as the Thomas case. The American Federation of Labor has had nothing to do with that case. In fact we regret that it happened, for it is not the best way in which to test the validity of this section, and this is said regardless of whether the outcome will be favorable or unfavorable to Thomas.

It seems that R. J. Thomas, President of the United Automobile Workers (CIO), decided to go to Texas to make a speech. Previous to his going, he announced that he was going there, among other things, to violate the Texas law so as to test its constitutionality. On learning of this the Attorney General of Texas procured an injunction restraining Thomas from violating the Texas law. When Thomas got to Texas and proceeded to violate the law he was arrested for contempt of court. The Lower Court upheld the contempt citation and punished him by a small fine and a few days in jail. Thomas appealed his case to the Supreme Court, which upheld his conviction for contempt of court. The case is now on appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

We, of course, hope that the decision of the Texas Court will be reversed because it certainly constitutes a very dangerous and bad precedent. The chances of striking down the registration provision in the Texas law could have been presented much more adequately in a regular injunction suit to restrain the officers of the State of Texas from enforcing the law rather than by presenting the constitutional questions through a contempt proceeding.

Arkansas

In connection with the Arkansas law I have an unfortunate and tragic circumstance to report. The Arkansas law is peculiar in that it is an out and out criminal statute dealing with assault and battery rather than with general prohibitions on trade union activities. The Arkansas law makes it unlawful to use force or violence, or threats thereof, to prevent or attempt to prevent any person from engaging in work. In other words it might be termed an-

other assault and battery law except that it is confined to assaults in connection with labor disputes as distinguished from all other assaults. The law is one of the most drastic to be found anywhere in the country. A simple assault committed in connection with a strike is a felony, punishable by imprisonment from one to two years. There is no option for a fine, and imprisonment for a year at least is mandatory.

It happened that last year a dispute took place in a town in Arkansas in which the Painters' Union was interested. There two painters got into an argument with a non-union employer, as a result of which a little fracas took place and a punch or two were exchanged. The painters were arrested, charged with violation of this new law, convicted, and sent to prison for one year. Now in an ordinary assault case such an incident would be disposed of by a fine of a dollar and costs, and in no event more than five dollars and costs. The ordinary simple assault case is merely a misdemeanor which is always disposed of by fines, but in this particular instance, merely because the petty assault took place in connection with a labor dispute it became a great crime, a felony, punishable by imprisonment of not less than one year.

This is a new form of technique in legislation. Just imagine how far it can go if every petty offense ordinarily disposed of by a small fine becomes a felony punishable only by imprisonment when performed in connection with a labor dispute.

The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Arkansas which upheld the convictions and the validity of the law. Unfortunately because of the failure to preserve federal questions the case could not be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Thus we will have to await another case in which a proper record can be made and federal questions raised and preserved, whereupon the law can be tested in the Supreme Court of the United States. It is unfortunate that President Green, President Lindelof, the Brotherhood of Painters, and I as counsel, did not learn of this case until after the trial and conviction. However, we are gratified to learn that these two painters were paroled last August.

Tampa Shipbuilding Company Before Florida Supreme Court

I have endeavored in my review thus far to give you a more or less comprehensive report on the past proceedings and present status of the cases affecting anti-labor legislation. There is, however, a most important case which has a bearing on the anti-labor laws just discussed, although the case itself did not involve any legislative enactment. I refer to the Tampa Shipbuilding Company case decided by the Supreme Court of the State of Florida last November 10th, about a month after the Boston Convention adjourned.

This case involved the legality of the closed shop. Its significance is apparent in the light of the constitutional amendments enacted this month by referendum in the states of Arkansas and Florida. I will discuss these two constitutional amendments in a few moments. A report on the Tampa Shipbuilding Company case is an appropriate introduction to that discussion.

The Tampa Shipbuilding Company case was brought about by Attorney General Watson of the State of Florida who instituted two suits, one against the Moore Pipe and Sprinkler Company of Jacksonville, Florida, and the other against the Tampa Shipbuilding Company, wherein he sought to abrogate a closed shop agreement between the Plumbers and Steamfitters Union and the Moore Pipe and Sprinkler Company, and between fourteen unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department and the Tampa Shipbuilding Company. I repeat, the suits were not based on any anti-labor legislation since the Florida anti-labor law had not been passed, nor was it based upon the constitutional amendment which was only adopted this month.

The Attorney General took the position that closed shop contracts are illegal as against the public policy of the State of Florida and because these two companies had entered into closed shop agreements, they were not entitled to continue to do business under the corporate charters granted them by the State. He, therefore, sought to revoke the charters of these two companies and put them out of business. You can imagine to what extremes the Attorney General went, for if he had succeeded he would have disrupted the relations between 12,000 employees and the companies by which they were employed. There is no other case on record where a similar suit has been instituted to declare a closed shop illegal as against public policy. The companies had voluntarily entered into the agreements. There were no strikes, nobody was complaining. The employers weren't complaining; the unions weren't complaining. Everything was peaceful and the record of production by the companies and the unions was better than that of any shipyard in the country. Yet on the trial of the Tampa case before the lower court the court held that with respect to war industries a closed shop agreement was against public policy and upheld the contentions of the Attorney General. An appeal was promptly taken to the Supreme Court of Florida.

It was my privilege to argue that case before the Florida Supreme Court in opposition to the Attorney General. I was somewhat amazed by the argument of the Attorney General. Instead of confining himself to an argument of legal principles involved he endeavored to prejudice the court by reading letters that he had received from persons who claimed that they could not get a job at the Tampa Shipyards and that they were in dire straits and circumstances. Of course, they could get jobs if they would join the union, but they stated that they were opposed to joining the union, and thus the Attorney General contended that these poor men, starving for want of work, were being deprived of their right to a livelihood unless they "paid tribute" to a union.

On the argument I paid little attention to this sort of argument on the part of the Attorney General, and I am glad to say that the court in its opinion paid little attention to that argument. On the

contrary, a splendid decision was rendered by the court last November. For clarity and logic the opinion, dealing with this phase of labor law, is unsurpassed. The court, in a five to two decision, repudiated every contention made by the Attorney General. It upheld all of the contentions presented on behalf of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I wish I had time to read to you at length excerpts from this opinion, but I do not. I can tell you, however, that the most important part of labor's argument dealing with the fundamental philosophy of the closed shop was accepted and pronounced by the Supreme Court of Florida. That argument was that an employer, desiring to enter into a closed shop contract, had the absolute constitutional right to do so free from interference or prohibition on the part of the state; and by the same token working men, members of a labor union, had a similar right to refuse to work with non-union men if they did not desire to do so.

Without any frills or legalistic talk the Supreme Court of Florida pronounced that principle in succinct, terse, three-line statement that reminds one of the great pronouncements by Justice Holmes, Justice Brandeis and Justice Cardozo in their opinions passing upon cases dealing with labor's rights. The Florida Court said:

"Management is free to hire only union men if it chooses. Likewise labor is free to work only with union men if it chooses."

Thus we have this most forceful and authoritative precedent, declaring the closed shop agreement to be valid and not against public policy.

Constitutional Amendments

But in spite of the decision of the Florida Supreme Court the Attorney General of that State motivated a constitutional amendment by which he intended to outlaw the closed shop. Although he was unsuccessful in his attempt to have the legislature pass an outright bill to outlaw the closed shop he and those backing him were successful in inducing the legislature of the State of Florida to submit a proposed amendment for a vote at the last election.

At the same time, and evidently influenced by the action of the legislature of the State of Florida, reactionary forces in Arkansas circulated for submission to a vote a petition for a constitutional amendment seeking to outlaw the closed shop. A similar proposal was submitted to a vote of the people of the State of California.

California, by an overwhelming vote, defeated the proposed amendment. Florida and Arkansas by a very close vote adopted the amendments. They now become part of the constitutions of these states. I wish to say that organized labor in the State of California did a tremendously fine job. It launched a forceful and energetic campaign, enlisting not only organized labor, but enlightened employers and citizens to aid in the defeat of the proposal. It is to be congratulated on the job and the fine result. And the same may be said with respect to Florida and Arkansas. The labor

unions in these states put on a splendid campaign. However, there were not to be found in these states the enlightened employers and liberal citizens who were willing to assist organized labor in their efforts to defeat the proposals. Even though the amendments were adopted in Florida and in Arkansas it is only fair to say that the State Federations of Labor in these states and their affiliates did a magnificent job.

But the amendments are here, and the question now arises—what to do about them. What is in store for our unions? What is the status of closed shop agreements in these states, and what is to be done about the matter in respect to closed shop agreements in the future?

I wish to say that these matters were all considered while the amendments were pending. In fact they have been the subject of discussion before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and I have met with the Council in conference to report on various phases of the law in the event these amendments were passed. You will notice too that in the American Federationist for October there is published an article which I wrote dealing with the proposed constitutional amendments.

First I think it would be well for me to read to this convention the proposals of Florida and Arkansas:

"A JOINT RESOLUTION proposing an amendment to Section 12 of the Declaration of Rights in the Constitution of the State of Florida. Relating to Double Jeopardy, Self-Incrimination, Due Process of Law, and the Taking of Private Property without Just Compensation, by Providing the Right of Persons to Work Shall Not Be Denied or Abridged on Account of Membership or Non-Membership in Any Labor Union, or Labor Organization; and Providing That the Right of Employees to Collectively Bargain Shall Be Preserved. * * *

"Section 12. No person shall be subject to be twice put in jeopardy for the same offense, nor compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken without just compensation. The right of persons to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of membership or non-membership in any labor union, or labor organization; provided, that this clause shall not be construed to deny or abridge the right of employees by and through a labor organization or labor union to bargain collectively with their employer."

Note how cleverly this joint resolution proposes the amendment. The truth about the matter is that there are only two lines in the whole resolution that amend the constitution, and those lines are "The right of persons to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of membership or non-membership in any labor union or labor organization." If it had been submitted in that way I feel certain, in view of the closeness of the vote, that the amendment would have been defeated, but it is

dressed up with rights relating to "double jeopardy," "self incrimination," "due process of law," "taking of private property without just compensation," etc., etc., all of which everybody is for. The truth of the matter is that those rights just mentioned are already guaranteed by the Federal Constitution and the Constitution of the State of Florida, but they are repeated in order to sandwich in the denial of the right to the closed shop and yet not make it appear as though a prohibition of the closed shop is the only thing sought by the amendment.

The Arkansas law is more specific. It reads:

"No person shall be denied employment, nor shall any individual, corporation or association be denied the right to employ any person because of that person's membership in or affiliation with, or resignation from a labor union, or because of his failure or refusal to join or affiliate with a labor union; nor shall any corporation or individual or association of any kind enter into any contract, written or oral, to exclude from employment any member of a labor union, or persons who are not members of a labor union, or persons who refuse or fail to join a labor union, or because of any person's resignation from a labor union; nor shall any person, against his will, be compelled to pay dues or fees to any labor organization as a prerequisite to, or condition of, employment."

Now before me I have a copy of a newspaper, ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT, Little Rock, dated Wednesday Evening, June 16, 1943. It speaks of this amendment. It terms it "Right To Work Amendment." All of the campaign literature bore that title "Right To Work Amendment." The article states that a state-wide organization has been set up to foster the amendment, and a long quotation is given by one Val Sherman who is designated "Acting Director of the Arkansas Christian American Group." I take it that this is an affiliate of the Christian American Association which was so active in promoting the anti-labor legislation of the various states I have discussed earlier in my talk. Headquarters were opened in the Boyle Building. Money was gathered, and persons, particularly farmers, enlisted to campaign in favor of the passage of the amendment. A state-wide campaign was conducted. High sounding declarations were issued, one of which reads as follows:

"In due time a statewide campaign of organization and education will be inaugurated by the Arkansas Christian American group and the public will be informed of the necessity for the amendments in order that representative constitutional government, the American way of life, and the God-given right to work may be guaranteed to present and future generations. To this end we pledge our continued untiring efforts."

Well, now that the amendments have been passed it becomes necessary to determine upon a course of procedure. I am hopeful that we can declare both of these amendments invalid because they are in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. Even though these laws are enacted by the

process of constitutional amendment they have no greater sanctity insofar as the Federal Constitution is concerned than if enacted by the legislature. If a state constitutional amendment conflicts with the Federal Constitution it is invalid the same as a state law in conflict with the Federal Constitution is invalid.

The United States Supreme Court, as far back as the year 1914 had occasion to pass upon the principle of the closed shop in the case of *COPPAGE v. KANSAS*. There the shoe was on the other foot. The employer opposed a law which seemed to restrict his freedom to hire non-union men. The court said that an employer could refuse to accept as an employee any man who was a member of a union, and by the same token any union man could refuse to accept as his employer any one who was non-union. It also said the union could deny membership to anyone who refused to agree to work only for union employers. The precise quotation in the decision reads as follows:

"Can it be doubted that a labor organization—a voluntary association of working men—has the inherent and constitutional right to deny membership to any man who will not agree that during such membership he will not accept or retain employment in company with non-union men? Or that a union man has the constitutional right to decline proffered employment unless the employer will agree not to employ any non-union man?"

Florida and Arkansas are attempting to turn back the clock more than a century. These laws, if valid, remove from the field of collective bargaining one of the most important subjects, namely, conditions under which union men will accept employment or under which employers will give employment. The great value of the closed shop agreement has been repeatedly demonstrated in this war emergency. I need but refer to the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company which exhibited the greatest production record in the world's history, and Mr. Kaiser himself attributed this to the closed shop agreement he had with organized labor because they stabilized working conditions, removed jurisdictional strife, guaranteed job security, and equality of bargaining power. The closed shop contracts prohibited cut throat wage competition of non-union employees, and above all, increased labor-management cooperation. I am sure that we here will live to see the day when Florida and Arkansas will seek the repeal of these laws if the courts see fit to uphold them.

In the meantime, as general counsel for the American Federation of Labor, I advise the unions to take no precipitate action. Don't rush into court to contest the validity of these laws without careful deliberation. Success will depend on the kind of case that is going to be presented to the court. Do not forget that the law applies to war industries as well as to so-called peacetime industries or industries not engaged in war work. The law also involves interstate commerce as well as intra-state commerce.

The constitutional questions are presented differently in different situations. For instance in a peace-time industry not engaged in war work the major constitutional ques-

tion is whether freedom of contract can be prohibited by these laws which outlaw the closed shop. In other words, it is our contention that the constitution guarantees both to employers and employees alike the right to freedom of contract if the contract is not contrary to public policy. The Florida Supreme Court has already held that closed shop agreements are not contrary to public policy. In a case involving a war-time industry we have in addition to the question of the constitutional right of freedom of contract the question—can a state pass a law which is in conflict with the federal law and the rules and orders of federal departments operating under federal law? I presume you know what I am driving at. Let me take for instance the situation involving the jurisdiction of the War Labor Board. Let us assume that the War Labor Board, with jurisdiction founded upon Congressional mandate, decides that as a basis of settling a labor dispute a plant shall continue an existing closed shop relationship; or that a maintenance of membership be granted. Now both the Florida and Arkansas laws intend to prohibit the closed shop and the maintenance of membership shop. Thus we have a conflict between federal law and state law.

Only recently the Wisconsin Supreme Court held that when such conflict arises the federal law prevails. Likewise a recent opinion by the General Counsel of the War Labor Board pronounced the same principle of law; and equally important is the decision of Justices Buford and Chapman in the Tampa Shipbuilding Company case involving a writ of prohibition. In that case the Supreme Court of Florida said:

" . . . The Constitution of the United States vests in the President and in the Congress full power to declare and wage war. This vestiture of power carries with it all those implied powers necessary to fully effectuate this express enumerated power. *McCulloch v. Maryland*, 4 W. 316. The Federal power to wage war being absolute, it must necessarily be exclusive. See *Exparte Milligan*, 4 Wall. 2.

"The National War Labor Board was created by executive order January 12, 1942, for the purpose of procuring an uninterrupted prosecution of the war on the part of labor and industry. This Board was given the duty of disposing of all labor disputes which might affect the war effort. In consideration of labor agreeing to a policy of no strikes for the duration of the war, labor was given the right of collective bargaining, and the National War Labor Board was set up to settle all disputes peacefully. Now if the Executive Department of each of the several States through its Attorney General, is allowed to question in the courts of the several states whether as a matter of public policy the war effort is being properly prosecuted, then a clash is inevitable among State tribunals and between them and Federal agencies expressly created for that purpose."

The foregoing indicates to you the importance of selecting for litigation a proper case. The difficulty with lawyers who do not prac-

tice labor law is their belief that every case involving a labor law is a proper one to be presented to the Supreme Court. That is woefully wrong. The validity of the National Labor Relations Act would never have been sustained if it were not for the fact that the National Labor Relations Board selected from among hundreds of cases the five particular cases which were later presented to the Supreme Court.

You all remember the old NIRA passed in 1933. A sick chicken brought on the death of that law. The moral is, don't serve up sick chicken. By contrast, the National Labor Relations Board took a carefully selected steel case, a newspaper case, a railway case, and a mercantile case, all involving facts and circumstances best designed to bring forth a favorable decision from the Supreme Court of the United States.

With respect to these two state amendments my suggestion would be that when any situation arises involving this law and it looks like litigation is about to take place the unions should communicate with President Green. He in turn will communicate with me and I shall endeavor to do my best in advising how to proceed.

I want to say that insofar as existing closed shop contracts are concerned, it is my opinion that they will not be affected, at least not so as to create too much immediate concern. But as to renewals or new contracts, we are immediately concerned. Demands upon employers for closed shop contracts will no doubt be refused on the ground that the law prohibits them from entering into a closed shop agreement. Such a dispute can give rise to a threatened stoppage of work, and if the situation involves a war industry it becomes a matter for the jurisdiction of the War Labor Board. The War Labor Board has in effect said that if the facts warrant, it will order a continuance of the closed shop or grant maintenance of membership. Such a situation will present the legal issue of conflict between state and Federal law but it will not serve as a test for the constitutionality of these laws.

As for non-war industry cases, the attack can be launched in several ways. However, at present I am inclined to the thought that a direct attack upon the enforcement of the acts by seeking an injunction against the law enforcement officers is the best method to pursue.

Again, I would caution unions not to rush into court with any sort of case simply because you want to be the first to attack the act. As I have said, you might start with the wrong case, which will make the attack most difficult. All I need remind you of is the case of the two poor painters sent to prison in Arkansas in connection with the present anti-labor law. I am sure that if we had had a different case, the constitutional questions would have been preserved and we would have been able to petition the United States Supreme Court for a review.

Then again I want to say something about expenditures for lawyers. Far be it from me to interfere with the local unions in the handling of their legal affairs. But in engaging local lawyers, bear in mind that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has directed me to handle this litigation, thus the major portion of the work will be per-

formed by me and my associates. It seems, therefore, that large expenditures for local counsel are not warranted.

I cannot help concluding this portion of my talk with this observation—Must we obey these laws?

If the United States Supreme Court upholds them, we must. But what do these laws say?

They say the right to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of membership or non-membership in a union. They do not say—and this is important—they do not say workers must work in a non-union shop. And therein lies perhaps the answer to the problem—an answer that will wake up the State of Florida and the State of Arkansas. It was the answer that prompted enlightened employers in California to recommend defeat of the amendment.

When the States of Florida and Arkansas wake up some day and find that their newspapers will not be printed (traditionally the printing crafts do not work except under a closed shop); that their show houses will be closed because movie operators will not work because of no closed shop contract; that their night clubs and amusement halls will be shut down because there will be no musicians to play music since they will not work except under a closed shop contract, then they will have a problem on their hands, and all the appeals to the Attorney Generals of these states will be of no avail since these laws do not compel a man to work in a non-union plant.

Even if these state courts should interpret the law that we must work, I would not hesitate to advise you not to work in an open shop if you are not so disposed. I do not ordinarily advise violations of law, but there is a higher law than the constitutional amendment of Florida and of Arkansas, and that law is the Constitution of the United States which in the Thirteenth Amendment says that involuntary servitude or human slavery is prohibited in this land forever. As long as the Thirteenth Amendment is part of the United States Constitution, neither Arkansas nor Florida can impose human slavery upon the workers of this nation. We might as well talk frankly. We might as well, here and now, tell the State of Florida and the State of Arkansas that regardless of their constitutional amendments, those who want to work only in closed shops will not work in an open shop with non-union men. The State of Florida and the State of Arkansas cannot convert millions of union men into non-union scabs. It cannot and will not be done.

National Labor Relations Board

There is one other subject that I want to touch upon and then I shall conclude. On page 54 of the Executive Council's Report there is a comprehensive review of certain activities of the National Labor Relations Board. The report is confined chiefly to what the Council terms "raiding." It was my intention to discuss this subject at some length, but I have already transgressed upon your time to such a degree that I cannot take much more of your time.

However, it is important to the delegates assembled that they give careful consideration to this portion of the Executive Council's Report. It analyzes the technique of raiding by rival unions, and it shows how the National Labor Relations Board gives aid and comfort to our rivals in their efforts at raiding.

The report dwells upon interesting cases affecting the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, the United Garment Workers, the Molders International Union, and other A. F. of L. affiliates. There is an interesting review of the International Harvester Company case, as well as the Lima Locomotive Company case which shows the operation of the American Can case doctrine to the great detriment of the American Federation of Labor.

Since the report does not mention by name the members of the Board who have subscribed to the decisions against the interests of the American Federation of Labor it is only fair for me to say that the past year reveals that Board Member Gerard Reilly has not subscribed to the policy of raiding condemned by the Executive Council. Board member Reilly dissented in the Teamster cases; he also dissented in the Western Union Company case. The other two members, in passing upon the question of what is an appropriate unit for the Western Union employees voted to set up seven units. This was done for the purpose of permitting the CIO to get a foothold in at least one of the seven units so that it might continue thereby to attempt to raid the American Federation of Labor in other sections of the country. Board Member Reilly wrote a vigorous dissenting opinion and agreed that the A. F. of L. demand for one national unit should be sustained. The decisions discussed in the Executive Council's report clearly indicate that the other two members of the Board have not shown a tendency to administer the Act as Congress intended, and have not shown that careful discernment and desire to make a righteous decision which has been shown by Board Member Reilly.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We deeply appreciate this very highly educational message delivered by Judge Padway and I thank him for it.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now before we adjourn the Chair wishes to announce a meeting of the Executive Council in the Pan-American Room of the Roosevelt Hotel, mezzanine floor, immediately after adjournment this evening. I wish that all members of the Executive Council will take note of this specially called meeting at the Roosevelt this afternoon.

Secretary Meany announced a meeting of the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor in the Gold Room, Hotel Roosevelt, at 8:30 this evening, stating Mr. Arthur Aitmeyer of the Federal Social Security Board will be in attendance.

SUNDAY SERVICE FOR DELEGATES

Also a special Mass for delegates to the convention on Sunday morning at 10:00 at St. Louis Cathedral.

Convention Chairman Quarles called attention to the special War Show at 4 o'clock this afternoon, urging all delegates to bring their wives and guests to the afternoon session, advising that Col. Warren J. Clear would speak on the subject of the picture, being shown to a civilian audience for the first time.

Secretary Meany announced a special conference of Union Legionnaires to be held at the Roosevelt Hotel, Room D, tomorrow after-

noon at 2 o'clock under the chairmanship of Brother Irvin R. Kuenzli, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers.

PRESIDENT GREEN: This afternoon Mr. Arthur Altmeyer will address the delegates, and also Acting Director Phelan of the International Labor Organization will be present.

At 4 o'clock a very entertaining and instructive program will be put on and four or five wounded veterans, members of the American Federation of Labor will tell about their experiences, and then a mighty entertaining picture will be presented of the capture of San Pietro and other war activities.

The convention will now stand recessed until 2:30 p. m.

The convention recessed at 1:15 p. m. to 2:30 p. m.

THIRD DAY — WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

November 22, 1944

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:50 o'clock.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany to submit some messages.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

WESTERN UNION

Washington, D. C.,
November 20, 1944.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, Louisiana.

Regret that heavy pressure involved in completion of work incident to my resignation as director of U. S. Conciliation Service will cause me to miss your convention for the first time in several years. Please express to all officers and delegates in attendance my deep interest in their problems and my confidence that their deliberations will result in further promotion of the best interests of labor, industry and our great nation.

JOHN R. STEELMAN, Director,
U. S. Conciliation Service.

WESTERN UNION

New York, N. Y.,
November 20, 1944.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, Louisiana.

The United Yugoslav Relief Fund of America again takes great pleasure in extending its

heartiest greetings to you and to the delegates assembled at the convention. We wish to express our profound appreciation for the cooperation the American Federation of Labor has given us in extending relief to the people of Yugoslavia who are fighting so valiantly for freedom. We are counting on your continued support.

COLLIN WELLS,
National Director, United Yugoslav Relief Fund of America.
EMIL ROSENBERG,
Director, Labor Division.

RESOLUTIONS RECEIVED AFTER EXPIRATION OF TIME LIMIT

SECRETARY MEANY: The following resolutions have been submitted and require unanimous consent for introduction:

Mobilization for Peace Production; AFL Press Service for the Armed Forces; An International Trade Union Conference in the United States; Against the Persecution of Japanese-American Citizens; Permanent International Agency for Education; Dual Unions of Seamen; Minimum Wage Prices for Fishermen; Western Union Campaign.

The sub-committee of the Executive Council recommends that unanimous consent be given. No objection was offered from the floor of the convention, the resolutions were introduced and referred to the appropriate committees, as follows:

MOBILIZATION FOR PEACE PRODUCTION

Resolution No. 147—By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The demobilization of the eleven millions of men and women in the armed forces will be exploited by open shop and reactionary interests in an attempt to destroy the trade unions and to drive down living standards as was done after World War I by utilizing a limited employment potentiality to incite the veteran against the war worker, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor declares that the tremendous productive resources of the United States which have been so amazingly mobilized for war production of destructive materials can and should be mobilized for peace production of consumers materials to provide employment for all at American standards, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council in conjunction with national and international unions, state and central bodies of the American Federation of Labor formulate plans to coordinate activities for such federal, state and municipal measures which would aid in the solution of this serious problem.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AFL PRESS SERVICE FOR THE ARMED FORCES

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The 63rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in session in Boston, Massachusetts, unanimously adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of an AFL Labor Press Service for the men and women in the armed forces in order to combat the vicious anti-labor propaganda to which our troops are being subjected, and

WHEREAS, The Resolutions Committee of the 63rd convention stated that "Your committee is favorably impressed by the purpose of this resolution, and believes that every step should be taken to carry its intent into operation. . . . With this comment your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council" and

WHEREAS, During the past year not enough has been done to carry out this mandate of the Boston convention while vilification of labor's contribution to the war effort has reached a new high, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council at its next session form and empower a special committee to cooperate with all national and international unions, state and central bodies of the American Federation of Labor to deal with this serious problem.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AN INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The free trade unions of the world have always been in the forefront of the struggle for liberty and democracy, and against totalitarianism, and

WHEREAS, The greatest testimony to this fact is that reactionaries and fascists the world over have first suppressed workers' organizations before being able to impose dictatorship, and

WHEREAS, The underground trade union movement of Europe has played and is still playing an integral role in the struggle for liberation—notably in Italy, France, Belgium, the Netherlands—by sabotage and slow-downs as well as by armed resistance, and

WHEREAS, The reconstruction of the free trade unions of the world is fundamental to the establishment of a free democratic system, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call a conference of charter organizations of the International Federation of Trade Unions to meet in the United States as soon as feasible for the purpose of planning the reconstruction of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

AGAINST THE PERSECUTION OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN CITIZENS

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, In 1942 by Presidential Order No. 9066 all persons of Japanese origin resident on the West Coast of the United States were ordered evacuated inland in the interest of national security, and

WHEREAS, Of 126,947 persons of Japanese origin more than 85,000 are citizens of the United States by birth, and of these more than 8,000 Japanese-American youths are serving our country splendidly in every theater of war, and

WHEREAS, The strong tide of just hatred against Imperial Japanese barbarism and brutality has been turned without reason against loyal Japanese-American citizens, resulting in innumerable incidents of unjust persecution and discrimination, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th convention of the American Federation of Labor in session in New Orleans in re-affirmation of our great tradition of struggle against intolerance and oppression strongly condemn the unwarranted persecution and discrimination against American citizens of Japanese ancestry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL AGENCY FOR EDUCATION

Resolution No. 151—By Delegate George P. Phillips, Minneapolis and Hennepin County Central Labor Union, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

WHEREAS, It is necessary to develop in the United States of America an informed and aroused public opinion with reference to the issues of peace and international organization and the establishment of an International Office of Education, and

WHEREAS, It is essential that an educational program similar to the program of other United Nations be established and a council for the United Nations on Education be created soon, and

WHEREAS, This council should be related to other aspects of United Nations Policy, and

WHEREAS, A permanent international agency for education should be established soon after the war ends, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the proposal that the United Nations establish an international organization to promote educational and cultural relations throughout the world and to assist nations at their request to raise their standards of education, such organization however to have no power to administer or control the educational systems or programs in any member nation.

Referred to Committee on Education.

DUAL UNIONS OF SEAMEN

Resolution No. 152—By Delegates Harry Lundeborg, John Hawk, Morris Weisberger, James Waugh, Seafarers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Seafarers' International Union of North America has been granted jurisdiction over Seamen and Fishermen in all waters of North America and Canada by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The Seafarers' International in its organizing activities admitted to its affiliation the Canadian Seamen's Union upon their request, and

WHEREAS, This union has refused to live up to the principles and policies of the Seafarers' International Union of North America, and as a result at Convention of the Seafarers' International Union it instructed the Executive Board of the Seafarers' International Union to revoke the charter of the Canadian Seamen's Union, and

WHEREAS, This Canadian Seamen's Union is at the present time engaged in dual organizing in Canada and its President, Mr. Pat Sullivan, in his capacity as the Secretary of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has been using his said office to foster this dual Seamen's movement in Canada, and particularly in British Co-

lumbia, where they have openly joined hands with the C.I.O. dual organization, and are attempting to infringe on the jurisdiction of the British Columbia Seamen's Union, a bonafide labor organization, chartered and affiliated to the Seafarers' International Union of North America, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention hereby go on record requesting the officials of the American Federation of Labor to notify the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and its affiliates, including the Labor Councils of Canada to cease recognizing this dual Seamen's Union fostered by the Canadian Seamen's Union and to recognize only the Seafarers' International Union of North America, and its affiliates.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

MINIMUM WAGE PRICES FOR FISHERMEN

Resolution No. 153—By Delegates Harry Lundeborg, John Hawk, Morris Weisberger, James Waugh, Seafarers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Fishermen of New England and New York work on a profit-sharing system whereby their wages depend on and are determined by the fluctuating prices and sales proceeds of their catch as fixed by a Vessel-Operator-Fish Dealer Combine, and

WHEREAS, The Vessel-Operator-Fish Dealer Combine, by their control of prices at ports of fish landings, have for a time almost immortal depressed fishermen's wages to achieve low labor costs, and

WHEREAS, The present price ceiling structure as promulgated by the Office of Price Administration in July, 1943, represents a 36% cut in fishermen's wages in comparison with wages prevailing prior to such price regulation, and

WHEREAS, The Vessel-Operator-Fish Dealer Combine have recently undertaken a campaign to pressure the O.P.A., to remove Fresh Fish and Sea Food from Price Control so that prices and wages to the Fishermen may be further depressed—and all this without seeking parallel price adjustment of food, ice, fuel oil and other costs of fishing vessel operation which the fishermen now pay, and

WHEREAS, Congress, in the Price Control legislation, has declared its purpose to protect wage earners against "undue impairment of their Standard of Living" by stabilization of both prices and wages, even to the point of preventing "a post emergency collapse of value," and

WHEREAS, In implementation of such purpose, Congress in the 1944 Act continuing Price Control has further declared that price regulation of fresh fish must conform to a minimum standard, to wit, the "average 1942 prices," and

WHEREAS, Canada, to uphold present fishermen's wages, made an initial appropriation of \$25,000,000.00 and this by way of a support price mechanism, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and now

is forthwith empowered and instructed to undertake all necessary and appropriate measures, Legislative, Administrative, and otherwise—

1. To assure the North Atlantic Fishermen minimum wage-prices on a parity with present price ceilings,
2. To prevent removal or suspension of price control over the North Atlantic Fishing Industry, unless any such relaxation of control is coupled (a) with assurance of minimum wages and prices to fishermen comparable to the 1944 Price Control Act standard as now in part embodied in the Fresh Fish Price Regulation (M.P.R. 418), and (b) appropriate price reductions to the consumer,
3. To extend to the fishermen, the benefits of "support prices" as now enjoyed by producers of agricultural commodities under the provisions of the Commodity Credit Corporation Act and related Federal Laws and Executive Orders.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

WESTERN UNION CAMPAIGN

Resolution No. 154—By Delegates W. L. Allen, Hugh C. McKenny, G. R. Pawson, J. A. Payne, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, For the past five years the Commercial Telegraphers' Union has carried on an intensive organizing campaign among the 55,000 eligible employees of the Western Union Telegraph Company against the most bitter opposition from the American Communications Association, CIO, and

WHEREAS, By September 29, 1943, all of these workers employed in 4,000 telegraph offices scattered throughout the nation had participated in National Labor Relations Board elections in 105 separate bargaining units found to be appropriate by the Board pending nation-wide organization, and

WHEREAS, On September 29, 1943, the Commercial Telegraphers' Union filed a petition for certification with the NLRB asking one nation-wide bargaining unit for these workers, which petition by agreement between the CTU, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and four Federal labor unions in Western Union having a limited interest in Western Union was later amended designating the American Federation of Labor as the petitioner instead of the CTU, and

WHEREAS, On October 23, 1944, thirteen months later, after extended hearings and much unreasonable delay on the part of the NLRB, the Board, in a majority Decision (Millis and Houston) denied the petition for a nation-wide bargaining unit and directed that separate elections be held within 90 days for each of the company's six area "divisions" and for the "Home Office" employees in New York City, with Board Member Reilly dissenting vigorously, and

WHEREAS, The CTU, the IBEW and the four federal unions involved in the petition are united and cooperating wholeheartedly together to win these workers for the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in attendance at the 64th annual convention of the American

Federation of Labor, representing 7,000,000 American wage earners, extend a most cordial invitation to all Western Union employees to join with them in the American Federation of Labor by voting for the American Federation of Labor in the forthcoming labor board elections; that by thus rejecting the Communist-controlled American Communications Association, CIO, the 55,000 Western Union employees involved in the elections will be in the best possible position to secure the utmost benefits in wage increases and improvements in working conditions through the consolidated strength of nation-wide collective bargaining, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and affiliated organizations endorse the joint organizing-election campaign of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, the IBEW, and the four directly chartered AFL federal unions in Western Union and pledge their continued support to the CTU and associated AFL unions to whatever extent may be possible, financial and otherwise, in their joint efforts to win these workers for the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

DEATH OF EMMETT C. DAVISON

(Secretary-Treasurer International Association of Machinists)

PRESIDENT GREEN: President Brown, of the International Association of Machinists, desires to make an announcement.

DELEGATE BROWN, Machinists: Mr. Chairman, fellow officers and delegates, I have a sad task to perform by way of announcing the passing of one of my fellow officers, Brother Emmett C. Davison, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Association of Machinists, who passed away last evening. The funeral will be held on Friday of this week at 3 o'clock P. M. from the Cunningham Funeral Parlors, in Alexandria, Virginia.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am very sorry indeed to learn of the death of Secretary Davison of the International Association of Machinists. He has long served that Association as secretary of that great organization and has been a faithful, devoted supporter of the American Federation of Labor.

If it is agreeable to the convention the Chair will send a message of sympathy to the bereaved family and to the officers of the International Association of Machinists. Are there objections to that course? Hearing none, the Chair will follow that course and express the sympathy of the officers

and delegates in attendance at the convention.

Now I am pleased to present to you as the first speaker at this afternoon's session, Brother Arthur J. Altmeyer—and I call him "brother" because he has been attending previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor and through his attendance at these conventions he has contributed very largely to the educational value of our conventions. We have always found him in thorough accord with the social security point of view of the American Federation of Labor.

For years, as you know, he has served as chairman of the Social Security Board, and is recognized as an authority on social security legislation. I know he will bring to us a most interesting message today.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Chairman Arthur J. Altmeyer, of the Social Security Board.

MR. ARTHUR J. ALTMAYER

(Chairman, Social Security Board)

This is the ninth consecutive annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that I have been privileged to address on the subject of social security. These nine years measure the full span of the development and operation of the present social security system in this country. I think the American Federation of Labor has a right to feel gratified that the social security program, which it has supported so faithfully and so effectively, has advanced so far in such a short period of time. However, gratified as we should be, as to the progress that has been made, I am sure that we all realize that the present program is far from perfect and far from providing effective protection against all of the economic hazards which beset the workers of this country.

But while we may feel some disappointment that during the last two or three years progress in the development of an effective system of social security has not been so rapid as during the previous years, we must recognize that we have a war to win and that necessarily the attention and energies of everyone have been directed toward that end. I think we would all have to agree that another reason why the people of this country have not given as much thought and attention to ways and means of improving our social security system during the last two or three years is because full employment has obscured the fact that destitution and fear of destitution continue to be grim realities to millions of our people.

Of course we are all agreed that probably the Number One economic and social objective of this nation must be full em-

ployment and full production. Everybody wants to make his maximum contribution toward the creation of the sum-total of goods and services necessary to maintain an ever improving standard of living. However, what many people fail to realize is that even with full employment the chief causes of human destitution will continue to exist. Unemployment is only one cause of separation of a worker from his pay check. Sickness alone in normal times has been a far greater cause of cessation of earnings and consequent destitution than has unemployment. When we add to sickness, permanent disability, old age and premature death we must recognize that cessation of earnings from these causes constitutes a constant and serious threat to the welfare and happiness of the workers of this country and their families.

Individual savings, private insurance, home ownership, and the help of friends and relatives do not provide the necessary protection. However, the industrial nations of the world have discovered that at least a minimum basic degree of protection can be afforded through the device of contributory social insurance. As Winston Churchill has said, social insurance is merely a device for "bringing the magic of averages to the rescue of the millions." That is to say, like all forms of insurance, it enables people who are exposed to the same risk to share that risk, thereby making that risk bearable when it would otherwise be unbearable to the individual and his family. Or, putting it another way, it enables workers to spread their income over periods of non-earning as well as over periods of earning, thereby assuring them of a constant minimum purchasing power whereby to obtain the necessities of life.

Contributory social insurance has proven to be such an effective means of protection against economic hazards that no nation which has adopted a system of social insurance has ever abandoned it, but, on the contrary, has sought to extend and strengthen it. Indeed, social insurance has survived not only changes in governments but also survived and grown despite the rise and fall of nations themselves.

Undoubtedly the reason why social insurance has proved to be such an effective means of protection against persistent economic hazards is that it provides for benefits on a specific and pre-determined basis; it provides these benefits as a matter of right; it buttresses this right through the payment of contributions by or on behalf of the beneficiaries; and it provides a systematic long-range method of financing these benefits.

What we should have in this country is a unified, comprehensive social insurance system providing protection against all of the hazards that I have mentioned. At present, as you know, we have two social insurance systems. One is a straight Federal system covering the hazards of old-age and premature death, which we call the Federal old-age and survivors insurance system. The other is a Federal-State system of unemployment insurance, which came into existence because of a Federal unemployment tax, but which is operated by the States

themselves. There is no reason why we cannot convert these two social insurance systems into a single unified, comprehensive system of social insurance which would require only one contribution, one report, one record, and one local office where employers and employees could go to ascertain their rights and duties. Such a system could be decentralized in its operation and could provide for representation of groups affected. Thus decisions regarding benefits would be made by local officials in immediate contact with the persons affected and in immediate contact with the circumstances surrounding the individual case.

Such a system should of course cover all of the workers of this country, not only those working for others but also those working for themselves. Such a system would provide the maximum amount of protection at a minimum cost and in the simplest and most efficient manner. However, our belief that such a system would be the most effective should not discourage or prevent us from undertaking to improve the two separate social insurance systems we already have. And that is what I want to talk about today.

Unemployment Insurance

First, as to unemployment insurance, there is much that can be done by the States themselves to improve the present unemployment insurance laws. Forty-four legislatures will meet next year. The Social Security Board has already called to the attention of the Governors of those 44 States and the State unemployment insurance agencies the desirability of seeking appropriate legislative action at the forthcoming sessions of the State legislatures. Here are some of the things the States themselves can do to improve their own State unemployment insurance laws:

1. The states could make their laws applicable to all employers in the kinds of businesses now covered by their laws instead of only to employers of a certain size. Already 13 states do cover all employers regardless of the number of employees, and there is no reason why the 38 other jurisdictions could not do so as well.

2. All states have sufficient funds so that they could increase the maximum unemployment benefit payment to at least \$25 a week. At present, only one state pays as much as \$22 and 26 states have a maximum of \$16 or less. The result of these low maximum provisions is that on the average an unemployed worker receives only about one-third of his wage loss in benefits.

3. All states have sufficient funds so that they could pay benefits for at least 26 weeks to any eligible worker who is out of work that long. At present, there are only 3 states that pay as much as 20 weeks to all eligible workers who are out of work that long. The majority of states do not pay for more than 16 weeks. The effect of such limited duration of benefits is demonstrated by the fact that in 1940, which was a reasonably good year, 50 per cent of unemployed workers exhausted their benefit rights before they found another job.

4. The highly restrictive disqualification provisions that have been written into state laws

to prevent workers who are involuntarily unemployed from drawing benefits should be modified. While we would all agree that only workers who are able and willing and available for work should receive unemployment insurance benefits, there is no place in a social insurance law for purely penal provisions or provisions which require an unemployed worker not only to prove that he is involuntarily unemployed but also to prove that it is due to the fault of his employer.

All of the foregoing changes that I have suggested can be made in the state laws and do not require any further legislation by Congress. If these changes are not made in our present system of unemployment insurance there is no question but that it will not be the strong first line of defense against unemployment which it can and should be. An independent economist working for the Committee for Economic Development has estimated that these state laws in their present form will probably compensate for only 10 per cent of the annual wage loss which will be sustained during the post-war period.

It would be necessary for the Congress itself to act in order to provide unemployment insurance protection to Federal employees. It also would be necessary for Congress to act in order to provide unemployment insurance protection to maritime workers, regardless of whether they are federal employees or employees of private concerns. I think we would all agree that it is not only fair but necessary to provide unemployment insurance protection to Federal employees, who for the most part are war workers in arsenals and navy yards and in other employments which make them subject to the same lay-offs as employees of private employers. I think we would also agree that maritime workers exposed to the extraordinary hazards that war entails should also be provided this protection. There are other ways in which Federal legislation could improve and strengthen the present federal-state system of unemployment insurance without affecting its basic character. Thus, requiring that a state law meet certain minimum benefit standards in order that employers in that state receive credit against the 3 per cent Federal unemployment tax would protect states that desire to improve their benefit standards from unfair competition by employers in other states. Since these state laws came into existence because of the imposition of the 3 per cent Federal unemployment tax, there is no logical reason why the Congress of the United States should not lay down the conditions that the states should meet in order that their employers receive credit under this Federal tax law. In addition to prescribing minimum benefit standards, the Congress could provide a Federal re-insurance fund to protect state unemployment insurance funds in case the claims upon any state fund should be more than it could meet at the normal rate of contribution of 2.7 per cent of payroll. If this were done, the states would not only be protected but also encouraged to make their scale of benefits more adequate.

Old-Age And Survivors Insurance

Let me now discuss briefly ways in which our present Federal old-age and survivors insurance system could be improved. This system, as you know, provides monthly insurance

payments to the insured worker and his family when he is old, or to his family when he dies whatever his age. Last August we began paying the one-millionth benefit under this program. Those payments go, by the way, to the family of a union molder in Cleveland, Ohio—a young man who had been secretary of Local 218 of the International Molders and Foundry Workers Union. The young widow and the two little children in that family are receiving approximately \$60 a month, and monthly payments will continue until the children are 18 years old. Such benefits will total more than \$11,000 during the children's school years and might reach \$15,000 or more, counting benefits payable to the widow after she is 65 if she lives out her normal life expectancy.

Our old-age and survivors insurance system is sound and successful as far as it goes, and it covers millions of workers and their families. But it should be extended to the millions not yet covered by it, and we should liberalize the benefit payments and we should add disability insurance protection. This can be done only by Act of Congress, and our recommendations have accordingly been sent to Congress. One thing, however, the Board itself has the power to improve, and I am glad to tell you today that we are taking action to improve it.

This relates to the re-calculation of benefits of the older men and women who have gone back to work—usually to war work—after having retired and claimed their old-age benefits. The monthly benefits they had been drawing were based, of course, on their wages of pre-war years.

But war-time wages are higher. Moreover, workers and employers pay social security taxes, or premiums on those war-time wages, just as they paid on their pre-war wages. It has, therefore, seemed peculiarly unfair that war workers who had once retired and received their insurance benefits on the basis of pre-war pay should not be able to get the larger benefits, based on their wage records down to date, including their much higher war-time wages.

This situation was not foreseen when the Social Security Act was passed in 1935, or even in 1939 when it was amended, but as applied to the present problem the intent of the law seems clear, and the Board has ruled accordingly. I am, therefore, glad to tell you that, upon application, we will re-calculate the monthly benefit payments of any worker who, since retiring, and claiming his benefits, has gone back to work on a covered job at pay which would increase his benefit rate.

I hope you will pass on this news to the older men and women in your membership and among your acquaintance everywhere. Remember it stands to benefit only the worker past 65 who filed his claim and later returned to work for higher average pay than he had received before.

We have made progress on a plan worked out with the United States Civil Service Commission to protect the Old-Age and Survivors insurance rights of the large number of persons who have left insured employment to work for the Federal Government during the war. This has been a long and complicated job because it was necessary to work out a plan that would not interfere with the functioning of the Civil Service Retirement Fund. We believe we have worked out a solution whereby

persons who contribute to the Civil Service Plan, but who secure no annuity because they worked less than five years for the Federal Government, will have their social security rights protected. This can be done by transferring the necessary employee social security contributions from the Civil Service Retirement Fund to the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Fund, and refunding to the employee the balance of the amount to his credit in the retirement system. In this way persons who have worked for the Federal Government and also have an insured status under the Social Security Act will gain additional insurance protection toward old-age benefits and survivors benefits. In some cases the value of the total survivors benefits may be equivalent to \$5,000 or \$10,000 of insurance protection.

Another matter that can and should be taken care of right away is to protect the social security rights of men and women who have gone into military service. We believe that service in the armed forces should be counted toward insurance benefits just as under existing law we count employment in private business or industry. A number of bills have been pending in the Congress for some time. However, the problem was a complicated one and only within the last few days has a plan been worked out which not only protects the social security rights of the men and women who have gone into military service but also does not interfere with any veterans benefits to which they may be entitled.

I am confident that not only these matters that I have mentioned will receive the attention of Congress but also other fundamental proposals for improving the present social insurance system. Some of them of course are more controversial than others. The ones I have mentioned are relatively non-controversial. Probably the least controversial are proposals to provide Federal grants-in-aid to the states to enable them to provide adequate assistance to all needy persons. Probably the most controversial are the proposal to incorporate the present unemployment insurance system into a comprehensive national social insurance system and the proposal to include health insurance in this national system.

Time will not permit me to discuss the pros and cons of these two controversial but fundamental proposals. However, before closing I should like to point out that health insurance is quite different from what has been called "socialized medicine" or "state medicine." Health insurance is not a system of medical practice but a method of paying for the cost of medical care. It is a method whereby workers can pay a little at a time and in advance medical bills which are unpredictable in time and in amount, but are an ever present threat and a serious barrier toward obtaining adequate medical care. In short, health insurance is a device whereby workers can pay their medical bills without hardship and whereby doctors and hospitals will be guaranteed payment for the services they render. Patients will be free to choose their own doctors and doctors will be free to choose their own patients.

But while we are debating these fundamental but still controversial phases of an ideal social insurance system, we must also bend our efforts toward improving the two social insurance systems we already have. That is to say, we should not let our striving for what

we consider the best system prevent us from also undertaking to make the present system better.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you, Chairman Altmyer, for your visit and for your address. We are deeply interested in this subject of social security and we expect to concentrate our efforts toward a broader and more comprehensive Social Security Bill, one that will meet the requirements of modern day civilization and the post-war period in a broader and more comprehensive way.

The Chair now recognizes Secretary Green of the Auditing Committee for a report.

Committee Secretary Thomas V. Green read the following report.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

To the officers and delegates of the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The Auditing Committee appointed in accordance with Article III, Section 5, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor submits the following report to this Convention:

The Committee desires to report that the books of the Secretary-Treasurer were examined and various items of receipts and expenses checked and found to be correct. All financial transactions were neatly and clearly recorded. The cash balances on hand as of August 31, 1944 were verified by letters from each of the banks where the Federation has funds on deposit, certifying as to the amount on deposit with each of the banks as at the close of business August 31, 1944.

The securities owned by the American Federation of Labor, as listed on the books of the Secretary-Treasurer, were personally examined and counted by your Committee. With respect to these securities, we wish to make the following comment: the books of the Federation show listed among the securities \$50,000.00 U. S. Treasury 3 1/4 % Bonds and \$10,000.00 Dominion of Canada Government Bonds, 2 1/2 %. These particular securities are not now in the possession of the Federation. We were advised by Secretary-Treasurer Meany that these \$60,000.00 in bonds were called by the Governments of the United States and Canada; consequently, they were turned in and cash was received for the par value of the bonds, namely \$60,000.00.

This \$60,000.00 was reinvested in U. S. Savings Bonds Series G, 2 1/2 %. In other words, in making our count of the bonds that should be on hand, we found \$60,000.00 U. S. Savings Bonds Series G, 2 1/2 % instead of \$50,000.00 U. S. Treasury 3 1/4 % Bonds, and \$10,000.00 Dominion of Canada Government Bonds, 2 1/2 %.

The books of the Federation show that this transaction covering the cashing of one group of bonds and the purchasing of another group was recorded during the month of October, 1944. The books show that during the month of October \$60,000.00 in cash was received from the sale of bonds. The

books also show that \$60,000.00 was paid out for the purchase of the substitute issue of bonds. The books of the Federation were closed for the fiscal year on August 31, 1944, and at that time the Federation did own the U. S. Treasury 3 1/4 % Bonds and the Dominion of Canada 2 1/2 % Bonds as of that date. The bonds on hand at that time are included in the Federation's fiscal year report.

Receipts

Balance on hand,	
August 31, 1943.....	\$1,680,076.38
Per capita tax	\$1,543,760.04
Paid subscriptions,	
AMER. FEDST.	2,382.71
Per capita tax	
subscriptions,	
AMER. FED.	536,134.69
Per capita tax	
from locals al-	
located to De-	
fense Fund.....	303,839.92
Initiation Fees....	213,967.15
Reinstatement	
Fees	7,830.47
Supplies	20,849.32
Interest	26,319.68
Premiums on	
bonds of offi-	
cers of unions	
bonded through	
A. F. of L.....	26,056.54
Disbanded and	
suspended un-	
ions and mis-	
cellaneous re-	
ceipts	22,043.37
Total Receipts	2,703,183.89
Grand Total	\$4,383,260.27

Expenses

Organizing Ex-	
penses	\$ 888,503.89
Organizers' sal-	
aries	645,811.34
Office employes'	
salaries	236,511.97
Administrative	
salaries	66,995.39
Miscellaneous	
general bills....	338,489.66
Printing and pub-	
lishing AMER.	
FEDST.	127,854.67
Defense Fund	7,500.00
Premiums on	
bonds of offi-	
cers of unions	
bonded through	
A. F. of L.....	21,902.38
Total Expenses	\$2,333,569.30
Balance on hand,	
August 31, 1944	\$2,049,690.97

Recapitulation

In General Fund.....	\$ 446,032.02
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	1,603,658.95
Balance on hand, August 31, 1944.....	<u>\$2,049,690.97</u>

We have verified the cash balances and counted the securities, and find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be invested and deposited as follows:

U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, maturity February 1954, 2½ %	\$ 50,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, maturity June 1953, 2½ %	50,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, maturity July 1954, 2½ %	50,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1964- 1969, 2½ %	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1950- 1952, 2 %	50,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1963- 1968, 2½ %	200,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1945, 3½ %	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1956- 1959, 2½ %	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1962- 1967, 2½ %	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1955- 1960, 2½ %	100,000.00
Premium on 1955-1960 2½ % Bonds	1,531.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1946- 1949, 3½ %	225,000.00
Premium on 1946-1949 3½ % Bonds	2,070.32
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1952- 1954, 2 %	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Certificate of Indebtedness, ⅞ %, due Feb- ruary 1, 1945	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Certificate of Indebtedness, ⅞ %, due June 1, 1945	100,000.00
Dominion of Canada Bonds, 1943-1945, 2½ %	9,912.50
Total Investment in Bonds.....	<u>\$1,387,795.32</u>
Riggs National Bank (subject to check)	604,499.65
Union National Bank (subject to check)	10,000.00
City Bank (subject to check) Federation Bank and Trust Co., New York, (subject to check)	5,000.00 2,000.00
300 shares Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (stock)	15,000.00
396 shares Mt. Vernon Mort- gage Corp. stock	396.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., New York, (collateral de- posit)	25,000.00
Secretary-Treasurer's balance August 31, 1944	<u>\$2,049,690.97</u>

A listing of the bonds on hand as of August 31, 1944 is as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds, 3½ %, 1946-49: Nos.	\$ 225,000.00
14436F	\$ 5,000.00
28631A	10,000.00
28632B	10,000.00
28633C	10,000.00
28634D	10,000.00
28635E	10,000.00
28636F	10,000.00
28637H	10,000.00
28638J	10,000.00
28639K	10,000.00
28640L	10,000.00
28641A	10,000.00
28642B	10,000.00
29974D	10,000.00
29975E	10,000.00
29976F	10,000.00
29977H	10,000.00
31874D	10,000.00
33783C	10,000.00
29981A	10,000.00
29982B	10,000.00
29983C	10,000.00
38459K	10,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 2½ %, 1963-68: Nos.	\$ 200,000.00
4358J	\$100,000.00
4359K	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 2½ %, 1964-69: Nos.	\$ 50,000.00
3976F	\$ 10,000.00
3977H	10,000.00
3978J	10,000.00
3979K	10,000.00
3980L	10,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 2 %, 1950-52: Nos.	\$ 50,000.00
4388J	\$ 10,000.00
4389K	10,000.00
4390L	10,000.00
4391A	10,000.00
4392B	10,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 2½ %, 1962-67: Nos.	\$ 100,000.00
4107H	\$ 10,000.00
4108J	10,000.00
4109K	10,000.00
4110L	10,000.00
4111A	10,000.00
4112B	10,000.00
4113C	10,000.00
4114D	10,000.00
4115E	10,000.00
4116F	10,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 2½ %, 1964-69: Nos.	\$ 50,000.00
116F	\$ 10,000.00
117H	10,000.00
118J	10,000.00
119K	10,000.00
120L	10,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bond, 2½ %, 1955-60: No.	\$ 100,000.00
2727H	\$100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Certificate, ⅞ %: No.	\$ 100,000.00
23996	\$100,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, 2½ %, Due February 1, 1954: Nos.	\$ 50,000.00
X68616G	\$ 10,000.00
X68617G	10,000.00
X68618G	10,000.00
X68619G	10,000.00
X68620G	10,000.00

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U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, 2½%,
Due August 1, 1954:

Nos.	\$ 50,000.00
X173145G	10,000.00
X173146G	10,000.00
X173147G	10,000.00
X173148G	10,000.00
X173149G	10,000.00

U. S. Treasury Certificate, ½%:
No. 19966 \$100,000.00

U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, 2½%,
Due June 1, 1953:

Nos.	\$ 50,000.00
X39464	10,000.00
X39465	10,000.00
X39466	10,000.00
X39467	10,000.00
X39468	10,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds, 2¼%, 1956-59:
Nos. \$ 100,000.00

2541A	10,000.00
2542B	10,000.00
2543C	10,000.00
2544D	10,000.00
2545E	10,000.00
2546F	10,000.00
2547H	10,000.00
2548J	10,000.00
2549K	10,000.00
2550L	10,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds, 2%, 1952-54:
Nos. \$ 100,000.00

293C	10,000.00
294D	10,000.00
295E	10,000.00
296F	10,000.00
297H	10,000.00
298J	10,000.00
299K	10,000.00
300L	10,000.00
301A	10,000.00
302B	10,000.00

*U. S. Treasury Bonds, 3¼% \$ 50,000.00
*Dominion of Canada Bonds, 2½% 10,000.00

*These bonds were recalled by the Issuing Governments, and on October 10, 1944, the following bonds were purchased to replace them:

U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G:
Nos. \$ 60,000.00

X500796G	10,000.00
X500797G	10,000.00
X500798G	10,000.00
X500800G	10,000.00
X500801G	10,000.00
X500802G	10,000.00

Gompers Memorial Fund

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1944	\$ 133,736.04
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1944	122,728.87

Balance on hand August 31, 1944 \$ 11,007.17

Funds deposited as follows:
1,266 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp stock \$ 1,266.00
Riggs National Bank checking account 2,241.17
United States Savings Bonds (maturity value, \$10,000.00) 7,500.00

Balance on hand August 31, 1944 \$ 11,007.17

The bonds in the Gompers Memorial Fund are as follows:

U. S. Savings Bonds—Maturity—Value,
\$1,000.00 per bond; Purchased April 10, 1936; Maturity date April, 1946; Purchase price—\$750.00 each.
M21870B
M21871B
M21872B
M21873B
M21874B
M21875B
M21876B
M21877B
M21878B
M21879B \$ 7,500.00

American Federation of Labor Building Fund Receipts

Balance on hand August 31, 1943 \$ 22,182.26
Rents \$ 41,494.11
Dividends 36.54
Insurance (refund) 40.87
Taxes (refund) 59.54
Sale of waste paper 159.17

Total receipts 41,784.23

Receipts and balance \$ 63,966.49

Expenses

Maintenance:
Pay roll (building employ-ees) \$ 23,551.85
Taxes 2,558.44
Electricity 1,908.51
Fuel (coal) 1,039.41
Supplies 817.37
Upkeep and repairs 2,115.44
Plastering and painting 753.04
Cleaning windows 540.00
Insurance (liability) 402.64
Water rent 138.60
Hauling ashes and trash 224.00
Safe deposit (rent) 3.60

Upkeep and repairs of elevators	975.36	
Social Security Tax: Unemployment insurance	70.12	
Old age benefits	224.60	
Total Expenses	\$	35,422.98
Balance on hand August 31, 1944	\$	28,543.51

Recapitulation

Receipts and balance	\$	63,966.49
Expenses		35,422.98
Balance on hand August 31, 1944	\$	28,543.51
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:		
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation (1,218 shares)	\$	1,218.00
Riggs National Bank		19,825.51
U. S. Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000)		7,500.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1944	\$	28,543.51

The bonds in the American Federation of Labor Building Fund are as follows:

U. S. Savings Bonds—Series B Maturity value, \$1,000.00 per bond; Maturity date, July, 1946; Purchased July 21, 1936 at \$750.00.

M273333	
M273334	
M273335	
M273336	
M273337	
M273338	
M273339	
M273340	
M273341	
M273342	\$ 7,500.00

Your Committee, wishes at this time to express their appreciation for the hearty cooperation and courtesy extended them by the employees of the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

A vote of confidence is due the Secretary-Treasurer, George Meany, for the concise, efficient and orderly manner, in which the records of the American Federation of Labor are kept.

In closing, your committee wishes to thank the members of the bookkeeping department of the American Federation of Labor, Secretary-Treasurer's Department for the aid and assistance, which has made it possible for your committee to render this report.

Auditing Committee
American Federation of Labor
New Orleans, La.

THOMAS J. LLOYD,
Chairman.
HENRI VAILLANCOURT,
THOMAS V. GREEN,
Secretary,
Auditing Committee.

Delegate Koveleski moved adoption of the report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I want to present to you Brother Hugo Ernst, who served as a co-delegate with Brother Holt Ross to the British Trades Union Congress. He will report to you upon the attendance of himself and Brother Ross at the Congress. Brother Ernst and Brother Ross made the trip to Great Britain as fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor. They represented us in a proper, impressive and dignified way. We appreciate the service these men rendered to the American Federation of Labor through their attendance at the Congress. Now I take pleasure in presenting to you Brother Hugo Ernst, Secretary-Treasurer of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

JOINT REPORT OF HUGO ERNST AND HOLT ROSS

(Fraternal Delegates to British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President and Delegates:

As per instructions from President Green, we met in Washington, D. C., ready to take off for the British Isles to represent the A. F. of L. at the 76th Annual Congress, to be held at Blackpool, October 16th to 20th, inclusive, but owing to certain misunderstandings, we were told that we would have to go to New York to take the Clipper from there, instead of a bomber from Washington, D. C., as was originally planned. Having taken all the necessary "shots" we finally departed on Sunday, 3 A. M. from New York, landing first at Shediak, N. B., for breakfast, at Botwood, Newfoundland, for dinner, and next morning at Foynes, Ireland, for breakfast, and final embarkation by British Air Lines to Croydon, and thence to London, arriving in the latter city at 8 P. M. The reason for the delays is the various investigations and reports you have to undergo in every port of a foreign country you enter, but with all that, we made the trip in a record time, for we had a good tailwind crossing the Atlantic, which cut about three hours from the regularly scheduled time.

While no sleeping accommodations were provided in the Clipper, the trip was not tiresome; in fact it seems that we all enjoyed it, and there was a certain spirit of kinship amongst all the passengers of the Clipper—created partially I presume, by the common danger of crossing the vast expanse of the Atlantic in a relatively small and frail craft and partially by the common feeling that we were leaving the land of relative plenty and security to come to a place where things are entirely the opposite.

And so we came to London, and were placed in a hotel right by the Victoria Station—the best that could be had for

the moment. It should be stated here that hotel accommodations are not easy to be had, first because a number of large hotels have been bombed out, and secondly because another large number had been taken over to house the various men and women in uniform, that form quite a formidable part of the London population at the present time. The hotel was not ultra modern, but had good beds and both of us, Brother Ross and myself, kept this room until we went to Blackpool for the Congress.

The Congress convened at 10 A. M., Monday, the 16th of October, called to order by President Ebby Edwards of the Mineworkers, who presented Mayor J. Parkinson, of Blackpool for a very interesting address of welcome. The next speaker was the President of the Blackpool Trades Council, Councillor E. A. Machin, J. P., who extended the delegates the welcome of the trade unionists of Blackpool. That was all the time that was consumed in addresses, and the Congress next heard a very interesting and analytical address of its President Edwards, copies of which were distributed amongst the delegates beforehand, and they followed his address with great interest. After several other formalities, all the fraternal delegates were introduced to take a bow.

There were present, in addition to the United States delegates—6 representatives of the USSR with two interpreters, 2 delegates representing the India labor movement, 2 representing the Free French movement, one gentleman from Cairo representing about 160,000 organized Arabs, the Jewish Labor Movement in Palestine, and the Minister of Labor in the Polish Government in exile. The Belgian and Canadian representatives did not attend and sent telegrams of congratulations and excuse to the Congress.

The report of the General Council was then distributed amongst the delegates, as were the 72 resolutions, and the composite resolutions, with the order of business, also an interim report on Post-War Reconstruction, and one on Trade Union Structure and Closer Unity, copies of which have been given to President Green, together with the addresses made by your fraternal delegates.

Many interesting things were discussed at the Congress. The very first matter of interest was the statement by Sir Walter Citrine that no reporters not being members of the bona-fide reporters' union affiliated with the Congress has been given a seat to report the Congress. This measure was taken because it appears there was formed a dual union of reporters, a sort of company union, and the Congress upheld the action of the Council, in spite of the cry of the newspapers of "Freedom of the Press." A very interesting debate arose on so-called I. A. A. The General Council some time back supported the Ministry of War in promulgating a Regulation I. A. A. which had for its purpose to curb the instigation of strikes. This regulation was promulgated by Mr. Bevin, after consultation with the General Council, because some parties, outside of the industries concerned, had instigated strikes which paralyzed certain major industries. The motion was to refer this part back to the Council which is equivalent

to non-passage, but the Council was upheld by a vote of 3,686,000 to 884,000, a comfortable majority.

The war guilt of the German people took up a large part of the session of Tuesday, October 18, and the Congress voted by a 4 to 1 majority to accept the principle that reparation should be demanded, thus placing the blame on all the Germans and not only the Nazis. An argument by Sir Walter Citrine claims that the Allied Nations have already accepted the principle of reparation in the case of Roumania and Finland, when Russia was given the right to exact reparation: "and," he said, "if it is a good principle for these defeated nations, it ought to also apply to Germany. There is too much mushy sentimentality about this question," he continued. "Nobody has wanted to see a sign of revolt in Germany more than I have. The TUC has appealed to the German labor movement. While I would be the last to deny the bravery of individual German trade unionists, I cannot escape the conclusion that there has been no large scale organized resistance in Germany since the advent of Hitlerism."

The opposition was primarily concerned, lest the reparation be in the form of coal, tools, ships, etc., and thereby undermine the home product and create hardship on the respective unions.

On Post-war Reconstruction the General Council recommended Public Ownership now of fuel, power and the transport industries, including rails, roads, canals and coastwise shipping. The second consideration goes to iron, steel and cotton industries "although there can be no question as to the need for their early transfer to public ownership." "It also advocates setting up of industrial boards representing employers and workers equally with an impartial chairman and independent members in a large number of important industries which immediately require some measure of public regulation." "The private enterprise system is irrational," declares the General Council, in submitting its report, which was adopted by the Congress.

The Congress also voted to call an International Labor Congress in January of 1945 to which the American Federation of Labor, the C.I.O. and the Brotherhoods, together with the USSR and other European labor movements will be invited.

Lest this report be too long, we will refrain from going into details of the other actions of the Congress, except to say that the work was handled very expeditiously and no time was wasted. Speakers were held strictly to their time limit and when the red light flashed on the speakers' podium, he knew that he had one more minute to go, and after the second red flash he had to finish, no matter where he might have been in his oratory. No resolutions can be introduced from the floor, except by consent of the Committee on General Purposes when said committee declares the resolution an emergency case.

Unfortunately, we could not see Mr. Bevin, altho we had a letter of introduction to him from Mr. Green, but just at that time Prime Minister Churchill had returned from his

visit to Moscow and all the Ministers were quite busy. We did see Sir Frederick Leggett, one of his assistants, and Mr. Latimer, another assistant in the Department of Labor, and met quite a number of people, past delegates to the United States conventions, who inquired about friends they made while in America. We met the delegations from other countries, including Soviet Russia, one of whom spoke English fluently, and got some valuable information about the labor movement in that country. We also saw a display of underground papers from all countries in Europe, which was quite interesting and instructive.

Upon request of the O.W.I., we made recordings, (Mr. Ernst's speech being in German), to be transmitted at some future time.

We were in England two weeks and saw the destruction that was wrought by the blitz and the robot bombs—the empty spaces where buildings used to stand, and blocks of ruins, caused by the total destruction of everything that was on it. We saw women and children sleeping in the subways, and saw beautiful parks transformed into barracks and filled with anti-aircraft guns. We saw very few children on the streets of London—all signs of the terrible conditions under which the British have lived since the outbreak of the war. But we also saw determination on their faces, indicating that no matter what may come, they will stick it out, shoulder to shoulder with the other fighters for freedom and democracy.

This was also exemplified by the fact that the famous Hyde Park has surrendered none of its tradition of being an "Open Forum" for all. On Sunday morning we saw several groups expounding their various doctrines free and unhampered, as though there was no war on.

While there, we heard, but did not see, the robot bombs, which nightly visited London. Every night the alarm sounded and once we heard a crash, which was explained the next day as a robot bomb having exploded somewhere not too far from London. We also saw bomb shelters made of two inch thick Bessemer steel, which used to be the refuge in the earlier days, when the bombing of London was the order of things. We also had to feel our way with searchlights in the evenings, because of the blackouts! All these things we have seen and we feel that the people here don't know what war means. Some of our isolationists, who think we cannot be affected by war, ought to be sent over there for a few weeks to see for themselves what war really means.

We returned in time to vote.

We are thankful for the opportunity given us to be in a small measure helpful to understand the things that are going on in England, and to bring a picture of it, even if incomplete, to the U. S. A. We are convinced—as we never have been before—that the solidarity of the Labor Movement even as the solidarity of all the freedom loving people is necessary—if freedom and democracy are to survive.

Fraternally,
HUGO ERNST
AND HOLT ROSS

DELEGATE ERNST: Now, Mr. President, may I be permitted to say a few words not contained in this joint report? Brother Ross went to France at the invitation of General Eisenhower. There was only room for one to go, so I remained in London to study the economic condition of the trade union movement. Unfortunately, the influence of members of my organization in Europe is practically negative. While we here in the United States have quite a formidable group, they have very few cooks, bottle-washers and bar employees. We have the promise again that the rest of the movement will help our people to organize after the war. We have had these promises before, but unfortunately they never did materialize them. In 1934 General President Flore was sent as a delegate to the British Trades Union Congress and he brought to the attention of the labor movement in England the same matter, but there has been no improvement, but let us hope that things will change for the better in the future.

While in Blackpool we were honored at a banquet given by the mayor of the city. Each delegation was requested to say a few words, and Brother Ross took upon himself the task of making a rather impressive plea for liberty and freedom, which was very well received and heartily applauded.

There was also a banquet extended to us and particularly Brother Ross and myself by the labor relations man of the moving picture industry of Great Britain, and we discussed various phases of the industry and came to the conclusion that the labor relations in the industry are all that could reasonably be expected.

When I got ready to come home I went to the American Embassy to make arrangements for a seat on the clipper and found that priorities had not been arranged for me, and I was told that even if I should start then to get a priority, it would be 12 or 15 days before a clipper could take me back, and that the best I could do would be to take a boat the next day. After a little hesitancy, I decided it would be better than waiting 14 days and be late for the election, and I did not want to miss voting for F. D. R.

We were given very secret instructions as to the day we would leave and the port—in fact we did not know any of these things. We were told to be ready to leave London at 12 noon on a certain day, but did not know that we were bound for Liverpool until we reached there. We did not know the boat would arrive in New York until we arrived there, for the boat zig-zagged to avoid the submarines, and it took us eight days to cross. Those eight days were well spent. First, it gave us a complete rest, the food was admirable, and we had no meetings, no telephones, nothing but rest and nothing to do but play pinocle, which I enjoyed.

I had the good fortune of sitting at the table on the way over with five United States Army Officers and we got well acquainted. They found that I had been a labor representative in Blackpool, and they immediately asked me about strikes, etc. Well, their attitude was anything but friendly. They just didn't know what it was all about and they condemned John L. Lewis and a number of others and put everybody in the same boat. I explained to them what the situation was,

Finally by the time we sighted the Statue of Liberty, I had convinced them that labor was not as bad as they thought it was, and some of them told me they now had a different slant on the situation, and during the balance of the trip they pursued the subject with more open minds. So I believe in taking this trip by water, I accomplished something by opening the eyes of some people definitely hostile, and I hope they will carry the message further and create a more friendly atmosphere among the officers of the Army.

I also had the opportunity of speaking to a good many private and non-commissioned officers on the boat and did not find any hostility among them toward the labor movement. It seems that a great many of them are acquainted with the workings of labor and the main objects of labor, because the majority come from the labor ranks. But it is necessary, of course, to convince the officers as well, because there are a large number of them and some day they will come back and shed their uniforms, and we want them to be our friends and particularly understanding friends.

Before we returned from England we were presented with nice gold watches, suitably engraved. They are very nice mementos and I shall carry mine with fond recollections as long as I live.

I thank you, Mr. President and members of the Executive Council, for giving us that opportunity to go to England. We have learned a great deal and have tried to represent the American Federation of Labor in a dignified manner and as we know labor should be represented. If we have succeeded we are very happy.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We deeply appreciate this report made by Brother Ernst. The report submitted was very interesting indeed, and we hope at some future time we may find it possible to send these delegates back. We are pleased that you made the trip without mishap and returned to your families safely.

May I present to you at this time Private Walter Lowry, United States Engineers, who was honorably discharged after 12 months' service in New Guinea as the result of injuries. He is now business agent of Lodge 693, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America from Pascagoula, Mississippi. I want to introduce him to you for a moment so he may tell you a little about his experiences in the armed forces in New Guinea.

PRIVATE WALTER J. LOWRY

President Green, ladies and gentlemen: It is a pleasure to be here this afternoon after being away so long. In August, 1942, I was inducted into the armed services, and last Wednesday, a week ago today, I was discharged. During that time I have spent sixteen months overseas, twelve months of that time in New Guinea and in the islands surrounding. While there I can say that we had the best equipment in the world and we did jobs there, because we had that equipment, that other people in the world did not think could be done. Our boys in New

Guinea are all of one thought: getting the job done and getting back to their loved ones at the earliest possible moment.

While I was there I saw equipment coming in—planes, guns, and ships being escorted by the Navy and being brought to us by the Merchant Marine, who have done a darn swell job.

It is not like home life over there. When you sleep in a tent during the rainy season the tent acts as a pretty good sifter when it comes down hard, but it is the best you can do.

When we left the States in December, 1942, like the brother who just spoke before me I did not know where I was going. But after quite a few days on the water I wound up in Australia, and being just a little bit curious as to what the labor movement was in Australia I decided to see what I could do to find out in the short stay there. In the five weeks previous to moving up to New Guinea I contacted the Boilermakers Society of Australia. I attended several meetings during that time, and I can say that I have never been treated better in my life than I was by those brothers over there. They were hungry for information about the trade movement here in the States. I do believe there can be a little more information passed between the two organizations of these two great countries.

I have a letter here that I want to read that was delivered to me while in the hospital in Brisbane:

Private Walter J. Lowry, Jr.,
A. P. O.
U. S. Army

Dear Sir and Brother:

After I reported to our members at our meeting last night that you were returned from New Guinea, owing to your meeting with an eye injury, it was moved and carried unanimously that I write to you expressing the sincere regrets of the officers and members of the Brisbane branch of the Boilermakers Society, and it is our sincere hope when you arrive back in America something will be done to try to restore to you the use of your injured eye. Most of the members expressed pleasant recollection of the occasion when you addressed them in your inimitable way, and it proved to us that brotherhoods are not confined to any particular country, but have a world-wide significance. This branch would like for you to convey back to your members in America fraternal greetings from the Brisbane Branch.

Fraternally yours,
A. S. BOWERS, Secretary.

To go back a little bit to what the boys had to go through over there—you have all heard of jungle, jungle, jungle, and that's what it is. You have filth and disease of all kinds, but thanks to our Medical Corps we are pretty well protected. The job as far as New Guinea is concerned is about complete, I am glad to say, but they

are moving on up, they are going to need more and more of what you have been producing for them. You have done a darn good job, and there is no question in my mind that it will continue.

One thing I found while I was there was that we did not get the truth of just what was going on back here. Through the press and the radio we got the highlights of strikes, strikes, strikes, strikes. By getting "Labor" once a week I knew the inside picture and tried my best to pass it on to others. They are hungry for that information that you and their families can send to them, so they can have the truth. Many of them have done a good job of trying to tell the others just what the score was.

There is one thing they are interested in, and that is what is going to be here for them when they come back. I tried to impress it on their minds that we have certain legislation that provides that they must get their jobs back, but at the same time it is their duty to get into the organizations where they belong and see that everything that can be preserved for them will be preserved.

I am going back in a few days to Pascagoula and try to finish something that I started four years ago.

I will say in conclusion that although there is a thought here among certain people that there will be a rift between labor and the men in the armed services in the United States, a lot of them are due for a big surprise when those men come back home.

I thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know we all appreciate this report which Delegate Lowry has just made. We are pleased indeed that he is back home again and we hope that he will recover completely in due course from the injury he has sustained.

UNITED STATES ARMY SHOW

PRESIDENT GREEN: We will now have a special program presented by the United States Army. It will include talks by five

members of American Federation of Labor Unions, who have faced enemy fire and who are now in Army hospitals in this country recovering from injuries sustained in action. You will also hear from Colonel Warren J. Clear, who was one of that gallant band of Americans who fought against the Japanese at Bataan and Corregidor and who has recently returned from duty with General Eisenhower's forces in Europe. And, finally, you will see an Army film recording the hard fighting in Italy, being shown for the first time today to a civilian audience. The program will begin with the playing of a march by the 694th Army Air Forces band, under the direction of Warrant Officer William H. Bowers, a member of the American Federation of Musicians, after which you will hear from Lieutenant Colonel A. H. Raskin, representing Under Secretary of War Patterson.

CONVENTION IN RECESS THANKSGIVING DAY

DELEGATE KOVELESKI, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: May I offer a motion at this time, Mr. Chairman, before we proceed with the show? I move that when we adjourn this afternoon the rules be suspended and the convention reconvene at 9:30 o'clock Friday morning.

The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT GREEN: This motion is based upon the fact that tomorrow is a national holiday, Thanksgiving, throughout the country.

The motion offered by Delegate Koveleski was carried by unanimous vote.

(At this point the program was taken over by the Army, during which time five members of American Federation of Labor Unions related their experiences while in the service. This was followed by an Army film showing the hard fighting in Italy.)

Following the Army show and film, pursuant to the motion previously adopted, the convention adjourned at 5:45 o'clock p. m. to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, November 24.

FOURTH DAY — FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

New Orleans, Louisiana, November 24, 1944

New Orleans, Louisiana,
November 24, 1944

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:50 o'clock:

PRESIDENT GREEN: For some reason or other the minister assigned to pronounce the invocation this morning has not arrived. For that reason we will be compelled to forego the religious exercises for this morning.

The Chair calls upon Secretary-Treasurer Meany for submission of communications and greetings.

SECRETARY MEANY: On the instructions of the convention the following telegram has been sent to Mrs. E. C. Davison, signed by President Green:

**Message of Sympathy to
Mrs. E. C. Davison**

New Orleans, La.,
November 23, 1944

Mrs. E. C. Davison,
Alexandria, Virginia.

The officers and delegates in attendance at the convention of the American Federation of Labor now in session in New Orleans heard with a feeling of sorrow and deep regret of the death of Brother E. C. Davison, secretary of the International Association of Machinists. I extend to you and to the members of your bereaved family in behalf of the delegates our sincere sympathy in your sad bereavement. We are conscious of the fact that labor has sustained a very great loss as a result of the death of Brother Davison. He was a most efficient officer and a devoted and loyal member of his union and an uncompromising supporter of the American Federation of Labor.

WILLIAM GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.

SECRETARY MEANY: A similar telegram has been sent to the officers of the International Association of Machinists.

Secretary Meany then read the following messages:

**BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES
COUNCIL, CLARK AND LINCOLN
COUNTIES, NEVADA**

LAS VEGAS, NEVADA

November 15, 1944

Mr. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor,
c/o Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

Dear Sir and Brother:

We take great pleasure in presenting you with the enclosed gavel, made from magnesium, the "Miracle Metal of This Age," at the world's largest plant manufacturing this metal, and made by skilled craftsmen affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The metal used in making this gavel is identical to that used in the manufacture of war implements and munitions, and has assisted our armed forces in defeating the enemies on world-wide battlefronts.

We are very sorry to inform you and the delegates to the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention that this huge plant was closed today as a result of an order by the War Production Board on September 5, 1944, because of overproduction of magnesium metal.

At full operations this plant employed 8,000 men and women, and has produced 165,000,000 pounds of magnesium metal, which represents 25 per cent of all the magnesium metal used by the Allies in bombing Europe and Japanese holdings, in addition the plant has produced 40,000 tons of chlorine, which has also gone to war on the global fronts for the Allied armies.

In conclusion we extend to you and the delegates to the convention our greetings and felicitations, and may your deliberations be successful and benefit the workers and the Nation as a whole.

With personal best wishes, we are

Fraternally yours,

ANTHONY SANDERS,
Secretary

Cincinnati, Ohio
November 21, 1944

President William Green and Delegates in
Session,
Convention Hall,
American Federation of Labor,
New Orleans, Louisiana.

The progress made by the American
Federation of Labor has much in common

to make all Americans feel proud that there is an organization of the American Federation of Labor to give us cause for being sincerely thankful this Thanksgiving Day. I want you to know that we, the Hobbies of America, Inc., are thankful that we always have cooperated with you, especially in the state of California, where I personally spent seven weeks in the fight on that vicious right-to-work bill which I am so thankful was defeated there at last election. Because of illness I am unable to be a visitor at your New Orleans convention, but in heart and spirit I am feeling great because the good deeds and accomplishments of the American Federation of Labor are better than all the medicine in the world, and the men, delegates and officers of the American Federation of Labor is comprised of men who know what sacrifice has been made in the past that makes the future brighter, the rights of labor more encouraging, the happiness and prosperity of America more assuring and our thankfulness for the strength and health to carry on.

Sincerely,

JEFF DAVIS, King of Hobbies
HOBOES OF AMERICA, INC.

November 17, 1944
1416 F Street, N.W.
Room 319
Washington, D. C.

President William Green,
Convention of the American Federation of
Labor,
Municipal Auditorium,
New Orleans, Louisiana.

Dear Mr. President:

I deeply regret that urgent matters, regarding relief for Poland, require my presence in Washington and make it impossible for me to attend your Sixty-fourth Annual Convention.

I take this opportunity therefore, to extend sincere fraternal greetings to the delegates of your convention, in behalf of the workers of Poland.

Polish workers have been fighting Hitler and his Nazis since 1939 and will stop at nothing short of ultimate victory. They fully realize, that without the splendid efforts of your great nation this war could not have been won. Polish labor has a great admiration for the workers of this country. It marvels at the tremendous achievements they have made in factories and on farms, and are grateful. For they know that it is the workers of America, who keep the armies of the United Nations the best-fed and best-equipped in the world. For the fact that today we see the might of Hitler's fascist tyranny crumbling and that the tortured and oppressed peoples, among them my long-suffering country, can await with full confidence the moment of complete liberation, we are deeply indebted to your country's workers, to her heroic armies and the po-

litical wisdom of her Government. Without your full cooperation, humanity might have lost all that it holds dear. It might have lost freedom for whole generations to come.

I was very much impressed, during your recent national election, at observing how the American people determine who is to govern them. It is quite evident, that the responsibilities, which go with their democratic government, are deeply rooted in the hearts of the American people. Were this not so, it would have been impossible to hold a national election in the midst of war, to say nothing of permitting members of the Armed Forces to take an active part in it. The American people have set an example for the entire world. President Roosevelt's reelection gives him the necessary authority on the international front, to reform the world in such a way as to ensure a lasting peace and prosperity for all.

Economic interdependence of all countries will be greater than ever after this war. Thus, poverty and a low standard of living in one country will automatically cause a drop in the living standard of other countries. Well organized trade union movements, working together internationally, could achieve much in improving the working conditions of labor throughout the world.

The American labor movement has given proof of its understanding the necessity of international cooperation of labor, through the financial assistance it has rendered the workers of enemy-occupied Europe. The Polish workers are deeply appreciative for the generous contributions already made them by American Labor. In their name, I should like to express heartfelt thanks to the workers of America.

As the news from all fronts gets better from day to day, we no longer hope for victory, but believe in it firmly. While awaiting the much longed-for day on which tyranny meets its final defeat, however, we must do everything possible so that the world, which will be re-born of the battles and blood of our soldiers, of the suffering of our women and children, of the heroic struggle and suffering of those, who unflinchingly carry on their fight—will be a world of freedom for every nation, whether great or small and a world of justice and prosperity for every human being.

If freedom is to retain its true meaning—it must be a freedom for all. If social justice is to be more than a byword, it must effect everyone. Only a world such as the working people aim at can be a just payment for the great efforts and sacrifices of today, for only such a world can protect future generations from the horrors of war, from oppression and exploitation.

In closing permit me to extend very best wishes for the success of your Convention, from myself and from all the workers of Poland.

Fraternally yours,

(signed) AL. ADAMCZYK,
International Representative
of Polish Trade Unions.

Washington, D. C.,
November 22

William Green, President,
A. F. of L. Convention,
Hotel Roosevelt,
New Orleans.

I regret exceedingly due to situation in Senate I shall be denied high privilege of addressing the convention of the American Federation of Labor at this time. In general I wanted to discuss benefits of adequate wages and specifically I wanted to urge your convention's support of my legislation for higher basic salaries for our Postal Workers. The benefits of adequate wage scales and higher living standards were brought home to us emphatically on our recent trip around the world. Better wages bring better health, better comforts, better housing and therefore better and more efficient workers. That is why America achieved miracles of production in this emergency. Following that economic philosophy America will set the example for the world in our post-war fight against fear and want and insecurity. It will point the way to full employment and higher living standards.

JAMES M. MEAD,
United States Senator.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Green, Secretary of the Committee submitted the following supplemental report:

We, your Committee on Credentials, have examined the following credential and recommend that Delegate John E. Cudahy, previously reported, be permitted to also represent Nesco Fabricated Metal Workers' Union No. 19829, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, with 6 votes.

In accordance with instructions received from President Harvey W. Brown of the International Association of Machinists, we recommend the seating of George C. Castleman in place of Fred D. Laudemann, on the delegation of the International Association of Machinists, with 951 votes.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates named therein were seated.

Meeting of Representatives of State Federations of Labor

The Chair wishes to announce the appointment of President James L. McDevitt, of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, and President R. G. Soderstrom of the Illinois State Federation of Labor as a committee to arrange for a meeting of the representatives of all State Federations of Labor

who are present at this convention. I wish that such a conference might be held for the purpose of giving consideration to state legislation as referred to in the address delivered to the convention by our General Counsel, Judge Padway, last Wednesday.

I will ask Brother McDevitt to act as the chairman and arrange to call a conference when it would seem to be convenient and accommodating. I will arrange to have our General Counsel, Judge Padway, attend the conference for the purpose of supplementing what he has said with further information and further report to the officers of the State Federations of Labor.

Re-Assignment of Section of Executive Council's Report

PRESIDENT GREEN: The proceedings of Tuesday show that the section of the Executive Council's Report reading, "United Mine Workers' Failure to Become Re-affiliated" was referred to the Committee on Executive Council's report. That was an error. The Chair now wishes to announce the reference of that subject to the Committee on Resolutions.

Announcement

PRESIDENT GREEN: I will request President Stevenson, of the Molders International Union, President Harvey Brown, of the Machinists International Association, President Edward Brown, of the Electrical Workers Union, President Anthony Valente, of the United Textile Workers, and President David Dubinsky, of the International Ladies Garment Workers, to meet with me in my room at the Roosevelt Hotel tomorrow at 11 o'clock. I want to discuss some of the questions that were submitted to this convention in the address delivered by General Somervell, and I especially request that all those named meet with me in my room, 1234, Roosevelt Hotel at the time indicated.

One of our invited guests who was requested to meet with us and greet you and deliver an address is here this morning. I am pleased to advise you that the Naval Officers of the Government are deeply interested in our convention and have manifested a desire to cooperate with us, to help us, to assist us; so they have sent to us one of their outstanding Admirals, one who is held in high esteem and high regard by representatives of

labor who are called upon to frequently confer with him and representatives of the Navy Department. I know of no one connected with the Navy Department in Washington who manifests a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of labor and our American Federation of Labor philosophy than Admiral Moreell, who is here this morning to address us. We are extremely fortunate to be present to listen to what I know will be a most inspiring and educational address.

I welcome the Admiral here this morning in your name and in your behalf, and want him to know we extend to him a warm, hearty, cordial welcome. I present to you now Admiral Moreell of the United States Navy Department.

VICE ADMIRAL BEN MOREELL (CEC, United States Navy)

Slightly more than two years ago I had the honor of addressing the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor at their Convention in Toronto, Canada. At that time our production for war purposes had not yet reached top speed. Our needs were overwhelming and we were failing by a large margin to meet them.

Since then the people of the United States have wrought a modern miracle. The production of materiel of war has far exceeded even our own expectations, and we have smothered the derisive predictions of our enemies in an avalanche of implements of victory.

It is appropriate to briefly review these accomplishments. In the calendar year 1941 the war products of American industry, that is, planes, ships, guns, munitions, fuels, and other implements and materials of war amounted to approximately 8½ billion dollars worth. In 1942, the amount increased nearly fourfold to 31¼ billion dollars. In 1943 it again almost doubled from the previous year to reach a total of 56¼ billion dollars, and up to and including September of the current calendar year we had attained a total of approximately 48½ billion dollars. All of this is exclusive of the construction program which rose from a total of 5 billion dollars in 1941 to a high of almost 13 billion dollars in 1942, 8½ billion dollars in 1943, and 2¼ billion dollars up to and including September of the current calendar year.

This is truly a record to make one proud. But we must recognize that it is the result of the devoted, loyal and cooperative efforts of all elements of our people. It is the product of the teamwork of Government, finance, labor and management. It constitutes substantial and conclusive proof that all of our people can and will work together to achieve a great and worthy objective.

What are the practical effects of this great production? The answer is given in the reports from the war fronts and in the records of our progress in battle during the past two

years. Our arms have met with success in every area. Not only have we succeeded in pushing the enemy back from the lines where he was firmly entrenched but, by the preponderant application of implements and materiel of war, we have succeeded in doing this with a minimum expenditure of human lives and injuries to our own men. Those are the values of massive production, first, to assure victory, and, second, to assure victory with a minimum expenditure of our most valuable asset—the lives and limbs of our fighting men and women.

I do not mean to imply that we have been able to accomplish these great results without difficulties, without frictions, without controversies. No great endeavor of such gigantic dimensions and accomplished in such incredibly short time could be achieved without such interferences. To have done so would have required superhuman qualities which neither we nor others possess. When one considers that the accomplishment of this production entailed a complete reorientation of all phases of American industry and involved, in many cases, the migrations of large elements of our population, the construction of new cities and the rebuilding of others, the rearrangement of our social and educational processes, all to be accomplished while production was mounting ever higher and higher, it can be seen why frictions and disruptions would inevitably ensue.

Nor do I mean to imply that we could not have done better had we been able to avoid some of the controversy which was most instrumental in detracting from the great record. We can learn valuable lessons from the mistakes which have been made in the past. We all know that there have been strikes and slowdowns and stoppages which have affected our war production. We should not minimize their effects nor should we exaggerate them. Attempts to gauge the harmful effects of strikes by measuring the man-hours lost as a percentage of the total man-hours applied to war production are apt to result in distortions of the true picture; so, in like manner, do the exaggerated statements of some critics of labor that lost man-hours would result in major disasters on the battlefields. To me, the most destructive effect of strikes and slowdowns and stoppages in time of war is that they set a standard of moral complacency and of indifference to community responsibility which is the very antithesis of that high idealism which has always marked the conduct of Americans and, in particular, of the great majority of organized labor in time of national crisis.

It behooves us to make a realistic appraisal of our record not for the purpose of condemning any group or groups in our body politic, but for the purpose of rearranging our procedures with a view to avoiding past mistakes. There have been self-seekers and obstructionists in finance and management, just as there have been self-seekers and obstructionists in labor. Both are at fault and both are to be condemned. But their activities constitute no warrant for the condemnation of the great body of loyal and devoted workers in both camps whose prime objective has always been to win the war in a minimum of time and with a minimum of cost in human lives and limbs.

Certainly no one who has been intimately connected with our great war production operations can fail to pay tribute to the loyalty and devotion of the great mass of our citizens, no matter what their status. If this were not true, we would not be where we are today and the great achievement in battle of which we receive word almost daily would not be recorded. The failure or success of an operation must be judged by the over-all results accomplished and not by the efficiency of individual details of the various functions which go to make up the whole. In a mechanism as huge and complicated as is our war production program, there are bound to be parts which will temporarily get out of adjustment and groan and creak until remedial measures are applied. But the over-all progress of the machine need not be materially affected. In the present instance, this country has shown to the world what is admitted by all, friend and foe, to be a prodigy of production.

What are the prospects for the immediate future? There have been issued in recent months many over-optimistic predictions of events to come. Superficial observers of local successes in battle and of accumulated Allied war power have seen fit to predict early terminations of the war in both European and Pacific areas. The results of these enthusiastic statements, which in the ultimate analysis can be classified largely as wishful thinking, have been most unfortunate. We have seen a slowing down of war production and large migrations of workers from vital industries whose war tasks are far from completed. Management, by over-emphasizing the urgency of reconversion for post-war production, has encouraged these migrations and thus has contributed to the slowdown.

There is still a tremendous work to be done. The news from the European area in the recent past would indicate the expenditure of materiel of war by our armies at a rate unprecedented in the history of warfare. The resistance of the enemy is increasing in intensity, and this presages the need for more and more power if we are to destroy him without expending large numbers of our own forces.

In the Pacific our recent landing in the Philippines marked a notable advance, but still leaves us far from our ultimate goal. The fierce resistance of the Japanese in the face of annihilating fire from American forces is indicative of the intensity of the campaign which lies ahead. A recent calculation indicates that the Japanese Empire now has under its domination approximately 2,950,000 square miles of territory and approximately 456,000,000 people. In the continental United States we have an area of 3,000,000 square miles with 132,000,000 people. Certainly no one would attempt to equate the productivity of the people and manufactories in the areas under Japanese control with our own. But it must be borne in mind that we are faced with the obligation of carrying the attack across vast oceans to distances varying from 7,000 to 9,000 miles, and that we must have great preponderance in quality and quantity of men and materiel if we are to achieve victory within a reasonable time and at minimum cost.

I make a plea, therefore, for unrelenting application to the task still ahead by all parts of our industrial productive machine. Relaxation now will lengthen the struggle, will cost us lives, and will defer the day when we can apply our knowledge and our skills to the all-important task of reorienting our national life and redirecting its energies to the pursuits of peace. The war is not almost over. There are great deeds yet to be performed.

We cannot let up or slow down until the final whistle blows; and even then we will be faced with the great task of reconversion and reconstruction. While the task of winning the war which still confronts us must not be minimized, we are, I believe, obligated to look ahead to the equally important task of winning the peace and establishing our war gains on a firm base of future benefits for our people.

Labor, in collaboration with other elements of our population, must share in our post-war obligations. Foremost amongst these is the obligation to establish a strong and lasting peace so that we will not again, in the near future, be faced with the task of fighting another war. We thought, in 1918, that we had successfully fought a war to end all wars, but twenty-three years later we are engaged in a greater and bloodier conflict. This time we must see to it that our statesmen avoid the pitfalls of the past and establish a peace which will last.

I believe that I express the views of those in public authority when I state that there is imposed upon the righteous an obligation to be strong; otherwise, we shall yield strength to the unjust and to the oppressor. Cooperation with all nations of good will must be achieved. But, in the ultimate analysis, we, in concert with our Allies, must be prepared to exert our armed might to assure our continued existence under acceptable standards of living, and in free competition with the free peoples of the earth. We must be willing and able to exert sufficient force, if need be, to support and make effective the obligations which we have assumed under our national foreign policies. Experience has taught us that though we may outlaw civil violence, an efficient police department is a profitable investment.

I do not intend to enter into a discussion of the various proposals which have been made for the establishment of international maintenance of peace organizations, or for the domination of international affairs by one or more of the strong powers, with the possible collaboration of others. I do, however, make a plea for the active participation of this and similar organizations, and of every individual citizen, in the solution of this basic problem, which is of transcendent importance to the welfare of our country. I stress the obligation which rests on each individual to maintain an active and aggressive interest in the establishment of a sound peace and to seek, by all proper means, to make his views known to his government.

It is not my purpose to lecture on the obligations of citizenship and the duty of

the individual to participate to the limit of his opportunity in the conduct of governmental affairs. In the post-war world this obligation will be of even greater importance. There should be, in each citizen, a personal sense of responsibility for the condition and functioning of his government and of the component parts thereof. It is only by this means that we can be sure that the actions of our statesmen, who will establish the peace, will reflect the determinations of our people.

I emphasize here the feeling of the men and women in the armed forces that, having "done the job" once, they must not be let down by our failure to follow through and win the peace, as we will win the war.

There is a second obligation, the obligation which rests upon the community to establish the industrial life of this country on a stable and prosperous base. I do not share the opinions of those "prophets of gloom" who preach throughout the land that a terrible and destructive depression is inevitable after this war. To subscribe to that doctrine is to admit that we have "lost the game before the opening whistle blows." Rather would I dwell on the thought that the end of this war will see this country with the greatest industrial productive potential, in men and material, in the history of the world. Our people are trained in the operation of the intricate machinery of modern production. We are young and energetic and courageous. The end of the war will find us with the greatest fleet of merchant ships in history—some fifty million tons. We shall have a great air fleet, which can be adapted to the needs of peaceful commerce, and we shall have ample means for airplane production. We shall have the greatest Navy in the world, supported by adequate bases at strategic locations. We shall be prepared to support our international policies and the doctrine of freedom of the seas and of free commercial intercourse between all nations. Above all, we shall have a people imbued with the spirit and courage to venture.

Let us not underestimate the magnitude of the task but, by the same token, let us not fear it. Our total current production for war purposes alone is in the neighborhood of seventy billion dollars a year. Even with due allowances for shrinkage in production when the war pressure has been removed and for conversions to civilian needs, there must be found new, profitable and permanent outlets for a large part of this productive capacity. We cannot ourselves consume indefinitely all of this great industrial production. We must trade in order to obtain basic raw materials for our own consumption and in order to dispose of our surplus industrial products.

To those who look upon the future with fear and trembling I say: Compare our lot with that of the other nations of the world. If we despair, what hope is there for them? This great country can show the way to a higher standard of moral and physical well-being than any of us had thought possible. But it will require bold and unselfish leadership of the highest order

if we are to establish the conditions under which our fighting men and women and their children can receive the just rewards for their sacrifices.

In order that we can reap the fruits of our past labors the great triumvirate of American industry—finance, labor and management—must work together toward a common objective. We have made much progress in recent years along the paths of mutual confidence and cooperative achievement. Farseeing industrialists realize now that no one element in our population can prosper at the expense of others. Finance and management cannot prosper at the expense of labor, labor cannot prosper at the expense of finance or management. They rise or fall together. A healthy body requires that all parts of the body be healthy. You cannot have a vigorous body if the lungs are good but the heart is bad.

Finance, labor and management must work together. These three are like the apexes of an equilateral triangle which is called "industry." No one of these can be permitted to rise above the others without unbalancing the whole and courting disaster.

In a larger sense, it is equally true that all elements of our body politic must go forward or backward together. Government, industry and agriculture are prosperous or depressed together, and no one of them can prosper for long at the expense of the others.

It is conceded that the fabric of this country's industrial life is woven of the fiber of private enterprise. Of this private enterprise, labor is a vital part. The voice of labor must be heard, therefore, in the councils of Government and of industry. Labor should share in determining basic national policies. By the same token labor must share in the responsibility for making them work. A strong, vibrant, dynamic labor movement is our greatest safeguard against totalitarianism and despotism. Such a movement is the keystone in the arch of democracy. But the responsibility for conducting the business of labor so as to merit and hold the confidence and esteem of public opinion rests with the leaders of labor. I do not propose to discuss the various restrictive, and sometimes oppressive, labor practices with which we have had to contend in peace and in war. I do want to voice a modest word of caution that such measures, if carried to extreme, will act to destroy public confidence in the ability of your leadership and in your sense of obligation to the whole community with the inevitable reaction of extreme restrictive legislation.

Yours is the obligation to see that labor discharges its responsibility to the common welfare so that all of us will be able to enjoy to the fullest the products of our industry and the fruits of our resources. Let us recall the words of Justice Brandeis, the great liberal thinker, "The one final way in which we can approve that condition of the worker is to produce more, in order that there may be more to divide."

Now, I want to record publicly my personal indebtedness to organized labor. In

the early days of this war, when it became evident that we would have to build many things for the support of our fleets in far-off places under trying conditions and frequently under enemy fire, we were faced with the task of organizing almost overnight and from the ground up, a great construction force that would also be able to fight when necessity demanded.

I called upon organized labor to assist in that task. They did so with enthusiasm, with generosity, and with efficiency. The result has been that, beginning with the first regiment of some 3,300 officers and men in December, 1941, we have grown to a mighty construction force of 250,000 officers and men, distributed to all of the battle areas and participating in all of the offensive movements. I refer to the Navy's Construction Battalions, popularly known as the "Seabees".

Organized labor may well take pride in the fact that this organization has merited, and has received, the highest commendations from the top field commanders of both Army and Navy. They have participated in the operations in Africa, Sicily, and Italy, in the invasion of France, in Alaska, and in the offensive movements in the Central, South and Southwest Pacific. In spite of the fact that they are, on the average, much older than the men of other branches of the services, they have "stood the gaff" and they have delivered the goods under the most rigorous working conditions. We estimate that approximately 70 per cent of the men in this organization are members of organized labor. I believe you are justified in looking upon them as true fighting representatives of the great labor movement of this country, and I trust that you regard their accomplishments with the same pride as I do.

In order that you may have some visual account of the work of these men, I have taken the liberty of arranging for the presentation of a motion picture depicting the activities of the Seabees in connection with the construction and operation of the artificial harbors used in the invasion of Normandy, and which made possible the support of the Allied armies in France. This film has been classified as "Secret" until quite recently. It is now released and is being shown publicly here for the first time. I hope you will enjoy it.

In closing, I want to thank Mr. Green and the other officials of the American Federation of Labor for this opportunity to be with you. During the past five trying years I have had many dealings with the leaders of organized labor and, while I cannot say that we have always been completely in agreement, I do say that our negotiations have always been conducted on a high plane of complete mutual confidence and high esteem, and of frankness and fair play. In that spirit, we will win the war and the peace to follow.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know you share with me my full and deep appreciation of the visit of Admiral Morell to this convention and of the illuminating and inspiring address which

he delivered. We will, I assure you, give all the suggestions made in his address our most sympathetic consideration. I want to thank the Admiral in your name and in your behalf for his visit to this convention and for the address which he delivered.

Now the Admiral advised you he was presenting a picture of the work of the Seabees, but he did not tell you what I know. I have learned about it from representatives of the Army and the Navy. An overwhelming percentage—perhaps more than 70 per cent—of the Seabees whose work will be portrayed in this picture, are honored and beloved members of the American Federation of Labor. (Applause.)

Now the screen will fall, and I presume we will have to move back so those in front can see the picture, which will be shown immediately.

(Following the address of Admiral Morell a moving picture of the Seabees in action on the Normandy beaches was shown to the delegates.)

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am sure you all appreciate the fact that we were privileged to see this moving picture, presented for the first time, on the service and action of the Seabees on the Normandy beaches. We thank the Admiral for making it possible for us to be entertained and instructed in this very, very helpful way.

Now we have with us the Administrator of the Office of Price Administration. I know I can truthfully say, on behalf of the representatives of our great movement, that we are tremendously interested in this governmental agency. It touches our social and economic life every day somewhere and in some way.

I am pleased to state to you, out of my knowledge and information, that our distinguished visitor this morning, Administrator Chester Bowles, has administered the affairs of the Office of Price Administration in a most satisfactory and constructive way. It has been a huge task. I think it is probably the greatest challenge to the executive ability of anyone connected with the administration of the affairs of governmental agencies—perhaps greater than any other, so far-reaching, so detailed, but Administrator Bowles has measured up in a wonderful way, and I know he will tell us a most interesting story this morning.

I am pleased to present to you now Administrator Chester Bowles, of the Office of Price Administration.

MR. CHESTER BOWLES**(Office of Price Administration)**

Mr. Green and members of the American Federation of Labor: Just about a year ago today, or a little less than that, I talked to one of your special groups at the American Federation of Labor Convention in Boston. At that time I had just taken over this rather thankless job of running the Office of Price Administration.

A year ago today, like today, we are under very heavy pressures. We are in the midst of some pretty bitter struggles, trying to control prices and rents and maintain stability in our whole price structure. At that time we were struggling to get the use of consumer subsidies to hold down food costs. We were trying to convince Congress that those subsidies were essential if we were to hold food costs in line, to the protection of all consumers. There were many people who were opposed to us. There were some who were saying it was impossible to control rents or prices or anything in war-time, that no matter what we did we never could accomplish anything in that direction. People were saying prices were bound to go up 25 or 30 per cent during war-time. They based their statements on the history of other wars.

But we won that battle of consumer subsidies and we have won some other important battles since then. Last June 30th the Price Control Act came to an end and it had to be renewed. Lobbyists and pressure groups thronged into Washington, trying to break prices down. Some of them were only misguided and others were pretty vicious in their attitude. A good deal of money was spent trying to do away with price control and trying to crack prices and rents. Congress spent three months investigating all the work we were doing. I appeared at a great many investigations and told them of the work we were trying to accomplish.

I believe it is to the everlasting credit of Congress that they resisted the pressures and gave us an Act which was, in effect, about what we needed—not quite all we needed, but good enough for us to do the job. It would not have been possible for us to stand where we are today and still be here, still struggling to hold these prices and rents, if it had not been for organized labor. I am very confident of that, for many times we had few, if any friends except the people of labor. That has changed today, and many people in the country can see the value of what we are trying to do. Today we have many friends among the farmers, the manufacturers, and other groups who see the value of what we are trying to do. But back in the early stages of our work it was labor that stood back of us and helped us when we needed help most badly. Today we have 1,200 members on labor advisory committees throughout the country. We have 5,000 members of organized labor on our local price and rationing boards throughout the country.

In the meantime, while this struggle has been going on against these groups that

have been trying to break down these things, what has been happening to prices? What have we been able to accomplish? A little while ago Dick Ornburn of your organization, included in his script over the radio, the statement that "On the whole I believe OPA has done a pretty good job." It seems to me that is a pretty fair statement. We could have done better. I know places where we could have done better, and so does Mr. Ornburn. I also know of thousands of places where we could have done worse. I know of thousands of instances where we could have given, but we didn't give.

Many of you remember the prices and rents paid during the first World War. Rents went up 30, 60 or 100 per cent, clothing 150 to 200 per cent; sugar sold at 30 cents a pound instead of six and seven cents, as it is selling today, and eggs cost \$1.00 per dozen.

In this war industrial prices are only three or four per cent above what they were selling for in 1942, and while that is not a direct part of your cost of living, it is a very important part of your whole economy, and all of us as taxpayers and citizens have a great stake in that fact. Steel is selling today at what it sold for in 1941. The same is true of cement, copper, aluminum and many other products that go into the cost of war. If the cost of these products had doubled or trebled, as it did in the last war, the cost of fighting the war would have been that much greater.

During the early part of the war food prices went up rapidly. During the past 18 months we have a much better picture. Some prices have gone up, some have gone down. Meat is a little cheaper than it was a year and a half ago, and so is cheese and butter. We are not particularly proud of our record on clothing, but we are trying to do something about that.

Rents have been stabilized. Some have gone up, others have come down, but the general rent level has stayed pretty well stabilized. In general, we have managed to hang on pretty well for the last year and a half or so.

How about the future? Where are we going from here? What is likely to lie ahead? It seems to me that our job ahead divides into three parts. First of all, we must be determined, and we are determined to maintain living cost prices as they are now and no higher. One or two things may go up, but we are determined to see that other things go down to compensate for these. I believe we can control the prices of food. I believe we can hold firmly on food and rent, and I believe we can hold firmly on clothing.

Our present Act under Congress gives out next June 30, 1945. Naturally I am only talking up to that point, and what we are able to do beyond that will depend on what Congress authorizes us to do.

I say I believe we can hang on to these prices on clothing, food and rents, but let me tell you it is not going to be easy, it is going to be a mighty tough job. We are going to need all the help and support we can possibly get from you people and from all intelligent

groups throughout the country who have the interest of the consumers at heart. Under the best of circumstances it is going to be tough going, a tough struggle. Personally, I don't look forward to it.

I wonder if you people really appreciate—I doubt that any people outside of our own organization appreciate the tremendous pressures under which we work. Every week we have several thousand requests for price increases; several thousand people come to us and tell us why their prices should be higher. In a few instances the requests for higher prices are proper and just and we grant them. In the overwhelming number of cases they are not reasonable, they are unnecessary, and we turn them down.

We can't go on doing that forever without making some enemies. Every week we have over two million telephone calls in our local rationing boards, our district offices, our regional offices and our national headquarters. We have a million letters that have to be answered, coming from all parts of the country, letters to the OPA asking for special privileges, some special consideration, a higher price, or just for advice or help. We have roughly very close to a million visitors every week. You and I know that no organization on earth, even though it had fifty years to grow and perfect itself, could ever handle any such vast task as that without making mistakes. It is obvious we will make mistakes. We make them every day and I don't see how we can avoid it. It is my job to see that we make as few as possible. We are trying constantly to raise our battling average, and I think we are doing that. With the help of loyal people within our own organization and with increasing support outside of our own organization, our problem is to try to hold these prices as we have for the last year and a half, to firm those clothing prices, and to do what we can to raise the quality of clothing and hold prices firm. I think we can do it. It is not going to be easy. We need your help.

The second part of our task involves the pricing of reconverted articles coming back on the market. I am talking about automobiles, washing machines, radios, egg beaters and one hundred and one other things that have been off of the market since the war. When the war ends, there will begin to be a trickling of items coming back that we will be glad to see and that your wives will be glad to see, but the important thing is—what will they cost us. There has been a lot of loose talk about these prices being 30% to 40% higher than they were before the war. I would like to take strong and vigorous exception to that because these prices, in my opinion, will not be much higher, in general, than before the war. I think we will, in general, bring them back at the same prices or almost what they were early in 1942. To be sure there have been some increases in material costs, although you can see from steel and other items that I have mentioned to you, they have not been great, and some increases have taken place in wages. But there has also been a great increase in efficiency in many parts of our economy. We have learned how to do things better and cheaper. We must not underestimate how big buying will bring down costs. Selling costs will be less in many cases, so in general, I think I can say that we will bring those prices

back at, or almost, what they were in 1942. I do not think there will be many exceptions, but when we do give an increase in price to a manufacturer, it will be comparatively rare in most instances, and we will see that it will not be passed on to the consumer but that it will be absorbed by the distributor or manufacturer before it reaches the consumer. I repeat it will be rather rare and I am quite certain these prices on new products will be at or very close to the 1942 levels. Already electric irons are back at the 1942 prices; also electric stoves. There have been some manufacturers who have taken us to task and say there are lots of dreamy-eyed people who do not know the problems of production. I think the vast majority of our manufacturers are getting behind us and you will hear less talk of these high prices which you will have to pay.

I quote a statement made by Mr. Charles Wilson, President of General Electric Company in which he slapped hard at the inflationists and the profiteers in a recent statement. Let me quote briefly from it.

"There have been too many pat statements that consumer products and services will have to cost 25 or 30 per cent or more after the war because labor costs are up. That is shallow and passive thinking. So far as our own organization is concerned, We have no intention of accepting it simply because there are pent-up demands and a prosperous ready market. On the few items, such as clocks and irons, which we have begun to make, we are applying pre-war prices and that will be our policy to the best of our ability."

Referring to the collapse after the last war, Mr. Wilson stated:

"That can happen again during the post-war period of readjustment unless there is a strong effort upon the part of every business to hold down its prices, utilize its productive efficiency, cut its extravagant distribution costs and maintain its workers' income."

That statement bears the mark of real industrial statesmanship, and if we get more of that point of view, it will immensely simplify pricing problems of the OPA during the reconversion period. What is more important, it will provide a staple basis for a prosperous post-war America for all groups.

Now the third part of our task is to get rid of these price controls just as soon as the danger of inflationary price increases is over, for I am sure that neither you nor I want them continued any longer than necessary. It is well to remind you that in 1919, after the last war we had this same problem of wartime prices, but on a smaller scale and they were fumbled very badly. After Armistice Day in 1918 all controls—practically all in effect during the war, were dropped. They did not have too many as it was and prices had gone up more than in this war, but those controls were taken off, such as food prices and many others which immediately began to sag a bit and people started to say that this talk of inflation was over; but the reason for that drop in prices was because workers' incomes went down while they were reconverting plants back to peace.

In March, 1919, everyone began to feel better about the future because prices started upward. Living costs became more than double pre-war levels and manufacturers said since

inventories are down, it is up to us to stock up. So they went out and got these inventories as rapidly as they could, and dealers and distributors were willing to pay any price they could for goods. Manufacturers bid against each other, rents went up 20, 30, 40 and even 50 per cent. The cost of food went up, and our boys came back from the front—and you were some of them—came back to a period of high prices because of this price boom, with wages lagging behind.

Now, it is inevitable that any boom should collapse, as that boom did collapse. In June, 1920, the collapse came; the bottom fell out. We all went up with a rush and came down with a bang. Payrolls dropped 44% in 16 to 18 months. Inventories dropped 11 billion dollars, wiping out thousands of small businesses and some large. Farmers' income dropped 65 per cent. Four hundred and thirty-five thousand farmers lost their farms through foreclosures during the next five years, because they could not meet their obligations. Several million people were out of work.

I do not have to remind you the collapse this time will be far more dangerous, because the pressures are far greater. We can have chaos this time with a capital C. That can happen if the war is over with Germany six months from now or 16 months later, or might well coincide with the Japanese war, and our boys, six, eight or nine million of them coming back will walk back to a country upside down, our economy in a mess.

I think you will agree our social and economic problems and traditions and our whole process would be very unlikely to survive the shock of that. They could not understand it, and must not come back to it after defeating the Germans and the Japanese.

After the war is over we will find a certain amount of confusion, for there will be three to four million out of work waiting for plants to reconvert to peace time. There will probably be reductions in the work week, in workers' income, probably in farmers' income, and purchasing power will go down a bit. People will be jittery, and unfortunately they will hold their savings, sitting back and saying, "I don't like the looks of things; let's sit by and see what will happen."

Against these rather inflationary forces there will be some deflationary forces also at work. Many people will have good jobs; there will be a tremendous backlog of savings which I have alluded to. Men will say, "I want to be the first to get a new car, to get a new radio, to build my new home. Yes, I will pay a higher price for them in order to get them." There will be a tendency to grab hold of property to sell later at a higher price, so you will have some strong forces of inflation and strong forces of deflation working side by side. It will be an uncertain pattern leading to uncertain results, and because of these contradictory forces you may see food prices and the prices of raw materials drop a bit and people will say, "We don't need the OPA any longer or the control of prices and rents, and these bugaboos should be abolished. Let's get rid of these regulations of war as quickly as possible." You will hear that from many sides and it will be put in convincing terms. Lobbyists will be flocking into Washington,

and we will be faced with the task of getting back on our feet, and we must keep on our feet, because real prices will lie ahead of us, and when people get back to work and see that the dip will be rather temporary, they will begin to spend their money; manufacturers will want to bid for goods and inventories of all sorts, vacuum cleaners, automobiles, radios, clothing, anything that will be worth money. There will be rumors that prices will go up and that will increase bidding again for inventory goods. If we do not have tight control over these things, if we do not have any strong support, I don't know if we can pull through or not. It will be tough going at best. I believe it is during that period that the real inflationary prices will be at their greatest. That will come four, six or seven months after the war with Germany. Now anyone doing crystal gazing of this sort is bound to be wrong in some degree, but I am only trying to sound a warning. If these prices start up and up out of our control, we will do our best to curb them, but it will not be easy, and these prices will boom and boom to an inevitable collapse that is bound to come. The wage earner will suffer like everyone else. If we can get through this period and hold down prices, as I believe we can, and if we can get the support of your group and farm groups and intelligent groups of business, we will be at the tapering off point and will be able to get rid of some of these controls. We will not take them off too soon, but see that you get protection against higher rents and higher prices and gradually work into other fields. I think we will all be glad to be rid of them and get back to normal.

When we get back there, and assuming we have done a good job, and our savings have the same value—and it is a mutual fight that we are making—where do we go from there, is the question. That is a \$64,000 question. I get it all around the country wherever I go, and I am always glad to get out of Washington, for you can learn more in New Orleans or Charlotte, North Carolina talking to people and getting their point of view, but every group I talk to I get the same questions: What about my job after the war? What will happen to farm prices? Will I be able to build the home I want; bring my children up as I want to bring them up? Whatever the group may be, returning soldiers, big business people, workers, the questions are all the same. Certainly no one in this country wants to go back. So I think we can stop this talk of going back to something. Certainly labor doesn't want to go back. In 1939 there were eight or nine million unemployed, among our working groups.

Certainly the farmers have nothing to go back to. In 1940 their income was well under \$1,000—only 10 per cent of our national income. Certainly our soldiers and sailors don't want to go back to anything. They remember, as kids, the depression of 1930, 1931 and 1932; how their fathers came home without a job or lived in constant fear of losing their jobs. That is not what they are fighting this war for.

Moreover, I only have to give you one set of figures to prove you cannot go back. If we went back to 1940 production levels,

you would have eighteen million out of work. You had eight or ten million in 1940. Now with more efficient stepping up of our economy, we can now produce the same as in 1940 with six to eight million fewer workers. We had sixteen to eighteen million unemployed people and I know that is impossible. You would not stand for it and I would not stand for it, and our farmers would not and our returning soldiers and sailors would not stand for it, so stop this nonsense of even thinking of going back to something.

We see during this war what this Nation is capable of producing. You have seen it in the plants in which you work—the miracle of production of which we are capable. You and I know there is no reason why, if we can produce that way for war to defeat our enemies, should not we do so to build a better, more prosperous, more secure country with economic opportunity and security for all. You believe we can do it and I believe we can do it. We must do it!

What does it take to do it? It seems to me there are three things: First a program. People who know our economy agree on what kind of economy we need. There will be changes in our tax laws, broader social security, a broader farm program, an export program that will be realistic in figures, a program of public works, housing and slum clearance; a program we can write down on paper. I believe Congress will be debating that program in months to come and I believe we know how to do it, but we cannot get there unless we strive in two other directions: First, we must change our thinking. Government, business, the farmer, and labor, all of us, from scarcity thinking to full production thinking. In the past as individuals we have been forced into the scarcity viewpoint. It was all too easy to work our way out of a job or the manufacturer out of a market, by producing too much. He felt his market would evaporate, so he put his price way up in the air, built up an inventory and then ran his plant only part time. He was thinking in terms of scarcity, trying to secure his market. Many manufacturers did not accept that viewpoint. Our farmers, who always want to think in terms of full production, were forced into scarcity thinking when little pigs were destroyed and corn was plowed up and other farm products were destroyed in order to hold prices up. He was thinking in scarcity terms, and labor sometimes working on a housing project, realize when they speed a job they are working their way out of work, have found new ways to spread that work out. It is only human, it is only natural. We all did it. However, if we think in terms of full production, we will have to reverse that feeling. It will not be easy but it is absolutely essential.

The third thing is to remember that just as no one group can win the war, no one group can win the peace and prosperity which we all strive for. Labor, in spite of the things it has accomplished could not win this war alone, nor management nor government, nor any other one group.

In the past, before the war, we had our sights pretty low. Each group looked to the future pie trying to figure how they could get a larger piece. They assumed the National Economy would not be as high as they would like it to be and they put group against group, all striving to make their share bigger.

The economy pie was too small, and it was necessary to get a bigger piece for ourselves. In the future we must put our united attention to making that economy pie bigger, and if we will work together to make that economy pie bigger, our share will automatically be greater, and that again is easier for me to say than to do because we all have well-established habits.

The markets ahead of us are tremendous. We have markets for twelve to fifteen million new homes, for food. I believe in 1940 it was stated that 45 per cent of the people in this country did not get all they should to eat. There are huge markets for electricity. Our farms are only 30 per cent electrified. Think what we could do if all farm homes had electricity and could buy the things we make in our plants and factories. The market is limitless. The need for new schools and hospitals is great, and remember, when they are rebuilding those cities that have been demolished in this war, they will not build slums, so we cannot afford to lag behind and we must rebuild our point of view, giving our people far better education, better medical care, all of the things to carry on their lives—the kind of lives we are capable of producing, and we must protect the new opportunity that has come to us from a high level of security and unlimited opportunity.

We have talked today a bit about our place during the war period, about the future that lies ahead, some of the problems we must tackle and objectives which I think we must reach. I do not have to remind you, for we all know the war is far from being over, and while it is all right to talk to you about the kind of country we want to build, we must not permit labor or government to bog down for one single moment on this job of backing up our men in service. That is the first job we have to do. We all know it, and I am sure we will all meet the test, and when those boys come back we will say we have not let you down, we hung on, as you did, until the final victory was won.

So let us win that victory first. Let us give everything we have got to winning in the Pacific as well as in Europe, and then let us set our sights high to the kind of country these boys have been dreaming about in northern Italy, in the Philippines and along the Rhine, the kind of country that we want, that you want and that I want, and that we are so capable of building.

Successfully together we have met the challenge of war. Together, with vigorous application, with a dynamic point of view, with a full belief in our democracy, pulling and working together with one another, I believe we can equally successfully meet the challenge of peace, which is the kind of challenge that means the building of the future that you and I are counting on—60,000,000

jobs, which will be devoted to building better houses, better homes, better cities, better roads, a higher standard of life, better education, better medical care—all the things we need and want and are determined to get.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Mr. Bowles has delivered to us a most factual address. I am confident that you will not only remember all that he has said, but that in addition you will carefully go over the address as it is reported in the proceedings of the convention. It is highly educational, discussing as he did a subject in which we are all tremendously interested. Those you represent, as well as your wives, the members of your families, all are tremendously interested in this price question and these economic problems to which Mr. Bowles has referred.

I appreciate very much, as I know you do, his visit here and the address which he delivered. We thank him for coming.

Now we have another friend who is well known to all of us who made a long trip from Montreal, Canada to this convention at New Orleans for the purpose of spending a short time with us and for the purpose of delivering an address. We interpret this act on his part as evidence of his very deep interest in this convention and in the American Federation of Labor. He has attended previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and has always measured up to the high standard which we have set for him in the delivery of an interesting address.

Without any further statement on my part I am pleased to present to you Acting Director Edward J. Phelan, of the International Labor Office.

MR. EDWARD J. PHELAN

(Acting Director, International Labor Office)

President Green, I thank you for your kindly words of introduction. I am reminded of the story of a small boy who got his hands on a dictionary for the first time. His father asked him what he thought of it, and he said, "Pop, it's a very interesting book, but it does change the subject a lot." I have listened to your proceedings this morning, shall I say with some trepidation. I heard the address describing to you the work of the Seabees. I saw the film. I realized how passionately interesting that movie must have been to you who have sons and brothers and cousins going through the experiences which it depicted.

I have just listened with equally tense interest to the eloquent speech Mr. Chester Bowles, dealing with the problems of prices, problems that affect you and your wives and your families and every individual member of your organization. Therefore, I feel that I am putting a little strain on your patience when I ask you to change the subject rather violently and examine some international problems.

It is always a pleasure to attend the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and a privilege to be invited to address it.

The privilege which you have been good enough to extend to me each year since I became the Acting Director of the International Labor Office gives me the opportunity, not only to convey to you the best wishes of the I.L.O. for the success of your deliberations, but also to draw to your notice the work of the I.L.O. during the past 12 months and more particularly any of its activities which require the special attention of organized labor.

Our activities, being international in character, have of course been conditioned, and indeed in large measure determined, by world events. I do not need to remind you how tremendous has been the transformation in the international scene since you met a little more than year ago in the city of Boston.

Events have crowded on one another in such bewildering sequence, and continue to arrest our attention in such dramatic fashion, that it requires an effort to remember how different was the picture only a few short months ago.

The armies of liberation so long awaited by the oppressed peoples of Europe, after having successfully secured a giant foothold on the beaches of Normandy, have with astounding rapidity broken through the enemy's attempt to contain them and, with almost miraculous speed and daring have swept on triumphantly through France and Belgium and north into Holland. Simultaneously, the Forces of French resistance rose in Paris and have freed the capital city from the Nazi yoke. Today the armies of the United States, of Great Britain, of Canada and of France are biting deep into those defenses of the Sacred Fatherland which Hitler boasted were impregnable.

Greece and Yugoslavia have been almost completely liberated. Finland has made terms with Russia and is helping to drive the Germans from her soil. Roumania and Bulgaria have surrendered. The great armies of Russia have thrust deep into the Balkans and now menace Budapest and the road to Vienna. And in the Pacific the American battle flag once more flies victoriously in the heart of the Philippines, while the fleets of Japan have suffered crushing defeat.

This tremendous tide of victory, flowing faster and further than it would have been prudent to hope only a few months ago, is naturally in the forefront of all our preoccupations. More than ever the armed forces of liberation on land, on sea and in the air require every measure of support so that their victorious advance may be neither checked nor slowed.

General Somervell has told you of their needs, and Labor, I am sure, will respond with fresh miracles of production.

But inevitably also as their advance continues we are brought nearer to the vital

problems which must be faced when the military effort has reached its victorious culmination.

The vastness and complexity of these problems is steadily becoming more apparent. They center around the fundamental issue of employment, the question of employment both for the men and women who will come back from the fighting forces and for the men and women who have been engaged in industries producing for war needs and for whom places must be found in other fields of production.

And these problems go beyond the transition from a war to a peace economy, to the organization of full employment and a rising standard of living as the permanent characteristic of the post-war world.

There is, of course, one over-riding condition which must be fulfilled: i. e. the success of the United Nations in organizing and maintaining a peaceful world in which the democratic peoples, freed from the fear of external aggression, may be able to concentrate their full attention on the welfare and prosperity of their citizens.

We know, too, that these problems will not find their solution unless appropriate measures can be taken effectively both in the national and in the international field.

And we know, also, that those problems of securing full employment and a rising standard of living cannot be dealt with as a separate compartment of either national or international life. On the contrary, if they are to be solved successfully, all policies and programs must be inspired and directed so as to contribute to that general objective.

In the national field, there is no uniform pattern to be applied. Each country must work out its destiny within the framework of its own traditions, its own industrial and political organization, its resources, and its stage of economic development.

In the international field, the necessary international agencies are steadily being created. The foundations for the maintenance of international peace and security have been laid at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and will no doubt be developed and perfected in the more general conference of the United Nations which is to follow. All will welcome the great measure of agreement already reached and the promise of fulfillment which it holds. The rest of the international structure is already beyond the blueprint stage.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is already at work; the International Food and Agriculture Organization is about to come into active being; the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development are awaiting final approval and are ready to come into operation; the United Nations Organization of Educational and Cultural Reconstruction is in process of formation; the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago is in constructive session; international economic conferences on commercial policy, commodity controls and cartels are in prospect. Thus, progressively, the necessary machinery through which the necessary collaboration of free nations in a peaceful world can be operated is being created.

I have made no mention of international machinery for the consideration of labor and social problems. The international structure

would be not only seriously incomplete, but utterly inadequate if no provision were made for it. Fortunately it is already there, equipped with experience for its tasks. As President Roosevelt said in his message to the International Labor Conference at Philadelphia, "Within the field of your activity, the United Nations have no need to extemporise a new organization." And similar declarations have been made by Mr. Ernest Bevin, Mr. Anthony Eden and other statesmen.

Thus, the International Labor Organization definitely takes its place in the new international structure which is in process of construction and which will have the responsibility for dealing with the international aspects of the problems of peace.

This is a significant development, and, more than ever before, the International Labor Organization becomes of importance to organized workers throughout the world.

When I addressed this Convention at Boston last year I felt it my duty to draw your attention to what seemed to be then a real danger, namely, that the potentialities of the International Labor Organization might be ignored. I drew your attention to the anxiety of trade unions in many countries, that there might be a failure to use those potentialities to the full, and to take advantage of the existence of an organization in which organized workers are represented and in which they are given equal status with the representatives of governments.

Those anxieties have now been happily dissipated. The details as to how the I.L.O. will be keyed in with the other international agencies I have mentioned remain still to be worked out. Its place, however, is assured and it has in fact already negotiated a series of international recommendations on post-war social policy and has proceeded to a restatement of its policy and program in the light of the profound changes in social thinking which have taken place since the war began.

It would take too long to summarize even in outline the recommendations on certain immediate post-war problems which were adopted at the International Labor Conference at Philadelphia in April last by the representatives of 44 nations and which are now under consideration by the governments. A mere list of the subjects they deal with will, however, indicate their importance: Organization of Employment in the Transition from War to Peace; Social Security; Recommendations to the United Nations for Present and Post-War Social Policy; and Minimum Standards of Social Policy in Dependent Territories.

It is, however, to the decisions concerning the future policy and program of the I.L.O. that I want particularly to draw your attention this morning.

The conference embodied its view of the future policy of the I.L.O. in a declaration which has since come to be known as the Declaration of Philadelphia.

There is one point about this Declaration which is of particular interest to the American Federation of Labor.

As you all know, the Constitution of the I.L.O. was originally drawn up by a Committee of the Peace Conference, which met in Paris in 1919 under the chairmanship of Samuel Gompers.

That Constitution was in two parts, one setting up the machinery which the I.L.O. was to operate, which may be called the Constitution proper, the other a statement of certain principles which was to guide the Organization and which was known as the International Labor Charter. On the proposal of Samuel Gompers, at the head of these principles was inserted the statement that "Labor is not a commodity."

Samuel Gompers was not able to remain in Paris until the final approval of the Peace Conference had been given to the Labor Charter. The Constitution and the Charter had to be fitted into the Peace Treaty, and while the Constitution was inserted with no change, those responsible for the piecing together of the Peace Treaty as a whole took it upon themselves to revise the wording of the Charter without consultation with the Labor Commission. The result of this modification was to make the principle read: "Labor is not merely a commodity."

This alteration and the use of this ambiguous phrase led Samuel Gompers to enter a violent protest. He was of the opinion that this change had so weakened the statement of the principle as practically to nullify its effectiveness, and his view was widely shared in the American Federation of Labor at that time.

This unfortunate incident was indeed to constitute an obstacle to full collaboration between the I.L.O. and the United States in the early years of the Organization, and that collaboration could only be effectively instituted ten years ago when American Labor became convinced that the I.L.O., operating freely as an autonomous body, was really concerned with the interests of labor and not inspired by the ambiguous principle which through no fault of its own had been written into the Labor Charter.

I have gone back to those events of twenty-six years ago, not only because they are of particular interest to the great movement with which Samuel Gompers' name will be forever associated, but because they point a warning of how dangerous it can be to settle questions of concern to labor in the absence of labor's representatives. The change no doubt was innocently made but it gave rise to misgivings and suspicion which might have done irreparable damage.

It is to be hoped that no similar blunder will occur when in the coming months the relationship between the International Labor Organization and the new general international organization is defined in the text of an international instrument. The best guarantee that this will be avoided will be to have the terms of that relationship worked out in discussions in which representatives of the International Labor Organization are invited to participate. The Governing Body of the I.L.O. has already appointed representatives for that eventuality: they await the call which both good faith and good sense suggest will be forthcoming.

The chance given to the International Labor Conference at Philadelphia to restate the aims and policy of the I.L.O. provided an opportunity to modify the wording to which Samuel Gompers had so

strongly objected. Although the full text is, I am glad to see, printed in the Report of the Executive Council, I will ask your permission to read one or two passages from the Declaration of Philadelphia and you will see that the fundamental principle, that labor is not a commodity, the principle which has played so great a part in influencing the development of the rights of labor in the United States and which, as Samuel Gompers so fully understood, has a general world application, is now stated in the Declaration in the terms which he originally proposed.

"The Conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the organization is based, and, in particular, that:

(a) Labor is not a commodity;

(b) Freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress;

(c) Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere;

(d) The war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigor within each nation, and by the continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of Governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare."

Having thus set out those principles, the Declaration goes on to proclaim:

"All human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity;"

and to assert that—

"the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy;"

and to emphasize this fundamental conception, it states it in more detail as follows:

"all national and international policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, should be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective."

The representatives of 44 Governments and the delegates of workers and employers unanimously voted the texts I have just read. But more than that: they were not content to leave them just as principles. They realized that it is easy to lay down great lines of policy but that little may come of so doing unless there is constant supervision to see that they are not departed from. And so they went on to provide that—

"It is a responsibility of the International Labor Organization to examine and consider all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective;"

There is much more in the Declaration of Philadelphia which I would commend to your attention: a comprehensive program of social measures, the indication how a fuller and broader use of the world's productive resources can render their achievement possible, and the affirmation that the principles set forth are fully applicable to all peoples everywhere.

I am perhaps a prejudiced witness. I may be expected to rate as highly as possible the results of an international Conference which it was my privilege to organize and in the deliberations of which I had some small part.

So let me give you the opinion of a man who by the place he occupies and by the experience and knowledge which he possesses is uniquely equipped to assess the importance of the Declaration of Philadelphia. I refer to the President of the United States.

Addressing the Delegates to the Conference at the White House, he reminded them that one hundred and sixty-eight years ago the Fathers of the Republic had in another Declaration drawn up in the same City, the City of Philadelphia, "expressed the abiding purpose of all peoples imbued with the ideals of freedom and democracy," and he went on to say:

"The Declaration which you have formulated in Philadelphia may well acquire a similar significance. In it you have reaffirmed principles which are the essential bulwarks of any permanent peace. With the expanding use of machinery and the revolution in transportation, it is well that the world should recognize the fundamental principles of your Declaration: 'Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere'. This principle is a guide to all of our international economic deliberations.

"You have affirmed the right of all human beings to material well-being and spiritual development under conditions of freedom and dignity and under conditions of economic security and opportunity. The attainment of those conditions must constitute a central aim of national and international policy. Indeed, the worthiness and success of international policies will be measured in the future by the extent to which they promote the achievement of this end.

"Your Declaration sums up the aspirations of an epoch which has known two world wars. I confidently believe that future generations will look back upon it as a landmark in world thinking."

I should like to draw your attention to one phrase which the President used. He said that the Declaration of Philadelphia "may well acquire" a significance similar to that of the Declaration of Independence.

The Declaration of Independence was a clear and noble expression of the ideals of freedom and democracy and it might have remained that and no more. Its significance is not its nobility and clarity. It is this great country of the United States of America in all its splendor of democratic achievement as we see it today. The significance

which the President had in mind was not literary perfection but positive fulfillment.

If the Declaration of Philadelphia is to acquire a similar significance it can only be by the same hard road. You who know the history of the United States know that the great democratic civilization which it is today is the result of an unswerving and unrelenting effort continued decade after decade without respite.

The creation of a world order inspired by the ideals of the Declaration of Philadelphia will require the same vigilance, the same energy, the same determination, and the same continuity in their exercise. Only thus can the Declaration of Philadelphia bring its fruits.

But given that vigilance, energy and determination those fruits can be garnered in steadily increasing measure, and we can look forward without unreasonable optimism to a world in which men can pursue both their material wellbeing and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity of economic security and equal opportunity.

PRESIDENT GREEN: As I have expressed my deep appreciation to other speakers for their visits to our convention and for the addresses they delivered, I am pleased to do so in like manner to our friend who just delivered a most instructive and illuminating address. The quotation which he read from the Philadelphia Declaration must have made a very deep impression upon the hearts and minds of all. It was indeed inspiring and was indeed a most significant declaration.

I thank Director Phelan for his visit to our convention this morning and for the excellent address which he delivered.

Introduction of Fraternal Delegate Arthur Horner

PRESIDENT GREEN: You will recall I announced a few days ago that the fraternal delegate from Great Britain who is an associate of Brother Brown, who arrived here earlier, had not yet reached New Orleans. I am pleased to announce to you now that he is here, and I want to present him to you so that you may become acquainted with him.

Perhaps it might be of interest to you if I told you that he belongs to my fraternity. He belongs to the coal miners, and a coal miner rates a little higher than a plumber.

I present to you Brother Arthur Horner, fraternal delegate from Great Britain.

Now may I announce that Brother Brown, one of the fraternal delegates from Great Britain, finds the call for his return to be rather strong and pressing, and he advises

me that he will be required to leave here as soon as possible to attend to some very urgent matters that are requiring his attention. Accordingly, I have scheduled his message to you at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon when we reconvene. Please be here to listen to the message that Brother Brown will bring to us as fraternal delegate from Great Britain.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for reports and announcements.

Secretary Meany presented the following supplemental report of the Executive Council.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

(On the Little Steel Formula Petition of the American Federation of Labor)

Early in February of this year the American Federation of Labor again protested in behalf of the working people of America against the rigid wage freeze policy embodied in the Little Steel Formula. Approximately one year before, the American Federation of Labor had raised the first organized objection to the Formula when—on March 16, 1943—we placed our petition before the National War Labor Board. At that time, a majority of the Board admitted that the cost of living had risen more than 15% but decided that they would not liberalize the formula because the rise in the cost of living above 15 per cent had not been sufficiently large to justify modification.

We acquiesced to that decision. But as the months rolled by and the cost of living continued to rise far above the 15 per cent allowance, we decided that again we would challenge the fairness of the rigid limitation on general wage increases. The opportunity for this challenge came when the United Steel Workers' case embodying a demand for a general wage increase over and above the Little Steel Formula reached the War Labor Board. The American Federation of Labor representatives on the Board called upon the officers of the CIO to agree to American Federation of Labor representation on the panel dealing specifically with the proposed wage increase in excess of the Formula. Our purpose in this was to present a united front for all American workers against the unjust wage freeze policy

imposed upon them. The CIO refused our offer of cooperation on this vital matter. Having no other alternative, the American Federation of Labor was then forced to present another petition to the Board requesting that it recommend to the President a realistic modification of the Formula. The petition was placed before the National War Labor Board on February 9, 1944.

There is one characteristic of both American Federation of Labor's petitions which merits close attention: Neither petition attempted to liberalize the Little Steel Formula for the benefit on one group of workers over another. We did not seek to raise the wages of only those unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We sought to bring the wages of every worker in the country closer in line with the cost of living — without regard to whether he or she was in a union or out of a union; whether the workers wore white collars or blue collars. We sought to take off the thumbscrew which was placed upon all American workers by the wage freeze inherent in the Little Steel Formula.

The National War Labor Board did not consider the American Federation of Labor's petition of February 9 until one month later when—on March 8, 1944—it decided to advise the President that the petition was before it. War Mobilization Director Byrnes, however, decided that the President should not be informed about the petition because Congress was then considering renewal of the Wage Stabilization Act of October 2, 1942, to which the petition was related.

On March 15, 1944, the American Federation of Labor's members of the Board succeeded in having the Board consider the petition. After a long and heated debate, a majority of the Board dismissed the petition without prejudice to reconsideration should future events warrant such action.

"Future events warranting such action" occurred rapidly. On March 22, 1944, the War Labor Board considered whether or not to accept jurisdiction over the United Steelworkers' wage demand which involved a general wage increase beyond the limits of the Little Steel Formula. The majority decision was not only to accept jurisdiction of that issue in that case, but also to hear the evidence presented by the American Federation of Labor in support of its petition that the Little Steel Formula be modified. Special fact-finding panels were created for the steel case and the American Federation of Labor's petition.

The fact-finding panel for the American Federation of Labor's petition met from April 4th to April 6th inclusive. The members of that panel were Mr. Ralph Seward, the Public Member; Mr. Charles Hook, Jr., the Industry Member, and International President Edward J. Volz of the International Photo Engravers' Union of North America, the Labor Member.

At last, on September 14, 1944 — seven months after the American Federation of Labor presented its petition—the Board prepared to consider the report of the special panel. Then the decision was made to hold public hearings in order that the Board could obtain oral comments upon the panel report which was itself but a recital of testimony heard by the panel.

On October 9, 1944, the National War Labor Board convened in executive session to decide whether or not it could make a recommendation to the President on the question of liberalizing the Formula. The American Federation of Labor members of the Board introduced the following resolution which in effect re-stated the conclusions of the American Federation of Labor's petition:

"BE IT RESOLVED. That the National War Labor Board request the President to issue an Executive Order which will realistically adjust the Little Steel Formula with the increased cost of living and permit employers and employees to effectuate the newly established policy by voluntary agreement without submission to the National War Labor Board."

This resolution was defeated 8 to 4 with Labor dissenting.

After this action a majority of the Board—with Labor again dissenting—adopted the following resolution:

"1. The Board will submit to the President through the Economic Stabilization Director a report setting forth pertinent data regarding the relationship of wages to the cost of living, and an appraisal of the nature and extent of alleged inequities created by the changes which have occurred. The Board is not sufficiently informed as to the possible effects of a modification of the Little Steel Formula on the price structure, and on the national economy generally to warrant assurance that any modification could be made 'consistent with the stabilization needs of the country and with the provisions of the Act of October 2, 1942' (as renewed by the Economic Stabilization Renewal Act of June 30, 1944). The Board will therefore not include in its factual report to the President any recommendations for action one way or the other with regard to the Little Steel Formula.

"2. The Board will proceed to a consideration of (a) any particular inequities in the wage stabilization policy including the so-called bracket system and substandard wages discussed in the proceedings before the Board held from September 26 to

October 6, 1944, inclusive; and (b) the nature of the most pressing wage problems which confront the Board with respect to reconversion. The Board will include in its report to the President an appraisal of these aspects of the wage stabilization policy, together with any suggestions for broadening or clarifying the Board's authority in dealing with specific inequities, and with reconversion wage adjustments.

"3. The Board will complete its report to the President as expeditiously as possible, and will immediately thereafter act upon the pending cases under the present wage stabilization policy, with appropriate provisions for re-opening in case any change in the policy should be made. If circumstances permit, without delaying the preparation of the report to the President, the Board may act upon some of the issues in the pending cases prior to the completion of said report."

The significance of this resolution is clear. In reply, the Labor Members of the Board issued the following public statement:

"The action of the Board today is an inexcusable dereliction of duty. The program which it has proposed is compounded of timidity, contradictions, and double-talk. For more than a year now the Board has had before it, by way of petition, as well as specific cases, requests for modification of the Little Steel Formula and other aspects of the Board's stabilization policy. Time and again the Board has given to the workers of America clear indication that when evidence was presented to it, the Board would take these requests under consideration and would make appropriate recommendations to the President based thereon. On March 22, 1944, the Board, by resolution, stated specifically, in part, that 'The Board can only recommend a change if in its judgment the (Little Steel) Formula is operating to create gross inequities, and if the Board is satisfied that changes could be made in the Formula which would be consistent with the stabilization needs of the country and with the provisions of the Act of October 2, 1942.' This resolution, as well as the action of the Board in accepting the evidence in all the cases presented to it on the matter, was a clear undertaking that the Board would exercise its judgment upon such evidence. The resolution adopted today, however, is a clear surrender of the Board's commitment to exercise its judgment. It is an indefensible demonstration of timidity by men who are charged with the duty of advising the President of any changes which the present situation may require.

"The Board says, first, that in regard to the Little Steel Formula it will report to the President, through the Economic Stabilization Director, only pertinent facts regarding the relationship of wages to the cost of living, and an appraisal of the nature and extent of alleged inequities created by those changes. The Board asserts that it cannot go beyond presenting such data and such appraisal because it is not sufficiently informed as to the possible effects of a modification of the formula on the price structure and on the national economy generally. This is tantamount to an admission by the public members of the Board that they are not competent to per-

form their duties. They are specifically charged with the responsibility of administering the wage policy of the government, and they ought to be in a better position than any other single group of men in the country to have informed opinions as to any necessary changes in the country's wage policy.

"Yet the same public members, who on the one hand plead lack of information, are ready to make pertinent recommendations on wage policies for the reconversion period. They declare that they will proceed to a consideration of any changes that may be required in the so-called bracket system and substandard wages and any other pressing wage problems which confront the Board with respect to reconversion. The Board is prepared thereupon to make any suggestions for broadening or clarifying the Board's authority in dealing with specific inequities and with the reconversion problems. The Board's inconsistency is astounding: For over two years now the Board has been handling cases and becoming fully informed of the effect of the Little Steel Formula and the relationship of wages to the cost of living. It has accumulated a mass of evidence on the subject. But the Board now says it is in no position to make any recommendations as a result of that experience and any changes in our economy which have taken place. The Board feels fully competent, however, to make recommendations on matters which have not yet occurred, matters on which it has no experience, heard no cases, and been in no position to make any more than a guess.

"The only conclusion we can draw on the action of the Board today is that it deems that no change in the Little Steel Formula should be recommended. It is apparent to us that the Board simply adopted this subterfuge in order to postpone and delay what it considers an unpalatable decision. There is no excuse for such delay. The wage earners of this country are entitled to know, and to know now, in direct and specific language, what this Board intends to recommend to the President. By dodging this responsibility with a promise of another fact-finding report, the Board has demonstrated a timidity unworthy of men charged with so important a phase of our war activities. The President has relied upon the board to advise him in matters affecting wage stabilization. At a crucial moment in the administration of that policy, the Board has failed him."

Pursuant to the resolution of the majority referred to above, the Public Members on October 25th submitted to the Board a long, detailed but unfinished report of approximately 100 pages on the wage policy of the Board. This incomplete manuscript was presented solely for comment prior to submission to the President of the United States. The Public Members stated that they were preparing more material on the subject, but would not have it ready for some time. There was no request that any action be taken by the Board on these incomplete reports.

Action, however, was taken—despite the AFL Members' objection—to proceed to a

consideration of cases involving a change in the wage policy for the benefit of certain groups. This decision meant that the entire question of a change in the wage freeze policy for the benefit of all workers was to be sidetracked while particular attention was to be given to cases involving a relatively few people.

At the time of submission of this report the War Labor Board is proceeding with the first of the cases referred to above.

SECRETARY MEANY: This report brings up to date the report already printed in the proceedings on the Little Steel Formula and the War Labor Board. Copies of the report will be distributed to the delegates.

Special Mass at St. Louis Cathedral

SECRETARY MEANY: I wish to announce the celebration of a Solemn High Mass at St. Louis Cathedral on Sunday, November 26th, at 10:00 o'clock for the benefit of the delegates and visitors to this convention. The sermon at this Mass will be preached by Reverend Father Reintges, C.S.S.R., Pastor of the Redemptorist Church. The celebrant of the Mass will be the Reverend Frank Duffy, O.M.I., grandson of Frank Duffy, Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Announcements

Through the courtesy of Mr. Fred Weber and radio station WDSU in New Orleans, a special broadcast may be heard at 10:00 o'clock next Sunday morning. This program entitled "The Progress of Labor" was first produced over Station WCFL in Chicago, the only station owned and operated by labor. This broadcast traces the progress of labor from the days of the indentured servant to the present time. It will be of particular interest to all who are attending the convention.

However, since many of the delegates will be in attendance at Mass at that time on Sunday, radio station WDSU has agreed to make another broadcast directly into the Grand Ball Room of the Roosevelt Hotel at 8:00 o'clock, p. m. Monday night, November 27th.

Mr. Howard Keegan, General Manager of radio station WCFL, has arranged for this broadcast.

Annual Workers Education Conference

All the delegates are cordially invited to attend and participate in the Annual Workers Education Conference at 10:00 a. m. Saturday, November 25th, in the Pan American Room of the Hotel Roosevelt. The principal speaker will be Mr. Harold Shearman of Great Britain. Delegates representing State Federations and City Central Bodies are especially urged to attend and participate.

Housing Committee Meeting

An informal meeting, sponsored by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, will be held at 8:15 o'clock Friday evening, November 24th, in Room H of the Roosevelt Hotel. All delegates and visitors are invited.

RESOLUTIONS

SECRETARY MEANY: The following resolutions requiring unanimous consent are presented for your consideration. Unanimous consent has been recommended for these resolutions by the special sub-committee of the Executive Council.

The resolutions are titled, "Prison Labor in Competition With Free Labor," "Commercial Rent Control," "Condemning Racial and Religious Bigotry and Discrimination Against Minorities," "Free Trade Union Fund," "Labor Press," "Public Health."

No objection was offered from the floor of the convention, the resolutions were introduced and referred to the appropriate committees, as follows:

Prison Labor in Competition With Free Labor

Resolution No. 155—By Delegates Ray Nickelson, Sam J. Byers, George Turry, Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The War Department constructed a laundry at the Army Post at Fort Devens, Massachusetts, and is now operating the laundry with prisoners of war, and

WHEREAS, Prior to the action of the War Department, the Army Hospital at Port Devens was serviced out of Great-

er Boston by an employer in the industry who is bargaining collectively with the Laundry Workers' International Union. The employer, at the request of the Army, invested a substantial amount of money enlarging the plants in order to service the Army effectively. The Union went to great length to recruit workers to man the employer's plants in order that the management could fulfill the contract with the Army Hospital at Fort Devens, and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Laundry Workers' International Union have exerted every effort in trying to persuade the War Department to reverse the policy of competing with free labor by using the services of prisoners of war, without success. President Green and members of Congress have cooperated with the officers of the International Union by joining in conference with officials of the War Department, to no avail, and

WHEREAS, The use of prisoners of war by the War Department in no way will relieve the manpower situation as charged by the Commanding Officer in that corps area, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to register a vigorous protest with President Roosevelt as Commander in Chief of our armed forces against the continuation of such practice by the War Department, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council insist upon an administrative policy that will protect the Laundry Workers' International Union against similar unfair competition in any other corps area by the use of prisoners of war in competition with members of our Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Commercial Rent Control

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The Congress has passed a bill extending Price and Rent Control until July 1, 1945, and the new Stabilization Act provides for the continuance of the Rent Control Program; also the regulation of rents, and

WHEREAS, In the City of New York, the OPA is doing its best to carry out the instructions of Congress, and has established rent control which has prevented the increase of rents, and

WHEREAS, In the City of New York, commercial rent situation has become a serious problem to employers who employ thousands of workers in their plants in Greater New York, as the increase in rents has amounted to approximately 275 per cent in many instances, and

WHEREAS, A large number of our employers in Greater New York claim that if this is allowed to continue they will be forced to move their plant to other cities or close down entirely, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation

of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, La., calls upon Congress to include in the OPA Rent Regulations, Commercial Rent Control.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Condemning Racial and Religious Bigotry and Discrimination Against Minorities

Resolution No. 157—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Recent developments indicate the presence in this country of a considerable amount of racial tension, religious bigotry and anti-Semitism, setting Protestant against Catholic, Christian against Jew, white against colored, native Americans against foreign born citizens, and

WHEREAS, Anti-Semitism as used by Hitler and Axis inspired elements to sow dissension and mistrust in their effort to destroy the national unity so necessary to our successful conduct of this war and the conclusion of a firm and just peace, and

WHEREAS, Racial and religious discord plays into the hands of the enemies of organized labor who are trying to bring about the repeal or emasculation of the liberal social legislation added to our statute books and to tear down the American standard of living, and

WHEREAS, The same labor baiting forces will find group prejudice directed against Catholics, Negroes, Jews and other minorities an even more effective weapon to use in attempts to smash the unions in the post-war period, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, offering by its very existence living proof of the great good that comes of various groups working together toward one common goal, has always contended that discrimination against minorities is inconsistent with the principles of democracy, which is the corner-stone of a free labor movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in the city of New Orleans, November, 1944, issue a warning to the American people against the danger of allowing the wave of racialism to rise in this country, and against the evil of discriminating against minorities, no matter who practices the discrimination and against what group it is directed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. be particularly cautioned to be on guard in their readjustment to post-war conditions, lest they fall victim to the disruptive attempts of the union-wreckers whose interests bigotry serves, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention demand the immediate abolition of the poll tax and the establishment, by act of Congress, of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, authorized to eliminate discrim-

ination because of race, color, religion or national origin, in private industry as well as in government work, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be urged to wage an unrelenting struggle against the groups responsible for the spreading of the poison of anti-Catholicism, anti-Protestantism, anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism and other forms of racial prejudice, and that the Executive Council give all possible support to the international and local unions in the undertaking and carrying out of an educational program calculated to promote tolerance, understanding, and amity among the various groups comprising the family of American organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Free Trade Union Fund

Resolution No. 158—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Victory over Nazi Germany and Japan is rapidly approaching and all nations will soon be freed from their domination and enslavement, and

WHEREAS, Such liberation offers no automatic assurance that freedom and democracy will be restored or that the workers of each country will regain or be secure in their rights as free men and free workers, and

WHEREAS, The record of free, democratic trade union movements in all lands during the past decade and particularly during this war has demonstrated that they are the firmest pillars of peace and democracy and the most uncompromising foes of all forms of tyranny and aggression, and

WHEREAS, Only the earliest possible re-establishment of powerful free and democratic trade unions can protect the workers of each union, assure a constantly rising standard of living to them and reduce and possibly eliminate the unfair competition in international trade of under-paid, regimented and exploited labor abroad which might otherwise constitute a most serious menace to our wage and living standards in America, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor recognize the moral right and obligation of our labor movement to assist our fellow workers in other countries, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the Free Trade Union Committee of the Labor League for Human Rights, official relief arm of the American Federation of Labor, and call upon all affiliated organizations and members to support the campaign for the Free Trade Union Fund of \$1,000,000.00 in January, 1945, in order to assure prompt practical assistance to the workers of liberated countries in Europe and Asia as well as to the workers of Central and South America in their ef-

forts to organize free democratic trade unions, and that this fund shall be administered under the supervision of a special committee appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor which will issue public reports on all receipts and expenditures of the Fund.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Press

Resolution No. 159.—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, as a result of deliberations on the subject of Labor Press a year ago in convention, authorized the appointment of a Standing Committee to be of service to the Labor Press, and

WHEREAS, The Labor Press in general has manifested keen interest in and deep appreciation for the service thus made possible, and

WHEREAS, It is the consensus of opinion of the Labor Press that this service be continued and if possible be improved upon during the coming year, and

WHEREAS, The continuance of this service will prove beneficial to both the Labor Press and the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Standing Committee of the American Federation of Labor be continued during the coming year; that it be enlarged by the inclusion of President Green and Secretary-Treasurer Meany in its membership and that it be authorized and empowered to render whatever aid or service it may deem feasible and practicable to render the greatest possible aid to the Labor Press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Public Health

Resolution No. 160.—By Delegates H. W. Brown, N. P. Alifas, D. M. Burrows, James Edgar, John Clayton, H. F. Nickerson, George C. Castleman, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The public health services, Federal and State, have gradually encroached upon the field of labor departments, and

WHEREAS, The industrial work of State health departments has been fostered by and is still largely financed by Federal funds through the United States Public Health Service, and

WHEREAS, The use of these Federal funds is leading to confusion and duplication of inspection and increasing difficulty in enforcing labor laws for the protection of workers, and

WHEREAS, The public health services, having set up competing agencies without legal authority, are now fighting all attempts

to strengthen State labor departments in carrying on their legal responsibilities for the protection of the health and safety of workers, and

WHEREAS, These public health authorities claim the credit for blocking passage of the Norton Bill, H.R. 2800, introduced at the request of the American Federation of Labor, to give Federal aid to build up State labor departments, and

WHEREAS, Public health authorities are now trying to secure the passage of the Miller Bill, H.R. 4663, to transfer major activities of various bureaus of the United States Department of Labor to the United States Public Health Service, and

WHEREAS, Similar action is contemplated in the State legislatures, and

WHEREAS, The experience of organized labor with doctors in workmen's compensation cases and other labor matters has been most unsatisfactory, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor views with alarm the efforts of medical men to assume control over safety and health matters; which are and always have been considered within the jurisdiction of labor departments, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor oppose the efforts of the public health authorities to encroach upon the work of the Federal and State Labor Departments and specifically oppose the Miller Bill and all other legislation of its type, Federal or State, to take industrial health matters away from labor departments.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opportunity was given for announcements of various committee meetings.

Vice-President Woll, on behalf of the Committee on Resolutions, announced that the committee would meet in the Pan-American Room of the Roosevelt Hotel on Monday morning at 9:30 o'clock to go over the completed report. He further announced that the committee hoped to report to the convention on Tuesday morning.

Re-Reference of Section of Executive Council's Report

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to announce referral of the section of the Executive Council's report under the caption "State Legislation," from the Committee on Executive Council's Report to the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Quarles, on behalf of the Local Committee, announced that delegates and visitors would be taken in special buses to the Higgins Plant on Saturday morning at 10:00 o'clock.

At 12:30 o'clock, p. m., the convention recessed to 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

FOURTH DAY — FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION**November 24, 1944**

The convention was called to order at 2:45 o'clock by President Green.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Delegate Thomas V. Green, for a supplemental report of the Committee on Credentials.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Your Committee of Credentials has been requested to propose the substitution of Marshall W. Martin for George Edgerton on the delegation of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, and the Committee recommends that he be seated with 33 votes.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted and Delegate Martin seated.

Addition to Supplemental Report, Tuesday, November 21

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GREEN: Through an oversight the following section of the committee's report, adopted at the morning session on Tuesday, November 21, was omitted from the proceedings:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Louis P. Marciano, 1 vote.
Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union—William J. Doyle, 1 vote.

Scafarers' International Union of North America:

Harry Lundeberg, 75 votes,
James Waugh, 75 votes,
John Hawk, 75 votes,
Morris Weisberger, 75 votes.
San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council—A. F. Cadena, 1 vote.

In accordance with instructions received from President Chas. J. MacGowan of the International Brotherhood of Boltermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, we recommend the seating of Lee Freeman, in place of J. N. Davis, with 421 votes.

In accordance with instructions received from President Leo E. George of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, we recommend the seating of John F. Bowen in place of William I. Horner, with 80 votes.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates named therein were seated.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

Denver, Colo., November 23.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention
Headquarters,
Roosevelt Hotel, New Orleans.

The thirty-ninth annual convention of the National Farmers Union by unanimous resolution of the delegates authorizes me to express to you appreciation for past cooperation and assurance of continuance in the coming year. The brightest and most practical hope for full employment and peace here and increasingly throughout this one world rests, I believe, in our hands, the hands of the productive workers on farms and in the cities. Ours is the final responsibility, as an autonomous and independent organization of, by and for operators of family-type farms and their families. In the coming year the National Farmers Union is resolved and determined by action of the delegates in the convention to carry on the fight for full production, full employment and lasting peace, continuing to cooperate in areas of agreement with your organization and other peoples organizations and individuals of good will. This time we can organize and enjoy abundance. We must not fail.

JAMES G. PATTON,
President,
National Farmers Union.

Memphis, Tennessee,
November 20, 1944.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
64th Annual Convention,
Municipal Auditorium,
New Orleans, La.

One hundred and twenty-four farm worker delegates attending 11th annual convention ending November 17 in Little Rock instructed me to extend fraternal greetings to 64th annual convention American Federation of Labor and express appreciation for aid given our organization during past year. We ask cooperation of American Federation of Labor in our program for organizing national farm labor union, extending Social Security laws and federal protection of right of collective bargaining to farm workers. Due to rapid mechanization of cotton production and plans for manufacture and sale of mechanical cotton pickers in 1945, it is necessary thousands of negro and white farm workers migrate to other areas. We urge American Federation of Labor to use its influence to secure immediate opening

of Government owned lands in the West for resettlement of dispossessed farm families of the South.

H. L. Mitchell, President,
Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

London,
November 22, 1944.

President,
Convention,
American Federation of Labor,
New Orleans, La.

Please convey convention best wishes, success on behalf Polish labor. In spite of persecution our trade unions succeed in carrying on their work underground and will be called upon to play considerable part in a reconstruction of free and independent Poland. Polish workers are deeply grateful to American Labor for moral and material support and particularly for your recent initiative to assist in reconstructing our trade union. International solidarity of workers is best guarantee of world peace, freedom to all nations large and small and social justice to all men.

Jan Stanczyk, Chairman,
Representation Polish Trade Union.

PRESIDENT GREEN: These messages just read will be included in the report of today's proceedings.

Labor Representatives From Liberated Countries Presented

PRESIDENT GREEN: I extended an official and personal invitation to representatives of organized labor in a number of liberated countries to attend this convention as observers and guests of the American Federation of Labor, and I wish to invite each one of them to come to the platform if they are in attendance so that I may present them to the delegates at this convention.

I now wish to introduce to you Brother Haakon Lie, Labor Attache, Norwegian Embassy; Brother Israel Mereminski, American Representative Histadrut, General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine; Dr. H. T. Liu, Overseas Representative Chinese Federation of Labor; Brother Jules Kekock, Belgian Commission for the Study of Post-War Problems; Brother Desider Benau, Representative of Czechoslovak Labor in the United States; and Brother Harold Shearman, National Education Officer of Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain.

We invite you to sit with us on the platform, for the present at least, and make yourselves at home as part of us. We are all glad to have you here.

Brother Israel Mereminski has presented to me a short statement for inclusion in the proceedings of today's session, which I will submit to the convention reporter.

MESSAGE FROM THE HISTADRUT

New Orleans, La.,
November 21, 1944.

Histadrut Message to the
64th Convention, A. F. of L.,
New Orleans, La.

President Green, Chief of the American Army of Production of World Peace, Labor and Equality, and Delegates:

SHALOM!

I am deeply touched by the privilege you extend to me by your invitation. I will not repeat to this convention my very well received Hebrew message in your 63rd Convention. I desire to add in a few words the appreciation of The Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine) of your great American and World-wide activities. I am sure that even in my English you will feel the common language of our Brotherhood, over skies, seas, and lands.

Since your last convention we have endured a very difficult year in the ghettos in Europe. But, we are going ahead with our great work of rescue and redemption of our people. Our labor movement will never give up his greatest and dearest hope—through labor, justice and happiness for all—to build up the undivided, unpartitioned Palestine as a free democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

Believe us, it is not easy to build Palestine. You know it! Everyone understands it. Because of it Palestine stood uncultivated and forgotten and wasted for centuries. It is more difficult to build now, particularly when the tents of Israel in the old Europe are destroyed and the third million of Jewish lives was lost in 1943-44.

But, despite these difficulties and tragic events, we look with pride at the mutual understanding and cooperation which exists between our young Branch of the IFTU and your eight millions strong Labor Army.

The real feeling of our 600,000 Jewish population in Palestine (of them 43% Union Labor), the feeling of our labor settlements on both side of the Jordan, of our forest planters on the mountains of Judea and Nazareth, the sincere conviction of our 60,000 men and women in defense factories, and of our 24,000 in the Army, Navy and Skies is that the American Federation of Labor is going ahead and leading the fight for justice for our people and for all oppressed peoples. Our two decades old contact with you, and with the British Labor and the IFTU, is not temporary in its nature—it is the historic, fateful bond of kindred.

But, dear American working Brothers and Sisters, I will not fulfill my duty toward the Pioneering Trade Unions (Histadrut) in Palestine if I do not tell you a few words about

the circumstances under which we are living and working and the great value of our unconditional cooperation. The children of workers in Palestine, our youth wandering over dark avenues in Europe looking for the way home to Palestine, ask us repeatedly:

Why were one million more Jews killed, murdered, slaughtered by Hitler in the year 1943-44?

When will the day come when the arsenals of Democracy and Justice will be used to save my family and redeem our people?

We can explain to our children that our united armies are busy with the great work of liberation. But these children, the youth of the remnants of Israel, ask: "But the White Paper was issued by our friends, by a British Government—why cannot it be abrogated immediately?"

We educate our youth in the belief to "love thy neighbors as yourselves." We established in Palestine new social forms of life based on the duty and privilege of everyone to help the others—to cooperate, to remember that it is only accidentally that one is employed and the other unemployed, that one reached the shores of his beloved homeland, Palestine—and the other is wandering between ghettos and concentration camps and No Man's Land. We have only one answer for them—the only way to protect them from spiritual annihilation, from loss of faith: it is the way that you and your President initiated and carried out to our great fortune: "Immediate free Jewish immigration into Palestine, immediate preparation for large scale Jewish colonization to enable the full rehabilitation, reconversion, redemption of Israel and its homeland."

It is good to feel that you recognize that we need Palestine and the millions of acres of wasted land, and that Palestine needs us as you need America and America needs you. We, the organized Labor in Zion, need the newcomers for our great colonization plan and they need us. It is why I feel a special satisfaction to greet the American Federation of Labor who, for 26 years, have been challenging the world to do justice to our People.

Nothing was so encouraging during 1943-44 for our suffering and pioneering army of homebuilders like the statement in our defense made by President Green June 22, 1944, at the 25th Convention of the ILGWU. I quote only a few sentences of that classic statement: "We intend," said President Green, "to press with all our power and influence at the Peace Conference for the permanent establishment of Palestine as the Jewish National Homeland. . . . We have appealed, we have expressed," he continues, "we have petitioned, we have begged. . . . Now the time has come when our Nation under the pressure of labor and its friends must say to Great Britain: 'You must now open the door to Palestine, wide open—not for thirty days, for sixty or ninety days out of the year, but for 365 days.'"

These vital words of challenge, demand and defense of Jewish people were said in the month when we heard Hitler's renewed decision to kill out more and more hundreds

of thousands of European Jews and when Jewish Palestine asked and cried for increased rescue and immigration, that Green's statement gave us the occasion to tell our children: "We are not forgotten orphans, we have good lasting friends, we have with us the organized labor in America and its friends."

After that June 22nd, we witnessed the acceptance of that statement by the American leading parties and by the great producer of International friendship, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. This is now our biggest promise for the change which must come soon. Indeed, the White Paper is still in power and its restrictions not abolished. But those developments gave us new great hopes that very soon the British labor movement and the British people will give the last blow to the White Paper policy enabling the Jewish people to establish its free commonwealth as a part of the international democratic association of free nations. We believe to win also our battle not only with the strength of the U. S. A., Great Britain, U. S. S. R. armies, and our one Jewish brigade, now accepted and fighting under the Jewish flag and the Star of David. More than ever we believe now in the victory of justice. We don't want more to be the people with the larger number of civilians killed by enemies of mankind.

We cannot, we must not, be more the people chosen for homelessness, wandering and restriction.

We have demonstrated for the world the first example of peaceful colonization of a forgotten and wasted country, rich with still unused life sources, without exploiting others or discriminating against them.

Our 140,000 members, 400 locals, international, 190 settlements, our cooperative industries, credit unions, schools, books, teachers, physicians and nurses spread over swamps, mountains, dunes and valleys, are anchored on our constructive voluntary democratic way of life.

As victims of chaos and terror we are against terroristic methods in national or international life. As the pioneers of the greatest undertaking in history of the Jewish people, we condemn and fight with all legal ways and means against terror and we make all attempts to uproot the few wild weeds of terror in Palestine, even when the guilty explain their vile deeds with pretense of defending our just cause. We reject this way! We are sure that the Jewish Commonwealth and Freedom will be reached and established only and exclusively by our constructive work, fighting against desert and wilderness through the spirit of prophets and cooperating wholeheartedly with the friends of mankind everywhere.

We are proud of our social achievements in Palestine, which serves not only Jewish labor and newcomers, but also the Arabs. We are the importers of technical knowledge and social improvement, of higher production, wages and standards of living for all our country. While Arabs emigrate from their sovereign countries, Palestine absorbed 24,000 migrated Arabs, due to our progressive colonization. Our building and indus-

trial cooperatives pay to Arabs twice and thrice higher wages than government and Arab management. We are the single organization in the middle East who support free organization of Arab labor, providing them with legal protection and medical help. We regard this as our duty and privilege without awaiting any thanks.

Our desire and decision is to immigrate into Palestine and to build in all circumstances and conditions the Jewish democratic commonwealth, and to establish on the cross-road between a new democratic Europe and Asia the first fortress and arsenal of Democracy in the middle East.

In your great devotion and help to all oppressed, in your constant fighting for the victory of your aims of the Histadrut, be blessed dear President Green in our Biblical Hebrew:

"Shalom—Shivion—Veivodah!"

Peace, Equality and Labor for All!

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I know you have been waiting, happily anticipating the address which will be delivered by our fraternal delegate from Great Britain, Brother John Brown. I stated just prior to adjournment I would present him to deliver his address now. Brother Brown comes to us as the General Secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation of Great Britain and duly elected fraternal delegate from Great Britain to this 64th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

I know all of us are happy indeed that he is here. We are pleased to receive him and accord him a most hearty and sincere welcome to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Brother John Brown, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

MR. JOHN BROWN

(Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President Green, delegates and friends: I appreciate indeed the courtesy that you have extended to me this afternoon in departing from your usual schedule of business in order to enable me to say a few words to you and convey the fraternal greetings of your comrades and fellow trade unionists in Great Britain.

But just before proceeding to do that, the gentlemen representing foreign countries who have been presented to you by Mr. Green have asked me if I would kindly thank you for their homely and warm welcome they have received from you. Now I do not know why they should ask me, unless it is probable that they think in your mind I also come from a foreign country. I assure you if there was any suspicion in my mind of that, since coming

amongst you it has been entirely removed. I have been made very much at home since coming to your country and indeed the kindness and consideration shown me has been embarrassing. Our friends from the foreign countries and myself thank you indeed.

It is a very great privilege to be permitted to bring to you fraternal greetings and sincere good wishes from some seven million fellow trade unionists affiliated to the British Trade Union Congress. Actual affiliated membership at the end of December, 1943, was 6,642,000, but we have to add to these figures the result of nine months' organizing effort since that date, so that today our membership is probably well in excess of seven million. I am not overshooting the mark for our membership at this date will certainly be in excess of seven million.

British trade unionism is, therefore, numerically stronger today than it has ever been. The total I have given you is the highest aggregate membership ever recorded in the history of our Congress, but it is also stronger from the standpoint of the influence and authority exercised in the life of our nation. This cannot be disputed. In no previous period of our history has its influence and its power for service stood higher than today. British trade unionism is now recognized as a permanent part of our economic machinery and political life. Its representatives are actively engaged in the Government of our country. They occupy posts of great responsibility and its constituent unions are freely consulted by ministers of the State, Heads of Government Departments and leading industrialists.

This increase in power has brought with it great responsibilities, and I believe the trade unionists of Great Britain can fairly claim to have used their power constructively for the purpose of advancing the common good. The organized workers have consistently kept in view the interests of the united effort and have not exploited the national emergency for their own aggrandizement. Our Congress has set up a complete network of consultative and advisory councils which exist throughout industry from the workshop level to the highest Councils of the State, including our War Cabinet; to the significance of these joint bodies, particularly the joint production committees which are not a war-time innovation—the principle of workshop committees was established during the last war and greatly extended in the inter-war years. We attach great importance, also, to our system of joint industrial councils, and the tendency is to assign greater responsibilities and powers to these joint committees and joint industrial councils as instruments of self government in industry, and no major departure from established custom or practice can be undertaken by industry without such consultations with any prospect of success. War-time developments in industrial relations show what can be done by cooperation and mutual good will when we are faced with a common problem and an urgent task. Our problem in industry was to promote and sustain 100 per cent production. And, Mr. President, we can claim to have done the job well indeed. It has been a titanic struggle to our people and our trade unionists have had to surrender many of their cherished customs and practices in the interest of a common cause.

And well we have done it: it has been a titanic struggle for our people and our trade unions have had to surrender many of their cherished customs and craft practices in the interests of the common cause. When France fell, and the battle of Britain was being fought out in the skies over our island we had only 200 light tanks armed with machine guns and 50 infantry tanks in our country to meet the might of Germany and resist the invasion which was then believed to be imminent. Practically the whole of the British army's equipment had been lost when the evacuation through Dunkirk took place, yet in a few months we had built up a stock of tanks and armoured vehicles and in two years our reserve was 12,000, while at the same time we were sending tanks to Russia and supplying our armies in the Libyan Desert, and by the end of 1943 tanks, armoured vehicles, trucks and other fighting vehicles were pouring from our factories at the rate of 257,000 per year.

How was this stupendous task accomplished? Our workers, technicians and engineering shops, large and small, were mobilized to beat the Huns, 6,000 engineering shops were working under the scheme making tanks, armoured trucks and parts. Organization and determination to succeed solved the problem. Our Government with the help of the trade union movement, the technicians and industrialists, succeeded in mobilizing man and womanpower and machine capacity on a national scale. Our people realized that only by total mobilization of the whole of our resources could the war be continued and the extent of that mobilization is the measure of our war effort. The total population of Britain available for war service—that is between the ages of 14 and 65 years—was 33,250,000. This figure included the medically unfit and the mothers of young children, yet of this total 23,500,000 were drafted into the uniformed services or employed full time in essential industries. Britain is the only country in the world which conscripts women for its uniformed services, 92% of our single women between the ages of 18 and 40 are in the uniformed services or employed full time on war work and 80% of our married women of the same age groups are similarly employed.

Similar, but still more urgent needs of the Nation when the war ends, will call for similar co-operation and organization if we are going to make a concerted effort to meet the situation, a situation which will be far more difficult and complicated than even the war created for productive industry. Our problems as trade unionists are pretty much the same all over the world, certainly in all the highly industrialized and progressive countries. That is why, Mr. President, the British Trade Union Congress took the initiative last year and reaffirmed its decision at this year's Congress, to try to bring together in a world trade union conference responsible delegates from all the trade union organizations which can claim to be genuinely representative of any considerable body of organized workers in any country.

The British Trade Union Congress recognises that difficulties exist. We know that the trade union movement on this continent has its own traditions, its own history and background, its own special difficulties, its own special problems. We believe that fundamentally the aims of the trade union movement in all countries are the same, though the methods of organization may differ from one country to another. Therefore, I would like to explain why, in spite of the difficulties and differences, the British Trade Union Congress feels that it must persist in its efforts to assemble a conference of trade union representatives on the widest possible basis. To put it in a sentence: We feel that a strong and united trade movement is not only essential as an instrument for protecting the interests of the workers the wide world over, and not only a means of raising the standards of life and employment everywhere; our organized movement is also the principle agency of insuring that the aspirations of the people towards freedom, security and enduring peace will be made the objective of national policy.

We feel that there can be no guarantee of justice in social relations, of peace and order in the world, of better conditions in industry, without a strong and united Trade Union movement; and if we cannot learn how to act together in the unity of a common purpose, we cannot expect that the Governments to which we try to give a lead and try to influence, will unanimously pursue a policy of international concord and goodwill.

Civilization cannot afford a third world war. This time the causes of war must be eradicated and the power of any nation to plunge the world into an orgy of carnage and slaughter extirpated for all time. The organized labor movements of the united nations have a special responsibility in the present circumstances. The desire for a new approach to international problems is widely held by the peoples of all allied countries, and I sincerely believe that the international trade union movement will exercise a powerful influence, and will do everything possible on this occasion to see that a just and lasting peace will be the outcome. In the international field our movement has never wavered in its belief in international brotherhood and friendly relationships.

It has been and still is our desire that economic and social justice should extend to the citizens of all nations. If in Europe, Asia, and indeed the greater part of the alleged civilized world, the massed armies of the Axis nations are bombing, murdering, pillaging and ravishing defenseless and unoffending people, it is not because our international trade union movement has willed or desired such a holocaust. That recourse to war has never settled the right or wrong of any question is the steadfast conviction of our people. The problems of the toiling masses in all lands are identical irrespective of frontiers. The common people of all countries need harbor no enmity against each other. We have no interests to serve, that war can promote. Our common inter-

est is to secure peace, freedom and prosperity, and to this end we strive to remove the causes of war and to build up in free association, that understanding and brotherhood which will make armed conflict between nations impossible.

Our desire in the trade union movement is to create a dynamic system of society based on equity and justice, such as will safeguard the spiritual, economic and political freedom of the peoples of all lands, and shall bind us together as brothers in a great world commonwealth of freedom-loving, law-abiding nations.

When the German people have given tangible evidence of their sincere change of heart we will be among the first to welcome them into the fellowship of freedom loving nations, but we must be convinced of a real fundamental change. A deathbed repentance will not suffice. It will not be enough for the German people on this occasion to turn against their present rulers because they have lost a war of aggression; that in my view would not provide any evidence of a change of heart. The German people have loyally supported their various leaders during the last fifty years in all their warlike acts. No nation ever before has had such unanimous approval of its foreign policy, of its intense nationalism and imperialism, by its people. No army ever before has been more devoted and unquestioning in its loyalty to its leaders. Hitler and his fellow gangsters have carried out their diabolical acts of frightfulness without a single effective protest on the part of any section of the German people until it was clear that the war had been lost for Germany.

In the years that lie ahead it must be the task of our trade union movement to try to educate the German people in the ideals of international trade unionism, and until we succeed the allied nations must make certain that the power to promote another world war even more frightful than the present one, has been removed, and that the nations of the world shall be free to proceed with their normal life and peaceful activities without fear or hinderance.

Collective Bargaining

Our British trade union movement, like your own, had a long uphill fight for recognition. In the early years of its existence it was treated with a fierce hatred by employers and feared by the squire and the landlord as an evil thing.

It may be useful if I remind you that from the fourteenth century until the end of the eighteenth the wages of the workers in Britain were, in the main, fixed by legal enactment, while collective bargaining was strictly forbidden by the laws of our land. That this was strictly in accord with the public opinion of the times is clearly demonstrated by the authors of "Industrial Democracy" in the following statement:

"Even before the stringent Act of 1799 against all workmen's combinations, the very idea of collective bargaining was scouted by the employers and strongly condemned by public opinion.

"On the other hand, the majority of the educated and governing classes regarded it as only reasonable that the conditions of labor should be regulated by law."

With the advent of the Industrial Revolution the position changed. The factory owners had no use for legal wage enactments. Laissez faire became the accepted gospel of the business community and of our Legislature. A Committee of the House of Commons in 1800 declared itself "of opinion that no interference of the Legislature with the freedom of trade, or with the perfect liberty of every individual to dispose of his time and of his labor in the way and on the terms which he may judge most conducive to his own interests, can take place without violating general principles of the first importance to the prosperity and happiness of the community, without establishing the most pernicious precedent or even without aggravating after a very short time the pressure of the general distress and imposing obstacles against that distress being ever removed."

This was the economic philosophy of the new era, the era of unregulated private enterprise, promulgated by a committee of our legislators for the guidance of the manufacturers and their workers, and it was in this attitude of mind that for nearly one hundred years the struggle for the right of collective bargaining had to be conducted; and only towards the end of the nineteenth century were the foundations laid of the edifice known today as collective machinery of negotiation in industrial relations.

Within the framework of the existing system of wealth production and distribution our Movement functions efficiently as an essential part of our economic machinery. Its right to negotiate collective wage agreements on behalf of its members is recognized and accepted as a matter of course by practically every important section of British industry.

During the last fifty years an elaborate system of negotiating machinery has been built up and developed, until in recent years wage adjustments are secured with the minimum of friction and it very seldom happens that recourse to a strike or lock-out is necessary.

I must explain, however, lest you get a wrong impression, that excellent though our negotiating machinery undoubtedly is, and successful though our movement has been in winning the right to negotiate and conclude collective wage agreements, we have not yet succeeded in removing from our midst the main problem that our unions were formed to solve and for the removal of which we are fighting with all our might.

Collective wage agreements, conciliation boards and negotiating machinery are excellent instruments employed in our daily struggle for the improvement of the standard of life of our people, but they are only means to an end, that end being the extirpation of poverty in a world of plenty.

Our chief concern is to secure for our people economic conditions which will enable them to live a full life, to have security in their employment and an adequate share of the wealth produced such as will permit them to live in decency and comfort with-

out the spectre of unemployment ever by their side; to secure a standard of social conditions that will enable them to face their declining years without fear and dread of the time when they will no longer be able to maintain the pace set by the modern industrial system.

This is the principal justification for all our effort, the purpose of our negotiating machinery and our collective agreements—to win in our time social justice for the common people who comprise the "rank and file" of our movement.

Judged by this standard, we in Great Britain still have a long way to travel before our goal is reached. Therefore, we endeavor to keep ever before our eyes the central purpose which justifies our existence, lest we should be guilty of worshipping the institution we have created for its own sake, rather than for its usefulness and the results it has enabled us to achieve.

While the industrial conditions of our members have improved enormously during the past thirty years due to the pressure of trade union effort, it must be freely admitted that wages relatively are becoming a smaller factor in the cost of production than was formerly the case.

The enormous development in mechanization has increased overhead and capital costs and these are now the largest factor after materials in the unit cost of production in most branches of industry.

The number of workers necessary to produce in a given time the same amount of output, steadily diminishes, and this is an aspect of our problems with which ordinary trade union effort is powerless to deal, except by agitating for a further reduction in working hours, and this is now becoming an immediate aim of the British trade union movement.

40-Hour Week

One of the first industrial reforms which our Trades Union Congress will endeavor to secure in the post-war period will be a 40-hour week. It is proposed that a direct request be made to the British Government asking for legislation which will provide for a general reduction of the hours of labor to 40 hours per week. Congress is suggesting that the legislation should be of a kind enabling the principle to be applied in each industry or section of industry, in relation to the circumstances of that industry.

Social Security

The British Trade Union Movement recognized more than fifty years ago that under an unrestricted and unregulated system of private enterprise such as had developed in our country, it was impossible to secure a solution of our poverty problem along conventional lines. It recognized that the alleged economic wage won by purely industrial effort was totally inadequate for the proper maintenance of the workers' standard of life, that intermittent employ-

ment, sickness and old age could not be provided for by the meager funds of the trade unions or by private charity, and that such provision must be accepted as a national responsibility.

Consequently, while continuously pressing for higher wages and resisting reductions of our standards, the full power of our organization was concentrated on the Government for the purpose of obtaining an extension of our social services, with some measure of success.

The first timid steps were taken by the British House of Commons towards the goal of social security when the Old Age Pension Act became law in 1908. This Act was amended in 1925 and the Contributory Pensions Act passed. Trade union pressure compelled an extension of social security measures, which eventually provided for compulsory insurance against sickness and unemployment, until the White Paper published recently which adumbrates a complete and comprehensive scheme of social security legislative proposals which will embrace children's allowances, sickness and invalidity, industrial accident and unemployment, on a scale which has long represented the highest ambition the trade union movement could aspire to.

There is no question that if the general principles embodied in the two recent White Papers published by the Government are translated speedily into Acts of Parliament with suitable amendments to deal with admitted anomalies, the social security system of Great Britain will be all-embracing and will doubtless be accepted as a blueprint for other countries to build and improve upon.

Housing Reform

Housing reform which is another aspect of our social services, and which has a direct bearing on the health, comfort and standard of life of our people, has long been in the forefront of the Trades Union Congress program.

Since 1919 our Government has been forced to give a great deal of time and attention to the housing problem due to the fact that private enterprise had almost ceased to function with respect to the provision of houses for the working classes.

This duty of providing satisfactory housing accommodation for wage earners now devolves, in the main, on the local councils, who have become the nation's largest house owners. All our large cities have established a Municipal Housing Department, with rent collectors and complete estate office organization.

This reform was not accomplished without a great deal of opposition on the part of the private property owners, but this has now been largely overcome due to the activities of the representatives of our trade union movement on the local Councils.

The pre-war position of housing was in all conscience bad enough in Great Britain, judged by modern standards, but as you will appreciate the merciless bombing of most of our industrial centers and built-up areas over the last five years has enormously increased

the problem which now faces our people. In London alone the flying bomb during the first six weeks of the campaign, destroyed 23,000 houses in addition to those destroyed and damaged over the long sustained bomb raids in the previous four years. In addition to the houses destroyed in the first six weeks, over a million houses were damaged, some with only the windows blown out, others very seriously indeed.

Further to the problem which London presents there are other towns and cities, such as Bristol, Sheffield, Hull, Liverpool, Glasgow, and many more where war damage to houses and other buildings has been very extensive, and which added to the accumulation of demand arising from the fact that over the past five years very little has been done in the construction of homes, makes our immediate post-war problem one of tremendous dimensions.

The greater part of the burden of providing adequate housing accommodation for our people must fall on the shoulders of the local authorities. There was a period, now happily passed, when the policy of our country was to divide the function of providing homes for our people into two watertight compartments: (1) the provision of homes for those who could afford to pay rent and who might reasonably be expected to do so, was left entirely to private enterprise; and (2) the provision of homes for those sections of the population who could not afford to pay rent or who would not even if they could, was left to the enterprise of the local authorities. The second type of occupier did not provide private enterprise with any opportunity to make profit, and consequently it was considered the function of the local authority to cater for this type of demand, but it was regarded as a heinous sin if the local authority impinged upon the preserves of private enterprise in providing homes for those who could afford to pay rent and thus provide profit for the speculative builders and house owners.

This conception of public and private function in the provision of houses for the people of Britain has long since been relegated to the limbo of the past. The municipal or public authority takes its full part in building and owning housing estates which are a credit in many instances, and serve as a standard which private enterprise fails to emulate. Occasionally some "ancient Briton" will protest against the unwarrantable interference with the right of private enterprise to exploit and make profit from a potential market, but the plaintive wail of such economic troglodytes now passes unheeded.

We cannot, however, fail to realize that the building industry in our country has an enormous task to perform if our citizens are to be housed in decency and in comfort and particularly if the men and women returning from the Forces are to have any reasonable chance of obtaining suitable homes.

And Mr. President, it can truthfully be claimed that the whole network of industrial legislation and social services designed to protect and assist the wage earners in our country has, in the main, sprung from our Trades Union Congress, which has consistently agitated for comprehensive measures of social security legislation.

Sufficient, I feel, has been said to indicate that our people, while regarding the trade union movement as their first line of defense in industrial affairs, are turning more and more to the national and local social services as useful aids towards a more satisfactory standard of life, and this is characteristic of trade union philosophy and propaganda in Britain.

An Age of Plenty

It has been clearly demonstrated during the war as you have been told so often from this platform this week that modern industrial technique has now advanced to a pitch which enables us to turn out goods in quantities far in excess of the output during the twenty-one years between 1918 and 1939. The application of power in every industrialized country to the production of wealth has proceeded at an ever increasing speed, until the problem of producing sufficient for all has now been solved. What we must now apply our minds to is the question of distribution; the real obstacle to adequate production has been the lack of purchasing power in the hands of would-be consumers. Goods will not be produced unless there is an effective market, but while our ability to produce in abundance exists, the money mechanism remains substantially what it was in the age of scarcity before mass production had demonstrated that there is no need for short supply if we have the wit to devise a scheme which will maintain security of employment and adequate purchasing power in the hands of the consumers. In short, we try to marry mass production to mass consumption, the problem seems to be solved.

The policy of the trade union movement has now been recognized to be sound; regular employment, good wages and a high standard of industrial efficiency, is the cure for the problem of unemployed capital and labor. The British Government have now publicly announced their acceptance as one of their primary aims and responsibilities the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment after the war, and further, that they are seeking to create through collaboration between the nations, conditions of international trade which will make it possible for all countries to pursue policies of full employment to their mutual advantage. This indicates a revolution in economic thought in Great Britain.

The potential demand for goods and services is enormous. One half of the world's population is existing on an income of less than twenty dollars per head per year. If the consuming power of this great mass of humanity were raised by one penny per day, the factories of every industrial country would be humming with activity producing the goods to supply their needs. The potential assets of the world consist of its unlimited stores of raw materials and the skill and training of a larger army of labor than the world's industries have ever commanded before. Equipped with the scientific knowledge and technical power to exploit successfully these raw materials, with the skill and

ability to fashion them into useful products for the sustenance and comfort of mankind, we need have no fear for the future.

We stand on the threshold of a new era offering great opportunities. The age of scarcity can be put behind us. The era of abundance is opening out before us. If we seize our opportunities and apply our energies to good purpose, want and privation can be banished. Mass production allied with mass consumption and intelligently directed national and international distribution, can bring, in the words of President Roosevelt, "freedom from want and freedom from fear."

The problems facing our people in the transfer from war to peace economy are peculiar and special. Eighty per cent of our productive effort is on Government account, private spending on consumer goods is in the main strictly controlled. A severe system of rationing is applied to food, clothing, boots and shoes, and other essential goods. Supplies of household goods in Britain have been greatly reduced. Official records show that only about one household in ten can buy a pair of sheets, and one household in five a pair of blankets, each year. Only one person in seven can buy a knife, fork, or spoon; one person in three a kettle, saucepan, or frying pan; and one person in four a teapot or a jug. The manufacture of carpets, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, and other household appliances is virtually prohibited. Further, in addition to the controlled price, the purchaser has to pay on some consumer goods a purchase tax amounting to approximately 30 per cent and on luxury goods up to 100 per cent. The intention of this imposition is to deter people purchasing goods they can by any make-shift do without.

It will therefore be apparent to you that when the war ends our stocks of consumer goods will be non-existent, and as the factories usually employed on the manufacture of this type of merchandise have been either closed and used for storage purposes, or converted for the manufacture of some form of war work, the transfer to peacetime pursuits will not be rapid. It will take time to retool, and as the skilled labor has been directed to essential war work, key operatives will not be readily available. A further difficulty will be the supply of raw materials.

For some considerable time after the war comes to an end there will be an acute shortage of the commodities which almost everyone will desire to purchase. If our existing control and rationing systems were to be abruptly or prematurely ended, you can well imagine the scramble for such supplies as may be available, and the profiteers' paradise thus created. The trade union movement in Great Britain has exerted all its influence for the purpose of persuading the Government to retain control and rationing until the supply of essential commodities is equal to the demand. Our Government are alive to the dangers of premature relaxation of control, and have indicated their intention of continuing the policy of a "fair share for all" until materials and manufactured commodities reach a reasonably high level of supply. It is possible, and in-

deed likely, that some controls may be continued indefinitely in spite of the clamor for a return to free enterprise.

The British Trades Union Congress does not resent Government intervention in economic and industrial affairs. On the contrary our annual Congresses have persistently and continuously pressed our Governments, irrespective of their political faith, for legislation in industrial matters since 1883, when the first resolution was passed by Congress demanding an 8-hour day by legal enactment. Consistently our Congresses have declared in favor of public ownership of the land, mines and minerals, convinced that only by a system of collective ownership and control can the worst evils of private enterprise be abolished and at our recent Congress the General Council of the T.U.C., held just before I came away, submitted an interim report setting forth their plan for a reorganization of our basic industries based on a transfer from private ownership to semi-autonomous public corporations, subject to the overriding authority of Parliament. This indicates the economic trend of economic thought in our trade unions.

A revolution has taken place in public opinion and its conception of the functions and relationship of the State in industry and commerce. Even before the war the Government were "interfering" with "free enterprise". The Government were compelled to organize and control the marketing of milk, bacon, potatoes, poultry and eggs. They were subsidizing the production of beet for our sugar factories, were purchasing wheat and other commodities in bulk and financing export trade through a State export credits organization, controlling currency and credit, and subsidizing shipping companies.

Public opinion has been gradually accustomed to the idea of Government intervention in industry, and is likely to approve of more intervention in the future. The big business magnets are banded together in a propaganda crusade for a return to "freedom" and the "good old ways," the same people who in the past have used their freedom to become members of international cartels for the purpose of restricting production to their conception of the needs of the market at prices they deemed to be economic.

The British Trades Union Congress believes in freedom in association; it recognizes that where individuals enter into association with one another, whether it be in a trade union, an employers' association, or price ring, or a modern state, freedom in association must take the place of freedom for the individual if the exercise of such individual freedom injures the interests of the majority, or the interests of the association as a whole, or of the nation.

Our people remember their experience in the years between the first world war and the outbreak of the present conflict, and they are unlikely to heed the appeals of the people responsible for the system which led to the economic collapse of the world in 1929 and to the war which overwhelmed civilization in 1939.

I don't say to any body of delegates to this convention, "go thou and do likewise."

All I say is that practical experience is the best teacher and we all ought to know what experience has taught the other fellow.

That's why we have this exchange of fraternal delegates, isn't it? Not merely to bring fraternal messages of good-will, though those I bring you are sincere and comradely; certainly not to offer unsought advice or to air our own theories, but to take council together, to pool ideas, to examine our common problems together and to try to understand one another's point of view.

Out of that grows unity, solidarity and the consciousness of a common purpose.

The fundamental objectives of the American Federation of Labor and the British trade union movement are similar in ideal and purpose. In our respective spheres we labor to promote the interests and the well being of the toiling masses who are realizing, as never before, that they must enroll under the trade union banner and march in step with our great trade union movement if they would be free.

On this common platform, the American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress meet and join hands and blend their wills to serve the common people, and looking back over a period of nearly three quarters of a century of ceaseless effort and endeavor, we record some measure of success.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have listened with a feeling of satisfaction to the address delivered by Brother Brown, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, and I am sure that as you listened to this interesting address you reviewed silently in your own minds the record that has been made for almost three quarters of a century in the exchange of fraternal delegates between the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor. During those years we have extended a hearty welcome to the delegates sent to us by the British Trades Union Congress, and our brothers across the sea have extended the warm hand of welcome to the fraternal delegates sent there by the American Federation of Labor. Through it all we have sought to maintain inviolate one fundamental principle, and that is and has been to respect the autonomous authority of the two organizations, which have been brought into such a close relationship through the exchange of fraternal delegates. We have religiously and scrupulously sought to avoid the imposition of our will or of our judgment upon our fellow workers in Great Britain and they in turn have observed that inexorable rule.

We claim the right to work out our economic, social and political problems here in

accordance with our best traditions, in the light of the facts and circumstances that arise. We accord to our brothers across the sea the exercise of that same right. If they wish to establish a form of Government ownership and substitute that for private ownership as we know it here in America, we say to them, good luck to you, do as you please and establish it if you can.

On the other hand, if we seek to maintain regulated free enterprise and freedom of action in America as we know it here, then I am sure they will say to us, do that if you wish without any interference from any outside influence.

We regard the issues in the present world conflict as a fight between the establishment of the totalitarian form of government and freedom and democracy as we know it here, and we are determined that freedom and democracy shall triumph. It matters not how long the war may last or how soon the end may come, we in America insist that the representatives of the totalitarian form of government must surrender unconditionally to the United Nations. We believe in freedom, democracy and liberty, the fullest exercise of freedom and liberty on the part of the individual. As the immortal Lincoln once said, we believe in a government by the people, of the people and for the people. We believe that the Government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed, and we insist on the people being the Government, and instead of us being governed by the Government from the top, the Government shall be subject to the will of the people. We want to be free, and that is the reason why we place so much emphasis upon the principles of free democratic unions.

There is no asset that men who work possess other than their economic strength. We seek to blend that, to mobilize it and unite it as our chief asset in order to promote a higher standard of living in America, and we resent any government interference in the exercise of that right. In fact, today the workers of America who willingly yielded to the appeals of the Government to submit to Government domination to some extent during this war are yearning for the day, eager for the day when that domination and control, limited though it may be in America, will be lifted and we are again free in America. It was

my distinguished predecessor who said that what the Government gives it can take away. We resent any form of paternalism, and we regard totalitarianism as government domination over the lives of working men and women, let that form of totalitarianism be branded as Nazism, Fascism or any other form of totalitarianism. When the Government can establish the standards of a trade union, the form it shall take, what it shall do, limit its actions and its usefulness, then that labor union is no longer free. We must be free, we seek to be free; we are fighting to be free and we shall continue to fight this war until we are free. We want to bring that freedom to the nations, to the people of all other nations, and have them establish the form of government that the majority of the people in liberated nations may wish. In order to help them re-establish their free democratic unions in the liberated countries, the American Federation of Labor, through its League for Human Rights, has initiated a movement that has for its objective the collection of \$1,000,000 to be given to these people to use for that purpose.

We are a bit apprehensive over the development which is taking place in world affairs so far as it affects our relationship with the British Trades Union Congress. We view those developments with deep concern. We believe that men will find that it is better to cling to a true and tried friendship than it is to desert that friendship and seek new friends in untried fields.

I express firmly and sincerely the hope and trust that the best judgment in our movement and in the British trade union movement will control and prevail and that the fraternal relationship so firmly established and which has existed for almost three quarters of a century will continue unbroken and unaffected.

I thank you sincerely, Brother Brown. We are pleased to have you with us and we hope you will enjoy your stay with us and carry back to your home the fondest memories of a delightful visit spent here.

I thank you.

PRESENTATION OF GIFTS TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I think it quite appropriate for me to conform to an hon-

ored custom of presenting to our fraternal delegates a token of our friendship and good will and our appreciation of their presence here. It will only take a few moments, and I will be glad to perform the pleasant duty assigned me just now.

Before I do so, may I explain that Brother Brown was scheduled to deliver his address this afternoon because he has been called away and will have to leave us tomorrow. We are sorry that such is the case, because we wish he might remain here until the convention adjourns.

Brother Horner is his co-delegate and he is here and will address us early next week. The fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress will do likewise, but it appears to me because Brother Brown is going away, I can present to them now our tokens of good will and appreciation for their visits with us.

Brother Brown, first of all I wish to present to you this specially made badge, suitably engraved and presented to you by the delegates to this convention. This will be your official badge as a fraternal delegate to the 64th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and in addition I want to present to you this watch, with chain and knife, which has been suitably inscribed. These are presented to you by the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. The watch is symbolic of the friendship and good will of this organization, which we ask you to accept in that spirit, because it carries with it more than its mere intrinsic value.

In order that you might be given a nice reception when you return home, and all of the hard words that might have been said to you in the past wiped out and forgotten, I am presenting to you a little gift to be given to your good wife upon your return. She ought to receive you with open arms when you bring this home to her. This is a beautiful wrist watch for Mrs. Brown as an expression of good will from the delegates of this convention. When you give it to her, please tell her the best looking labor men and women you ever saw in the world presented it to her.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE BROWN: President Green and delegates: In my opening statement I indicated that I had been almost overwhelmed—certainly embarrassed—by the kindnesses my fellow trade unionists on this side of the ocean had showered upon me. This is adding fuel to the flames.

From the bottom of my heart I thank you, sir, and the delegates on whose behalf you presented these lovely and expensive gifts. I shall value them as you quite rightly say, both for their intrinsic value and also for the spirit in which the gifts have been made.

On behalf of my wife, this will be some recompense for the somewhat anxious weeks she has passed in spite of the cables which I have been receiving from her. But as a canny Scotch woman, I have no doubt there will be times when she will be wondering what kind of mischief John is up to. Every time I gaze with pleasure on these presents, this beautiful memento of your convention, this watch for me, and wristlet for my wife, I will remember the spirit of the officers and delegates to this convention and I hope most sincerely that nothing either on this side or our side of the ocean shall ever occur to rupture the fraternal relations which have existed between our two great movements for so long. Our faces are set in the same direction. We are endeavoring to march towards the light. How we shall get there, as President Green has so well stated, is a matter for each country to determine for themselves. The important thing is that we are marching in step and singleness of purpose.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen and fellow trade unionists, I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Brother Horner, in presenting these presents to you I wish to repeat all of the things I have said to Brother Brown. I present to you this specially made badge, suitably engraved, artistic in design, something you may retain as long as you live. And along with it I want to present this watch, similar to the one presented to Brother Brown with a chain and knife, a much better watch than my good friend ever owned when he, along with me, worked in the coal mines.

Brother Horner please look upon this gift as symbolic of the good will and friendship which prevails here, and I officially present this to you on behalf of the delegates.

Then we have a beautiful wrist watch for Mrs. Horner and I rather think when you get back to South Wales you will receive a hearty welcome from her. Please tell Mrs. Horner it was presented by as fine a body of laboring men and women as you ever saw in your life. Good luck to you.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE HORNER: Mr. President and fellow delegates: I wish to express my appreciation not only for these gifts, but for the reception which we have received in coming to this country. I fully appreciate that the reception which has been given me is an indication of the tolerance of the American Federation of Labor and a recognition of our rights to select our own delegates to this convention as we recognized your right to select your delegates to our Congress.

I appreciate very highly, as I am sure my wife will, the presents which we shall always regard as a means of remembering the spirit in which we were received on the occasion of this visit to the American Federation of Labor Convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I will perform the same pleasant duty in presenting gifts to Mr. and Mrs. Johnstone, who came here to attend this convention, representing the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We are pleased that Mrs. Johnstone came with her husband, so that I will have the pleasant opportunity of presenting Mrs. Johnstone with her watch right here before you.

First I present to you, Brother Johnstone, this specially prepared badge with all of the friendly sentiments that I expressed to the other brothers, and also the nice watch, chain and knife which you may retain as a lasting remembrance of your visit with us.

And now, Mrs. Johnstone, I present to you this beautiful wrist watch set with diamonds and rubies, a gift from the delegates to this convention, representing more than 7,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor. I know you will go back to your homes with fond remembrances of your visit to New Orleans and this convention.

MRS. JOHNSTONE: Mr. Green, ladies and gentlemen: I have been told that I cannot make a speech and that is true, so I will leave that to the man who thinks he is boss outside but not inside. I will merely say thank you very much.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE JOHNSTONE: President Green, delegates and friends: I also have been a canny Scotchman. It was rather difficult for me to sit through the ordeal of seeing those beautiful watches being given away. I was a little afraid there would not be enough to go around, but I am very happy that they lasted out.

I was glad that Mrs. Johnstone was here to listen to the admonition that went with the watches to the ladies in Great Britain,

that they forget all of the hard words that have ever been said in the past. I would like to have that include an admonition that there would be no more hard words in the future, because after all I think I am more interested in the future than I am in the past.

Receiving this very fine watch or possibly the best watch I ever had or ever hope to have, and this medal which is most coveted by me and perhaps the only medal I will ever receive, reminds me of a colored gentleman who desired to have a watch under any circumstances, so he stole one and was hauled before the magistrate and got a very fine lawyer to defend him. His lawyer made a fine presentation; in fact so much so, the judge said, "Rastus, you are free, you can leave the court exonerated without any stain on your character." And Rastus replied: "Judge, does that mean I have got to give the watch back?"

That is all I can say now, other than to express my sincere thanks for my good wife and myself for the many kindnesses shown us since we have been in New Orleans.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I am pleased to present to you the Administrator of the Federal Public Housing Administration. We are deeply interested in housing and he will bring to us a message filled with information that will help us to better understand our problems. He responded to our request to come here this afternoon, and I am pleased to present him to you—Mr. Philip Klutznick, Administrator of the Federal Public Housing Administration.

MR. PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK

(Commissioner, Federal Public Housing Authority)

This convention of the American Federation of Labor meets under historic circumstances unparalleled in our history and unlikely to be duplicated in our time. We are poised at the zenith of mankind's greatest struggle to preserve and insure our eternal birthright of freedom. No group has a more significant role in the waging of this war or in the gigantic task of planning and rebuilding that lies ahead than the accredited spokesmen and leaders of the working men and women of America.

Despite the momentous problems and determinations that you must face during the crowded days of this convention, you have again given time on your busy calendar for the problem of better housing.

The concern of the American Federation of Labor about the housing problem is not new. It ante-dates, indeed, any practical attempts to solve it. Housing, and I mean housing both as an industry and housing as a means of life for the common people, has had the unfailing support of this great organization.

We are in mid-channel in housing. Construction of war housing is virtually behind us. In retrospect it is difficult to see how we would have made many of our schedules without the unstinting and appreciated co-operation of union labor. While we are engaged in an enormous management responsibility our eyes are also trained on the imminent task of tearing down temporary war housing and we are on the eve of getting our working tools sharpened for the post-war job inevitably ahead. The report of your Executive Council on housing recognizes all these conditions. It is an excellent statement on the subject. Except for some minor details and a friendly difference of opinion on administrative techniques it makes a statement on the subject that all men should embrace.

Perhaps, my sympathy for the proposals is traceable to the fact that we have had occasional opportunities to meet with Harry Bates, the chairman of your housing committee, and frequent contact with Boris Shishkin, the secretary. This relationship has been extremely beneficial and stimulating to us and I hope not too burdensome to your able representatives.

In view of your comprehensive and statesmanlike report I shall content myself with a discussion of two topics: (1) Taking housing off the luxury shelf and (2) The need to unite to house America decently.

As to my first proposition: During this war, perhaps for the first time in our history, many people suddenly discovered that housing is a necessity. We treated it as such or else our home-front machine would never have reached high gear. One of the most shocking failures of our democratic economy has been our neglect adequately to house our people. Housing is the No. 2 essential in the consumer's budget—in your budget as workmen—and stands next to food, absorbing one-fifth of all you earn.

Yet housing has been listed on our national exchange as a luxury. Good housing has been kept on the top shelf of our national merchandise where only the family with the long arm of high income could reach it. A large segment of our population has simply not had the income with which to feed, clothe, and care for itself and at the same time live in a decent house.

The housing problem has many facets; but at the heart of it all is the essential matter of wages or income. The man with enough dollars will manage somehow in the post-war economy to get reasonably good shelter. True, the product can and must be improved. We will have to press for technical advances and additional financing reforms to secure increasingly more for the consumer's housing dollar. But, this will be comparatively simple of solution for families with sufficient income. The tragedy will continue to abide with those who lack the wherewithal.

Turn, for example, to the 1940 housing census, where our analysis shows that nearly 30 per cent of all our urban dwellings were either in need of major repairs or were lacking in necessary facilities. Or turn to the various estimates of housing needs that confront us now and that we will have to face as a practical matter when the war situation permits. These estimates in general vary from a need for 750,000 to 1,600,000 houses a year for the next ten years. The National Housing Agency has figured our need at 12,600,000 houses for the next ten years, or more than a million and a quarter a year. Significant in that estimate is the fact that 36 per cent of that need is among those unable to pay as much as \$30 a month rent, and 22 per cent of it is in rental brackets of less than \$20 a month.

I refuse to believe that people live in vermin-infested, disease-ridden shacks and neighborhoods as a matter of preference. The answer is to be found elsewhere. It lies in the figures of earnings—in the wage envelope. The recent testimony by Chairman William H. Davis of the War Labor Board before the Pepper Committee is significant. Let me refer to some of the figures he cited on current earnings of non-farm wage earners, exclusive of government and professional workers, since they have an obvious bearing on our subject. Applying these figures on a 40-hour week basis, they show that even in this era of the highest national income in our Nation's history 95.9 per cent of such workers had a wage rate of less than \$60 a week, 85.9 per cent less than \$48, 51.9 per cent less than \$32, 18.7 per cent less than \$20, and nearly 10 per cent less than \$16 a week.

Perhaps, there is no better recognition of the inter-dependence of wages and good housing than what is embodied in the United States Housing Act which our agency administers. Your organization was in the forefront in support of this progressive step which made possible a large scale attack on the problem of housing those who can't foot the bill for decent accommodations. Into that Act were written provisions which would rescue and protect not only those who were to live in the houses but as well as those who would build them. Decent working conditions and a proper level of wages are guaranteed by the law and its administration. Parenthetically, I must say that Walter Price and many members of his staff who are engaged in the administration of this portion of the U. S. Housing Act for the FPHA received much of their training in your ranks. We are grateful for the effective understanding and impartial manner in which these men have given meaning to the wage and working conditions of the U. S. Housing Act. The law and its administration are a living commentary that you cannot build better homes for the people on the quicksand of lower wages. Try it and you create a vicious circle that will destroy private enterprise in this important field.

Of course, the ideal situation would find us with everyone earning enough to buy through normal channels the necessities of life which the family requires. This is an aim and a hope

to be treasured and to work toward, but its realization is not foreseeable in the immediate future. What does that mean in the housing business? It means that we must quit fooling workers about our people's housing.

We have undertaken to feed the hungry, to provide free clinics for medical care, to educate and recreate our people, but the roof over a man's head, his No. 2 necessity, for decades was largely ignored. We prided ourselves on keeping our streets clean and left millions of homes to dirt and filth and insanitary conditions because the people who lived in them could not afford better. The places that people live in should be at least as important as the places they walk.

When the war came, the necessity of housing was brought home to us as workers by the millions shifted from place to place, swarmed into newly expanded communities to man the great plants that were to help drive the enemy back. We fought because we had to fight and we housed because we had to house. We couldn't win a war without housing.

I say to you that we cannot win a peace without housing and what it symbolizes. The same necessity that is with us in our hour of need today will be with us yet tomorrow. We must recognize and accept housing as a necessity for all our people, not just a luxury reserved for those of higher income, if we are to recognize and accept democracy and create the foundations of peace in their full measure.

Not only have we failed tragically to house this nation adequately, but by the same token the building industry and its workers have been the step-children of our economy. Because we produce not for need, but only for those with enough money to spend, we have subjected home building to the most violent fluctuations. In 1925, our peak building year before the war, we produced over 900,000 homes, and home construction amounted to 6.1 per cent of our total national product. But in 1933 when buying power was down but need was greater, our home building fell off to only one per cent of our total national product. This fact alone substantiates the conclusion that we have tended to keep housing in the luxury class responding not to desperate need, but rather to excess dollars.

This is graphically highlighted by the striking fact that the No. 1 necessity food, constituted 21.8 per cent of our gross product in the boom year of 1929, but percentage-wise increased to 24.3 per cent in the depression year of 1933. Never forget that the continuance of such a paradox will never provide good housing and ample jobs when we need both.

I say that we must start any discussion of housing with a firm national resolve that it will be taken off the luxury shelf; that we will not rest until every American finally can cherish the realizable hope to live in a decent home.

Now as to my second proposition: The need to unite to house America decently.

Housing is a complicated business in which Government, labor management, mortgage lenders, builders, material suppliers and countless others play some part.

We have learned, or we should have learned, from our war experience something about the methods and potentialities of a strong, consolidated attack on the housing problem. We would be inexorably profligate to discard this lesson.

With obvious modifications, much the same compound of total effort will be needed if we are to measure up to post-war needs and fashion out of them anything like the society that we seek.

We will again need speedy mobilization to retool and reorganize our housing industry for peace-time production and needs. The urgency will be no less for peace than it was for war. Every lost day or week or month means lost jobs, lost wages, lost production that can only undermine our hopes for maintaining our productive income.

We will need the same unified and coordinated effort both in the government and within the industry to be able to produce even moderately in line with the nation's housing need.

One of the great advances that was made governmentally with respect to housing during the war was the consolidation of all housing activities under the National Housing Agency. Neither the exigencies of war nor the emergency nature of the consolidation permitted that to be a wholly perfect union, from the peace-time point of view. But this unification did demonstrate the soundness and logic of the principle that no part of the housing program can adequately operate without being related to the whole. The war housing program could not have been accomplished under the adverse circumstances it had to accept on any other basis.

We shall continue to need that unity of Federal responsibility through the medium of a National Housing Agency. With this your Committee agrees, although, we may not be fully in accord on administration techniques of such an agency. The tools of Federal Government must be used in harmony one with the other. They must complement and supplement one another to even a greater degree in the future than in the past.

Changes in pattern to suit peace-time operations are unquestionably needed. For example, when the dictates of military need are no longer paramount, the planning, programming, and activation of our peace-time housing must derive from the communities where the need exists. The Government should resume its role of adviser and financial helpmate to the communities in enabling them to accomplish their home-grown programs.

If indeed we are to make housing the major local concern that it must be, organized labor through its local unions must actively share in the study of needs and formulation of action in every community. No one has a more personal stake in housing than the worker. If we proceed democratically the worker must make his wants and his needs known and felt.

National unity in housing is desirable not only for its own sake, but also as a precept to the building industry. To meet our war needs, we did succeed in bringing together with a minimum of friction and a maximum of cooperation, not the least of which came from the ranks of labor, all the forces of capital, management, worker and Govern-

ment that are needed to do a job thoroughly and do it quickly. One important means to achievement of unity is to understand clearly that the fear of Government encroachment on the appropriate preserves of capital is misguided fear or stimulated propaganda.

During the war, we have operated an overall housing program with private capital doing everything that it could in its appropriate sphere and with publicly-financed housing being provided in its proper place. For some time, there has existed a truce on the public-private front. It is true that several unimportant and relatively minor skirmishes have broken out. But, by and large, pent-up feelings are awaiting the day when the whole subject of public housing is reviewed for post-war consideration.

First of all, therefore, we will have to get our sights straight. Some of us have got our aims so twisted that instead of directing our fire on the target of better housing for America, we seem to be shooting at each other. There is no excuse for men of good will engaged in the business of housing on any front to waste their energies in civil war when all the effort we can muster must be expended toward the constructive conquest of America's housing problem.

Let us here and now begin to understand one another. Post-war housing is not and must not become a dispute between public and private housing. Both have questions to answer forthrightly and assurances to make that will forever still the suspicion that either is out primarily to "get" the other.

Public housing must make it clear that it has no quarrel with private housing, that it is not engaged in the business of trying to kill off private housing, but on the contrary that it recognizes the primary claim and the indispensability of private capital in the housing field. Private capital wants that assurance. It should have it.

Private industry, on the other hand, must be prepared to answer the question, "What about housing for the people that private capital cannot profitably serve?" It must come up with something better than a negative answer. It must accept and cooperate in alternative solutions for those areas it is not able to reach.

As one representative of the public housing field, I am prepared now, as I have done before, to give private industry the fullest assurance that public housing will not encroach upon its proper domain. Virtually every active advocate of public housing will subscribe in principle with what I say.

By way of assurance we must delineate the field in which public housing is to operate. This is a basic and fundamental step.

My views are simple. They are perhaps best expressed in three propositions:

- (1) No new public housing should be provided where it is possible to fill a need with decent existing housing.
- (2) No public housing should be provided that will compete with private capital in its appropriate sphere.

(3) In recognition of a determined effort which we hope will be made to induce private capital to provide standard housing for the lowest possible income market, the scope of public housing need in a locality should leave a gap of some reasonable percentage, let us say 15 to 20 per cent, between the apparent low-income market and the present floor of private capital.

This still leaves a "no man's land" which private capital is challenged to meet. It gives utterance to our sincere hope that the ingenuity of private developers will be incited to reach farther down to meet the housing need. Instead of wasting time forever debating about submarginal markets, it is high time that private capital and industry do something constructive about the marginal market.

I hope, however, that I will not be misunderstood if I express a friendly warning in this connection. People will not wait forever. They have been patient about their housing needs. They are beginning to tire of talk and demand action. There is real danger that, if private capital and industry do not fill this void in the no man's land of housing need, the Government will be forced, by pressure of need and popular demand, to use its powers to provide. This is not a threat. It is a realistic estimate of a situation which private capital must recognize.

It is my own hope that the field of public housing will never have to go up in the income scale, but that it will be forced progressively lower by the expansion of good, low-cost private housing. Even under the principles I have outlined, the task staked out for public housing is so huge and urgently pressing that to attempt to expand it would be neither wise nor good statesmanship. Furthermore, I genuinely feel that the private building industry, under the prodding of its own war-time experience, can, if it will, do the job allotted to it, or an appreciable part of it.

But to do so, private capital will have to make something of an about face from the past. It will not meet this need by refusing to venture into new endeavors or by retreating to the false security of the higher priced field. Circumstances will not permit it to adopt a smug attitude that, when it has finished skimming off the richer cream of higher cost housing, it will be time enough to turn attention to the needs of the neediest. Private capital must recognize that if it fails in the future, and it must admit that it has in the past, to satisfy more of the low-cost demand for housing, then the pressure of need may indeed force public housing into these marginal areas where it should never have to function.

While I personally believe that any effort to expand the public housing program vertically into the higher income group is undesirable, I am confident that we need to expand it horizontally within the low-income group. When we have duly fenced off all and more of the housing field than private capital is now able to serve, let us

not assume that we have solved the housing problem. Still facing us is an appalling need for good housing by families whose incomes cannot under any conceivable circumstances of the present day support good private housing at a profit.

I need not lecture this audience on the necessity for public housing, or belabor the hazards and costs of the intolerable slums of our cities which we have begun to replace in a small way with the 105,000 units of public housing that were built before the war. A beginning has been made. As I have gone about and seen one housing project after another, not all perfect jobs but virtually all of them inspiring examples of what America can afford to do in housing its people, I have been equally impressed by the remaining acres upon acres of disgraceful slums that still wait their turn.

What has been done under the aegis of the U. S. Housing Act is valuable primarily because it shows that the job can be done. It demonstrates, moreover, that the low-income housing problem can be most successfully met at the local level through local instrumentalities. The role of the Federal Government must be, even more than it has in the past, that of a fiduciary to help pay the cost of such housing and that of a guide and adviser in improving standards and developing methods of low-cost housing for the benefit of private as well as public housing.

I am not of that mythical school of public housing which believes that public housing is the sole and entire answer to our housing problem, nor that all the ills to which flesh is heir are automatically cured by it. Public housing at best substitutes a fresh and clean living environment where the forces of education, recreation, and religious guidance can have a chance to function and where democracy has meaning in a family's daily life.

We will need sorely all of the attributes of unity within the Federal Government, within the home building and home financing industry, including the worker, management, and the source of finance in the locality. Above all perhaps, we will need the united acceptance of simple propositions which will generate private capital to produce to the utmost on the one hand and will still provide for public subsidy to fill its appropriate share of the need.

The struggle for better housing is merely another symbol of the age-old battle for human dignity. It has all the characteristics of the struggle for minimum wages and maximum hours, of the valiant battle for the right of the man who works to bargain collectively, of the determined fight to protect women and children from indecent impositions, and of the bitter struggle to destroy and blot out the sweat shops. Not all people accept such progress graciously; not all people are prepared to give up petty prerogatives and personal special privileges to insure the happiness of the greatest number. There is nothing new or startling about any of these statements. In this convention hall they are not even the ghosts of yesterday; they are the real and solemn truths of today.

We are engaged in mortal combat to guarantee the rights of men all over the world to walk among their fellowmen as free and dignified humans. Political freedom cannot exist in a vacuum. It must be nurtured and supported by economic and social freedom. This trinity is as precious as life itself. You know that; the world must know it. No man can be truly free if he is consigned by circumstances beyond his control to the misery and filth of slum living; no man can walk with dignity whose hours are spent watching his family imbibe the "carbon monoxide" of the decrepit hovel to which they are shackled. Labor I am sure believes that. Labor must arouse itself and militantly help to bring this message home to our Nation. This, too, is an issue worthy of your steel.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The fine address delivered by Administrator Klutznick will be a splendid addition to the many educational and instructive addresses already delivered to the convention. We appreciate the visit of Administrator Klutznick and thank him for his message.

Now I want to present to you a member and officer of the International Ladies Garment Workers Organization. He was assigned by the President of the American Federation of Labor to make a trip to Italy, along with representatives from the British Trades Union Congress. He made the trip and he prepared a report. The report has been printed. It will be distributed among you following the delivery of his address just now.

I present to you, Brother Luigi Antonini of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

LUIGI ANTONINI (International Ladies Garment Workers Union)

Report on Trip to Italy

I am deeply grateful for this opportunity to express to you my appreciation for the fraternal interest taken by the American Federation of Labor in the problems and destiny of labor in Italy during these critical days of world history. The confidence expressed by President Green and the Executive Council in having designated me as a member of a joint commission—from the American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress—to visit Italy last September and to report back on facts and conditions discovered and examined, is particularly pleasing to me because Italy is the country of my birth.

Before I proceed, I desire to express my sincere gratitude to Colonel Charles Poletti, former governor of New York and now Allied military governor in Rome, and to Brigadier General William O'Dwyer, formerly district attorney of Kings County, New York, and at present member of Allied Commission in Italy for assistance and cooperation given our labor mission. Our heartfelt gratitude is likewise due to General Mark Clark, Commander of the American Fifth Army, for his unfailing courtesy and encouragement, and to General Sir Harold Alexander, Commander-in-Chief in Italy, for his gracious assistance. During our visit to the fighting fronts, especially the Gothic Line, their cooperation was of great help to our mission.

You have before you, fellow delegates, a pamphlet entitled "Italian Labor Today," issued by the national office of the American Federation of Labor, which contains also a report by myself on what I saw and learned of labor conditions in Italy. I trust that you will carefully examine the contents of that pamphlet. However, I should be thankful for your indulgence in permitting me to give you a supplementary brief and concise account of both the trade union and the political picture of present-day Italy, of the coalition Bonomi government and of the labor and social forces from which its support is derived.

While formally the coalition government consists of six political parties, there are actually only three parties which really count as political groups with a broad following: The Socialists, the Communists, and the Catholics (Christian Democrats). The Action Party, which is well known in the United States as a fourth group, has a splendid leadership; but the Action Party is a party with very little following. The tactics of the Communists differ completely from those they used prior to the advent of fascism. They stress that they are Italians first and Communists only second. They call themselves the staunchest and sincerest friends of democracy. Similar tactics are pursued by the Communists within the labor movement, that is to say, within the unified labor union organization.

As to the Catholic Party, or the Christian Democrats as they call themselves, its strength lies, of course, in the religious sentiment of the Italian people. With rare exceptions, all Italians are Christians of the Catholic faith. The Catholics prior to the advent of fascism were even strong enough to build up a powerful labor union movement. This union group claimed to have 1,500,000 members in the pre-fascist period, as compared with 2,500,000 members of the regular labor union movement.

However, there is a deep split which at present goes through the Christian Democrat Party. There is a right wing, under the leadership of Alcide de Gasperi, one of the ministers without portfolio. And there is a left wing, headed by Gronchi, Minister of Labor, and Grandi, one of the secretaries of the G. C. of L., which is inclined towards a sincere alliance with the Socialists and the other anti-fascist parties, and which is connected with them in the labor union movement.

The Socialists immediately after the liberation of the South of Italy were gravely handicapped by their lack of financial means which contrasted conspicuously with the ample means

at the disposal of the Communists. But with the liberation of Rome, the situation began to change. It turned out that the Socialists had a mass following in Rome. Their newspaper, *L'Avanti!*, has at present the tremendous circulation of 150,000 daily, and even this circulation falls short of the demand, due to shortage of paper.

After the liberation of Italy the division of the labor union movement which had prevailed in the pre-fascist period, was abandoned and the General Confederation of Labor was formed in which all three political groups are represented. The creation of the General Confederation of Labor followed the ideas of the great leader of the Italian labor movement, Bruno Buozzi, who was assassinated by the Nazis—three days after Rome was liberated by the Allies and died too early to see his work accomplished.

The coalition of the three parties in the labor union movement finds its expression in the fact that each of the three groups is represented by a secretary in the General Confederation of Labor. The institution of the three-party secretariat of the Confederation indicates clearly that the principle of independence of the union labor movement from the political parties which the Communists particularly like to stress, exists on paper rather than in reality. It is but natural that the leaders of the parties, although they will not appear on the scene of the labor union movement themselves, will attempt to make their influence felt through their lieutenants.

This interplay of political forces within Italy is, on the other hand, deeply affected by forces which act from without. Italy, after all, is dependent upon the victorious powers. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that the eyes of the entire Italian people are directed toward the United States. Here there is a country which has no imperialist aims and is not interested in depriving other countries of their colonies!

There is, of course, in the first place, the badly needed material assistance which the Italians hope to get mainly from the United States. But Italy cannot live on food alone. The assistance it expects from the America of the New Deal is the application of the Four Freedoms and of the Atlantic Charter, which have grown in the soil of the New Deal. Italy wants and needs the strict application of these two humane charters for her own salvation. The Italians feel that the only nation which can carry out the promises made in these two charters is America, and they are convinced that if America will help them and be on their side, they will be able to help themselves and to reconstruct Italy as a truly peace-loving and democratic nation, and only in a truly democratic country can there exist and prosper a truly free and democratic labor movement.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I express to Brother Antonini our thanks for the service he rendered on the trip he made to Italy as a representative of the American Federation of Labor. We appreciate very deeply

the things he has brought to our attention in the brief message he delivered to us just now, as well as in the printed pamphlet which has been distributed amongst you. Thank you, Brother Antonini.

Now we have one more speaker whom you know and who has met with us on so many occasions. She is engaged in a noble work in which we support her and which we approve—the National Women's Trade Union League. I present to you as representative of the National Women's Trade Union League, a conscientious, diligent and faithful worker in behalf of organized labor, Miss Rose Schneiderman.

MISS ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN (National Women's Trade Union League)

President Green and fellow delegates: I hope that you will be patient a few minutes. I know you had a long day and I will try not to take too long. I do want to speak to you a moment on a very important matter pertaining to the women workers of the United States. There has been pending in Congress for many years what is called the Equal Rights Amendment. For a long time we have been able to keep that amendment on ice, in the Presidential campaign just held. Republican and Democratic parties pledged themselves to report out that amendment and to have it go to the various States for ratification.

This amendment, if passed, will do untold harm to the millions of women in our country, especially in the service industries. There are 4,000,000 women in the hotel, restaurant, laundry, stores and other service industries. They will be the chief sufferers because the rest of the working classes is protected by the Fair Standards Law which has a floor under wages and a ceiling over hours.

Now the Equal Rights Amendment sounds very good, and a lot of people are being taken in by it. You ask a Senator if he believes in the Equal Rights Amendment and he will say, yes, and sometimes our labor men are taken in by this well-sounding title, but when you examine it you find some very grave things it will do. Do not forget that what is now proposed is an amendment to the United States Constitution. We had one such amendment during the last war when prohibition was put over on the citizens of the United States.

This time the Women's Party, and ultra-feminine organizations financed by the rich, leisure-class women. We have charged that it is being financed by the Manufacturers' Association. We made that charge at a hearing in Congress, and they have not denied it so we assume we are right.

"Equality of right under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex."

Now let's go to the home front—so to speak. There are a few laws here and there which are obsolete and wrong. These laws could and should be corrected. When you consider family life throughout the country, you feel, in spite of some obsolete laws, we are getting along pretty well. Men and women marry, bring up children, have families and you never hear of the effect that any of these laws have. As a matter of fact, we know these laws are out-moded and for the most part we have gone so far above them, that they no longer mean anything to us because of education and standards and because of love and fellowship and friendship which exists in the human family.

However, certain things would be done. For instance, in most of the states the wife's domicile is that of her husband. Under this amendment the woman would have the right to separate domicile and some morning you may wake up and she will say, "George, I think I should have another apartment or another house, I am your equal and demand that a separate domicile be established for me." So you would be up against it. Maybe that wife of yours would take you to court. Under this amendment, she would have the right to separate domicile. Again, women would be liable for alimony along with the man. That might be something you approve of. But when you consider the great majority of wives work along with their husbands, perhaps not in the factory, but tending to the household, bringing up children, cooking and washing and doing all of the things that are demanded of them as housewives, that woman when she gets on in years may not find it so good to be under the Equal Rights law. He would not be responsible for alimony, and in the case of children, she would be equally responsible for their upbringing with the man.

This amendment is not understood by the great majority of our people. It is conceived from the point of view of the professional woman, the rich woman who wants a separate domicile from her husband, perhaps in the State where she does not have to pay taxes. Such States do exist you know, where no State taxes are required.

Then the professional woman thinks, if this law is enacted, her promotion will become automatic; that the woman doctor will get clients which she is not able to get today, that the woman lawyer will get clients which she may have a hard time getting today.

Well, we know that is a lot of nonsense. No one will go to a woman doctor and certainly no woman will go to a woman doctor. She prefers a man doctor.

And the same is true of the woman lawyer. She will have as hard a time getting along as now, but the Women's Party has been able to sell a bill of goods to the professional woman. We know they will not get one cent more because of the law. The only way to get it is if the client for whom she works feels she deserves it.

When it comes to the women who work for wages, there a very serious thing will

happen. We now have minimum wage laws in 26 States of the Union and in the District of Columbia, Hawaii, in Alaska and Puerto Rico. We also have uniform laws in 43 States, good and not so good, but at least they set the maximum of hours of work required of a woman in a factory, store, laundry, etc.

These laws will immediately go out of the window because men are not subject to these laws. Any law that women are subject to, they would only be subject to if men were subject to the same law. It happens we have been able to get these laws through, and in the near future we may be able to get State wages and hours laws that would apply equally to men and women such as have been ok'd by the American Federation of Labor, but so far no such law has been passed in any State.

Now what will this amendment do? It will throw all these women into a competitive market, working any number of hours a day, at night, for anything, depending on their need of the job and the urgency of their getting work. You know we have all had experience when we needed a job we worked for next to nothing because it is a means of keeping body and soul together. Of course those of us belonging to trade unions will not suffer, but do not forget there are millions of women outside the trade union movement, girls 16 or even 14, working for three or four or five years, quitting, getting married, and others coming in to take their places, and they will be the chief sufferers.

When it comes to hours, we know the day is not always finished when she leaves the factory. She may have dependents and have to cook dinner and do the marketing and dishes, take care of the children, and all that goes into being a responsible member of a family.

We feel that this is not really only a woman's problem, it is our problem, it is a labor problem, because after the war is over there will be millions of women trying to get into all kinds of industry where women may not have been engaged before, and you men will find yourselves with competitors who are ready to take those jobs for half the pay you have been getting, and sometimes not even that.

Now, then, it is very important that organized labor, you Presidents of International Unions and you Presidents of State Federations of Labor and local labor bodies know about this law.

I am quite certain that with the power that labor has today, if we were to let our Congressmen and our Senators know where we stand, we can continue keeping this amendment on ice. If we don't do something very drastic, very powerful, I am afraid that the amendment may pass at the next Congress, and then it will go to the States, and there the fight will be terrific.

As far as the National Women's Trade Union League is concerned we declare to you that we will continue to fight, we will follow it into the States, and I am confident that with your help we may be able to defeat it there. But let's try to prevent it from going to States for ratification, let's try not to have to make that fight, because it means to fight in 48 States and it will be difficult, it will be costly.

In 1918 and 1919 we had the prohibition amendment put over. Of course we were able to repeal it later, but if this amendment is adopted I am afraid it will not be so easy to repeal it. And so I plead with you to be awake to this unequal rights amendment that would not give a dollar to the working woman. I know in New York State we have enacted an equal pay law which makes it mandatory on the employer to pay the same rate of pay to the woman for performing the same job as the man is performing. But most of the States have no such law, and this law will not give equal pay, it will not give them an additional dollar in their pay envelope. It will rob them of the protection they now have.

In closing I want to appeal to all of you here to help us make this fight. There are some Unions, President Green, that have been very generous to us, and I want to acknowledge their generosity in helping us financially. Then I want to appeal here to the other International Unions who so far have not done anything to help us, and ask them to please help us carry on this fight. It is getting hotter and hotter from day to day. We need your help, we need your assistance, financial and otherwise.

Thank you very much for listening.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you, Miss Schneiderman, for this interesting and informative address which you have delivered. I cannot help but believe it will have a favorable response.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair wishes to announce, before we adjourn, a conference in my room tomorrow afternoon at 2:30 o'clock. I ask that President Washburn, of the United Automobile Workers, and his colleagues meet me at that time and I also ask President Frey of the Metal Trades Department and his associates to be present at that conference in Room 1234 at the time indicated.

The others I mentioned this morning will meet me at 11:00 o'clock in Room 1234.

The Chairmen of the Committee on Organization and the Committee on State Organizations announced meetings of their committees, the former on Saturday afternoon at 2:00 o'clock and the latter at 2:00 o'clock on Monday afternoon at the Roosevelt Hotel.

Resolution Requiring Unanimous Consent

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have one resolution which requires unanimous consent.

Secretary Meany will submit the resolution.

SECRETARY MEANY: The resolution is submitted by the Distillery Workers delegation and is captioned, "Discriminatory Legislation in Distilling Industry." It has been approved for unanimous consent by the sub-committee of the Executive Council.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there objections? If not, the resolution will be received and referred to the appropriate committee.

The resolution is as follows:

Discriminatory Legislation in Distilling Industry

Resolution No. 161.—By Delegates Joseph O'Neill, Sol Ciento, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, Attempts have been and are being made to seek the enactment of State laws which will place limitations on the manufacture and sale of more than one type of Alcoholic Beverage by a Distillery or Winery, and

WHEREAS, Such proposed legislation is by its very nature a barrier against a free flow of trade within the United States of America, and discriminatory against one group or one region and will injure the distilling and wine industry, and

WHEREAS, The enactment of such legislation will result in many instances in the serious displacement of wage earners in the industry with resultant hardship to members of the Distillery, Rectifiers and Wine Workers International Union and craftsmen members of other International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor employed in the alcoholic beverage industry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its President, instruct the various affiliated State Federations of Labor to keep a vigilant watch for such discriminatory legislation and to express their vigorous opposition to such measures.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The hour of adjournment having arrived, in conformity with the rules of the convention we will stand adjourned until Monday morning at 9:30 o'clock.

The convention adjourned at 5:30 o'clock p. m. to 9:30 o'clock Monday morning, November 27th.

FIFTH DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION**New Orleans, Louisiana, November 27, 1944**

New Orleans, Louisiana,
November 27, 1944.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:50 o'clock.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair is calling upon Brother Charles B. Gramling, a delegate representing the International Union of Operating Engineers and President of the Georgia State Federation of Labor to pronounce the invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

(Delegate Charles B. Gramling,
Operating Engineers)

Most Holy and Glorious Lord God, the Giver of all good gifts and graces, it is in Thy name we have assembled and in Thy name we desire to proceed in all our undertakings. Grant that the deliberations here today may result in good to the masses of workers of America. We beseech and pray Thee, O Lord, to keep a guiding eye upon our soldiers, our sailors, our air men and our marines. Bring them to a speedy victory.

These things we ask in Thy name—Amen.

**SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT
COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS**

Delegate Green, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

In accordance with instructions received from President Harry Lundeberg of the Seafarers' International Union of North America, we recommend the substitution of Patrick McHugh in place of Morris Weisberger on the delegation of the Seafarers' International Union with 75 votes.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now calls for a report from the Committee on Legislation and presents to you the Chairman of that committee, Brother Harvey Brown, Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

**REPORT OF
COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION**

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BROWN: Mr. Chairman and delegates, your committee has had referred to it fifty-five resolutions and

twenty-two subjects. We have a complete report. Ample opportunity has been afforded those interested in these resolutions to appear in behalf of them and the secretary of the committee, Brother Leo George will now present the report.

DELEGATE LEO GEORGE, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Mr. Chairman and delegates, as Chairman Brown has stated, the committee had referred to it numerous sections of the Executive Council's report in addition to fifty-five resolutions upon which the committee renders the following report:

National Legislation

(Page 167, Executive Council's Report)

The section of the Report of the Executive Council headed "National Legislation" reviews briefly the actions of the seventy-eighth Congress in particular reference to legislation or legislative proposals in which organized labor was primarily interested.

Attention is called to the fact that during this Congress anti-labor sentiment has become more vocal and that manifestations of antagonism to labor, and particularly organized labor have been politically non-partisan.

Your committee desires to again emphasize the importance of maintaining and protecting gains already made. It wants to reiterate that the defeat of harmful or vicious legislative proposals is a victory of no less moment than the securing of new gains. As the enemies of labor become more encouraged by misrepresentations in the public press the necessity for vigilant and militant defence becomes more important.

Your Committee commends the Executive Council who, through its legislative department under the guidance of William C. Hushing, has rendered invaluable service in advancing constructive legislation as well as defeating many vicious proposals.

Legislative Representative William C. Hushing and his able assistants have been tireless in their efforts in behalf of constructive legislation, while at the same time they have been obliged to forestall attacks upon established conditions, often disguised so as to escape the notice of less wary eyes.

The Committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Taxation

(Page 167, Executive Council's Report)

Under this caption the Executive Council reports its activities in the formation and enactment of the federal tax law. The Executive Council vigorously opposed the provision in the law requiring organizations, including labor organizations, to file annually itemized statements of receipts and disbursements. A letter by President William Green was read into the Congressional Record by Majority Leader John McCormack during consideration of the bill in the House of Representatives. The opposition was continued when the bill was under consideration by the Senate but, as finally enacted, that provision was retained.

The opposition to a general sales tax was successful.

The bill was vetoed by the President and subsequently passed over his veto.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report and that the Executive Council be instructed to use every possible means to secure the repeal of the provisions in the tax law requiring labor organizations to make periodic financial reports to any Government agency.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Oleomargarine Tax

(Page 169, Executive Council's Report)

Reporting on bill to repeal the tax of ten cents per pound upon colored oleomargarine, the Executive Council points out that it is a tax borne almost exclusively by low-paid workers and others in low-income groups and recommends continued efforts to secure its repeal.

The Committee recommends adoption of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Anti-Labor Legislation

(Page 170, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption "Anti-Labor Legislation" the Executive Council lists six bills, which are in addition to sixty-one bills and resolutions reported to the 1943 Convention, all of which are aimed at restrictions of the rights of organized labor. Opposition to them has been successful in that none of them have advanced.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Report of the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Repeal of Connally Act

(Page 170, Executive Council's Report)

Headed "Repeal of Connally Act" this section of the Executive Council's Report tells of the introduction by Congressman Lesinski of a bill to repeal the Connally-Smith-May Act. The bill was referred to the House Military Affairs Committee, presided over by Representative May, who was author of some of the most drastic provisions of the Act. Naturally, he prevented any action by the Committee on the Lesinski bill.

Because of widespread publicity given to alleged statements given out by military leaders condemning labor, an effort to secure action through petition was unsuccessful.

The Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee also considered Resolution No. 83 upon this same subject. The resolution is as follows:

Repeal Smith-Connally Act

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Samuel Otto, Joseph Tuvim, Angela Bambace, David Gingold, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The Smith-Connally Act, passed in 1943 over the President's veto by an anti-labor coalition in Congress, seriously impairs collective bargaining and hampers

the free operation of the National Labor Relations Act, and

WHEREAS, This Act, ostensibly passed for the purpose of curbing work stoppages in war industries, has in practice tended to increase friction leading to dislocations in many industrial plants, to the thorough dissatisfaction of both labor and constructive elements in industry, and

WHEREAS, The rider attached to this Act forbidding financial support by trade unions of candidates for federal political office attests to the bitter anti-labor bias of the proponents of that Act, inasmuch as such a rider obviously has nothing basically to do with the purported aim of this legislation, namely, the prevention of wartime labor disputes, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this convention assembled bring its full weight and influence to bear during the forthcoming sessions of Congress for the repeal of the Smith-Connally Act before termination of hostilities as a measure offensive and oppressive towards labor and the general national interest.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Fair Employment Practices

(Page 174, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption "Fair Employment Practices," the Executive Council reports on hearings held by the House Committee on Labor on various bills to provide for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee which are to be resumed during the present session of Congress.

The Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Social Security

(Page 177, Executive Council's Report)

Reporting on the Murray-Wagner-Dingell bills, under the title "Social Security," the Executive Council relates that no progress has been made toward enactment since the 1943 Convention and there is little likelihood of action by the present Congress. Modification of the bill in conformance with the action of this and the previous convention will be effectuated and effort made to

secure affirmative action in the next Congress.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Anti-Lynching

(Page 184, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption "Anti-Lynching" the Executive Council reports that eight bills have been introduced in the House of Representatives during this Congress designed to abolish lynching throughout the nation. No action was taken in spite of the fact that a resolution was filed with the Rules Committee to make consideration of H. R. 51, by Representative Gavagan, in order.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Insurance

(Page 185, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption "Insurance," the Executive Council reports the introduction of a bill which would provide that group insurance policies could be issued only to employers, the premiums to be paid by employers or by employers and employees. Hearings were held but opposition by the American Federation of Labor prevented further action.

Report is made also upon other proposals which would exempt the business of insurance from the terms of anti-trust laws. These were opposed in the belief that the proposed exemption could be broadened to exempt insurance business from other federal laws to the detriment of members of organized labor. One of these bills (H. R. 3270) passed the House of Representatives and was reported favorably in the Senate. Assurances have been received that no further action will be taken by this Congress.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Blind

(Page 186, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption "Blind" the Executive Council reports the enactment of a law providing that "Seeing-Eye" dogs shall be furnished by the Veterans Bureau to veterans of the armed forces having need of them. This is one step in the program of the American Federation of Labor for assistance to and rehabilitation of veterans.

The Committee commends the Executive Council and recommends adoption of this section of the report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Physically Handicapped

(Page 186, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports the adoption by the House of Representatives of a Resolution authorizing a committee to investigate the problem of rehabilitation of physically-handicapped citizens of the United States, numbering approximately twenty-three million. The Committee is headed by Hon. Augustine B. Kelley, and is a subcommittee of the Committee on Labor.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the report and continued cooperation with the Committee of Congress in behalf of these unfortunate fellow citizens.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Health Conditions in Industry

(Page 187, Executive Council's Report)

On the subject "Health Conditions in Industry" the Executive Council reports on the introduction of a bill to provide for cooperation of the Federal Government with state agencies in establishing safe and healthful working conditions in industry. The bill was introduced by Hon. Mary Norton of New Jersey after consultation with President William Green, President Martin Durkin of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters, and others who assisted in its drafting. Hearings were held by the Labor Committee in June 1943 but no further action was taken by the Committee.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Special House Committee To Investigate Un-American Activities

(Page 187, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports briefly upon the work of the House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities.

The Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Extension of Price Control Act

(Page 187, Executive Council's Report)

Under the title "Extension of Price Control Act" the Executive Council reports its successful efforts to have the law extended for two years and to defeat amendments detrimental to certain groups within the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Freedom of Speech

(Page 187, Executive Council's Report)

The section of the Executive Council's Report headed, "Freedom of Speech," relates that a resolution adopted by the 1943 convention of the American Federation of Labor was submitted to the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at hearings on a bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934. The resolution provided as follows:

Amendment to Communications Act

Resolution No. 102 of the 1943 Convention

—By Delegate Richard J. Gray, Building and Construction Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In its 1942 report, the Building and Construction Trades Department pointed out in detail the vast potential possi-

bilities of post-war building trades employment in the indicated development of the television, frequency modulation and electronic industries; and

WHEREAS, The expansion of radio broadcasting, television, frequency modulation, facsimile, and allied electronic services can best be furthered through the broadest possible application of the traditional American free enterprise principle; and

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court, in its decision of May, 1943, has so interpreted the present Federal Communications Act as to empower the Commission to take practically any action it chooses with reference to radio program material and the business relationships of broadcasters, with a resulting serious threat of governmental domination of broadcasting content; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges that the Congress of the United States should, at the earliest possible date, assure the preservation of freedom of speech on the air waves by enacting changes in the present Communications Act prescribing the limits of government supervision of the radio and allied industries, and definitely safeguarding broadcasting from any actual or implied government censorship authority over program content. By such reconsideration of the Act, we believe, a secure foundation may be laid for the post-war expansion of the radio, television and other new electronic industries upon a free and constructive competitive basis.

No action was taken by the Congress.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report and reaffirmation by this Convention of its previous approval of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Prohibition

(Page 188, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption, "Prohibition," the Executive Council calls attention to the introduction in the Congress of numerous bills to provide for prohibition of the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation or exportation of beverages containing more than one-half of one per cent by volume of alcohol. Most of these proposals are in the guise of war measures, designed to "reduce absenteeism" of workers or in other ways to speed and increase production. The large number of petitions and letters placed in the Congressional Record indicates a widespread organized effort in their behalf.

The Executive Council recommends opposition to these proposals.

Your Committee recommends adoption of

the Executive Council's Report and its recommendations.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Poll Tax

(Page 189, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption, "Poll Tax," the Executive Council reports that a bill to abolish the imposition of a poll tax as a prerequisite to the right of suffrage was passed by the House of Representatives and subsequently reported favorably to the Senate by the Judiciary Committee. Because of a determined filibuster and the failure of a motion for a cloture rule (requiring a two-thirds vote) the bill was laid aside and no further action taken. None is likely in this session of Congress.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Poll Tax

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record condemning the Poll Tax as undemocratic, un-American and unjust, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans, La., November, 1944, go on record as reaffirming its opposition to the Poll Tax and supporting federal legislation for its abolition.

In connection with the Report of the Executive Council, your Committee considered resolution No. 98, which provides for reaffirmation by this convention of the action taken in numerous previous conventions in support of legislation to abolish the poll tax.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Puerto Rico

(Page 100, Executive Council's Report)

The Report of the Executive Council lists

numerous bills introduced in the 78th Congress dealing with affairs in Puerto Rico, and cites the action of the American Federation of Labor, in cooperation with the labor movement to Puerto Rico, in regard to them.

Many bills have been introduced providing for extending to the people of Puerto Rico a greater measure of self government and selection of administrative officials by popular election. One measure provides that the compensation of U. S. Government employees in the Territory of Puerto Rico shall be at a rate of twenty-five per cent higher than for similar employment in the Continental United States.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and also that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its cooperation with the Puerto Rico Federation of Labor to secure a greater measure of self government and improvements in economic conditions.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Creation of an Insular Economic Board Through an Amendment to the Organic Act of Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Nicolas Noguera Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

WHEREAS, Upon the recommendation of the President of the United States, the U. S. Senate passed a Bill granting the people of Puerto Rico the right to elect by popular vote its own Governor and providing for some other important changes in our Organic Act, and

WHEREAS, Economic and social problems of the Island need a more direct, effective and systematic plan, cooperation and execution to work for their solution, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take, through its Legislative Committee, such actions and to adopt such measures before Congress as might be necessary, so that the Bill passed by the United States Senate, to amend the Organic Act of Puerto Rico and which is now pending action before the House of Representatives be amended to provide for the creation of an Insular Economic Board composed of Representatives of Congress, and representatives of Agriculture, Industry, Commerce and Labor of Puerto Rico, together with a Representative of the Federal Administration, to carry out and develop such economic and social poli-

cies as are desirable to better the social and economic conditions of the people of Puerto Rico.

Your Committee further recommends that Resolution No. 106, introduced by Delegate Nicolas Noguera Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen be referred to the Executive Council for appropriate action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Retirement

(Page 193, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption, "Retirement", the Executive Council reports upon two bills for amendment of the Civil Service Retirement law.

A Senate bill (S. 878) by Senator William Ranger of North Dakota, which provides for a horizontal increase of fifteen per cent of all annuities for the duration of the war and for the recomputation of the annuities of former employees retired previous to January 24, 1942, was passed by the Senate but no action has been taken by the House Committee where it meets with opposition by the chairman.

A bill (S. 1371) by Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont, which, as originally introduced, provided for retirement at the option of the employee after thirty years service, was amended by the Committee to provide that such option may be exercised by either the employee or the employing agency in case of reduction in force and would be effective only at the termination of the present war and three years thereafter.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Thirty-Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, William McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, in war industries, has in practice tended to

National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law, and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation, and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years' service and provisions made for widows of deceased employees and annuitants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs, the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration made in previous conventions and instructs its Executive Council to co-operate with affiliated Government employees' organizations to secure the enactment of a thirty-year optional retirement law and a widow's annuity.

This resolution requests reaffirmation of the endorsement given in numerous previous conventions to a proposed amendment to the U. S. Civil Service Retirement law to provide that employees may retire upon annuities at their own option after thirty years' service.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Exemption of Annuities from Income Taxes

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many thousands of men and women unable to work because of age or disability, are existing on modest annuities or benefits which are fixed incomes, and

WHEREAS, These fixed incomes are in most cases insufficient to provide more than

a bare existence in normal times and are entirely insufficient to provide the necessities of life at the present cost of living, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Congress has recognized this problem in at least one instance by the exemption of pensions paid under the Railroad Retirement Act from federal income tax and legislation is now under consideration in Congress (HR 4883, May 25, 1944, Keough) to exempt all annuities to the extent of \$1,440.00 per year, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, does hereby pledge its best efforts toward the exemption of annuities up to \$1,500.00 per year from federal income taxes.

This resolution requests the support of the American Federation of Labor for legislation to provide that annuities, to the extent of \$1500 per year, shall be exempt from federal income tax.

Your Committee recommends that the resolve of the resolution be amended to read:

"Resolved that the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, November 20th to 30th, 1944, does hereby pledge its best efforts, toward the exemption of public retirement annuities paid from public funds, from federal income taxes," and that as amended, the resolution be adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Retirement

Your Committee recommends that this convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20th to 30th, 1944, reaffirms its endorsement of legislation to provide that employees of the United States Government and of the District of Columbia who serve in the armed forces of the United States during any war shall be given credit for such service in computing retirement benefits and shall not be required to make contributions or deposits to the Civil Service Retirement fund covering such period of service.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Postal Legislation

(Page 194, Executive Council's Report)

On postal legislation the Executive Council reports on eight bills dealing with postal

affairs that became laws during the 78th Congress and two major legislative objectives now pending, all of which had the full support of the American Federation of Labor. All of these measures affect the working conditions of postal employees in some manner.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report, together with an expression of sincere congratulations and commendation for its support of these measures.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GEORGE: Your committee reports jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 80 and 93, as follows:

Increased Salary for Postal Employees

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse House Bill, H. R. 4715, introduced by Congressman George D. O'Brien, which provides for an increase of salary for postal employees of \$400.00 per year; and that the same action be applied to the bill introduced by Senator Meade, Senate Bill 1882, which has for its purpose the same objective.

Salary Increase for Postal Employees

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The postal employee has not had an increase in salary since 1925, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living has increased approximately 28% and the income of the postal employee has been advanced only 14% under the provisions of the Bonus Bill, which is only a temporary measure and expires June 30, 1945, and

WHEREAS, Because of this increase in the cost of living an upward revision of salaries on a permanent basis is now fully justified, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the enactment into law of the Mead bill, S. 1382, and the O'Brien Bill, H. R. 4715, providing for a permanent salary increase of \$400 for the postal employee.

Among the bills now pending before the 78th Congress are H. R. 4715, by Representative George D. O'Brien of Michigan, and S. 1882, by Senator James M. Mead

of New York, which are identical and provide for a horizontal increase of \$400 per year to all postal employees in lieu of the present temporary increase of \$300 which expires on June 30, 1945.

Hearings on the Mead bill have been held by the Senate Post Office Committee where Mr. William Hushing presented the views of the American Federation of Labor.

The House Post Office Committee opened hearings on Tuesday, November 21st, on the O'Brien bill and other bills affecting salaries and overtime pay. This convention, on Monday, November 20th, adopted a supplemental report and recommendation of the Executive Council on this subject.

Resolutions Numbers 80 and 93 both call for the endorsement by this convention of the Mead-O'Brien bill.

Your committee recommends adoption.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GEORGE: I move adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GEORGE: In this connection I would like to say that I have received a telegram from Washington advising that in response to the telegram from President Green, nearly 200 members of Congress appeared before the committee on last Tuesday and Wednesday in behalf of the legislation.

The motion to adopt the committee's recommendation was carried by unanimous vote.

Overtime Pay for Postal Employees

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In private industry there has long existed a system of payment of time and one-half for overtime employment, in order to justly compensate employees who forego the privileges that go with a standard work day, and

WHEREAS, Postal employees are paid overtime on a 306 day annual basis and they actually work 253 days in a year, thereby creating the great injustice of providing less for overtime than regular pay, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the enactment of the Weiss Bill, H. R. 4501, embodying the principle of time and one-half on a 253 day basis.

This resolution refers to the other bill reported upon by the Executive Council as pending before the present Congress. It

requests endorsement of a bill by Representative Samuel A. Weiss of Pennsylvania which proposes that postal employees shall receive compensation for overtime at a rate of one and one-half times the hourly rate for regular service.

Your Committee recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Administrative Procedure

(Page 195, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption "Administrative Procedure," the Executive Council directs attention to a bill introduced by Representative Hatton Summers of Texas (H.R. 5081) at the request of the American Bar Association and containing provisions recommended by the Legal Department of the American Federation of Labor. Similar bills have been introduced in the House and in the Senate and all have been referred to the Committees on Judiciary of the respective Houses.

The Executive Council points out that in the past opposition has been voiced to same sections of similar proposals and suggests careful study of the present bill to the end that desirable amendments may be secured.

Your committee recommends that all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that have an interest in this legislation communicate to the Executive Council their views upon it.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

District of Columbia

(Page 195, Executive Council's Report)

On legislation affecting the District of Columbia the Executive Council reports that legislation has been secured providing for an increase in pay to firefighters, policemen, and teachers amounting to \$300 per year, effective until June 30, 1945.

Legislative proposals for granting suffrage to the residents of the District of Columbia have been introduced but no action taken by the Congress.

Bills are also pending to amend the laws governing barber shops in the District of Columbia.

Your committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Salary Increase for Government Employees

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, William McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, District 44, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Government employees have had no permanent increase in compensation in many years, and

WHEREAS, Temporary increases granted by the 78th Congress to Postal and other Government employees are inadequate to meet the increased cost of living, and

WHEREAS, Organizations of Postal and other Government employees affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are endeavoring to secure permanent upward revisions of salary; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20 to December 1, 1944, pledge its support to the affiliated organizations of Government employees in securing an equitable upward revision of salaries and wages commensurate with service rendered and instruct the Executive Council to support legislation for that purpose to the fullest possible extent.

This resolution requests the support of the American Federation of Labor to the affiliated organizations of Government employees in their efforts to secure equitable and adequate increases in their salaries and wages.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Overtime Pay for Government Employees

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, William McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoey, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, It is a well-established fact that work in excess of reasonable standard hours is more onerous, and

WHEREAS, A punitive rate of pay for overtime service amounting to at least one and one-half times the rate of pay for regular hours is the standard for employment in industry, and

WHEREAS, Payment for overtime at the rate of one and one-half times the rate for ordinary service is required of employers in private industry by federal laws, and

WHEREAS, Government employees received compensation for overtime services at a rate so computed as to render it less than the actual rate for regular service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of the affiliated organizations of Government employees to secure enactment of legislation providing for payment for overtime on the basis of actual time and one-half and pledge its support to that legislation.

This resolution requests the support of the American Federation of Labor to legislation providing for the payment for overtime service on a basis of actual time and one-half to all Government employees.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Collective Bargaining for Government Employees

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A national law has been enacted giving a labor organization which has the majority, or employees in any private industry which is engaged in interstate commerce the right to collective bargaining for all the employees in that industry, and

WHEREAS, This law does not include unions of government employees, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record instructing its national officers to prevail upon the Congress to extend the provisions of this act to government employees.

The resolution requests that this convention instruct the Executive Council to seek legislation extending the terms of the National Labor Relations Act to Government employees.

Because of the unsatisfactory results of the administration of the Act in its present scope and of the indefinite nature of the resolution, the committee recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to confer with the affiliated organizations of Government employees regarding any legislative proposal on the subject.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor-Management Committee in the Federal Civil Service

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department through Postmaster General Walker has issued an invitation to employees to contribute recommendations for the improvement of employee working conditions, and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Civil Service Commission has established a Labor-Management advisory board, and

WHEREAS, This board is merely advisory, and

WHEREAS, Federal organization cannot undertake to place in effect official recommendations, and

WHEREAS, Private industry has organized labor-management committees contributing largely to improving and increasing war production with mutual rewards for both labor and management, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of La-

bor hereby instructs its national officers to seek legislation that will create an official labor-management committee in the Federal Civil Service.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to confer with the affiliated organizations of Government employees and take such steps as seem advisable to effectuate it.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Automobile Liability Protection for Federal Employees

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are employees of the postal service operating government owned automobiles in the performance of their duties, and

WHEREAS, These employees at the present time have no protection against financial loss due to civil suits involving accidents while operating a government owned automobile, and

WHEREAS, An employer in civil employment is held responsible for the act of his agents; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse and urge the enactment of an automobile liability bill into law.

This resolution requests the support of the American Federation of Labor to legislation providing for protection of Government employees from damage claims resulting from accidents to Government-owned automobiles.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislative Program American Federation of Government Employees

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates James B. Burns, Bernice B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Government Employees has adopted the following objectives as its legislative program:

1. Computation of overtime pay at one and one-half times actual basic rate; retention of principle of overtime pay as permanent practice in Government service.

2. Base pay increase of not less than 15 per cent; minimum compensation at \$1,500 a year for all full-time employees.

3. Automatic within grade promotions of one step for employees with efficiency rating of good or better every nine months.

4. Preservation of the present Civil Service retirement system.

5. Payment at the end of each year for accrued annual leave in excess of the maximum accumulation authorized by law.

Payment to dependents of deceased employees for all accrued annual leave at date of death.

Payment to employees separated from the service for all accrued annual leave.

Restoration of leave on leave.

6. Immediate extension of the Classification Act to the field service.

7. Amendment to the Classification Act to prevent change in duties of employees or description thereof when appeals for reallocation are pending; to afford employees unrestricted opportunity so to discuss their positions with a designated representative of the Civil Service Commission as will apprise him fully of their duties and related circumstances; to guarantee prompt adjudication of all appeals.

8. Continued extension of the provisions of the Civil Service Act and Rules to cover the entire Civil Service.

9. Establishment of a board of appeals with employee representation to hear and render decisions on appeals of employees with authority to enforce its decisions so as to protect fully the rights of employees.

10. Greater participation in personnel matters by employees and employee organizations.

11. Promotion from within the service wherever practicable with seniority as the basis where other factors are equal; general recognition of seniority in all personnel transactions.

12. Improvement and standardization of efficiency rating system and provisions of adequate appropriation to accomplish this purpose. Establishment of local efficiency rating committees with employee representation throughout the field and departmental service.

13. Uniform night differential in all positions in all agencies where night shifts are required.

14. Uniform application to all Government positions of the longevity pay principle whereby an employee who has reached the top of his grade may, after a prescribed period of time, receive an additional pay increase.

15. Provide for pay and grade commensurate with duties performed for all employees with special reference to general revision upward of salary rates for

all positions under the Classification Act; elimination of emphasis on number of employees supervised in fixing grade and pay.

16. Payment of compensation on duly authorized pay days, not on later dates, expeditious payment of expense accounts, and prompt issuance of bonds.

17. Amendment of the Hatch Act to permit the Civil Service Commission to fix penalties for violations of the Act commensurate with the gravity of such violations.

18. Creation by law of a wage board for per diem employees of the Government of the District of Columbia, with adequate employee representation thereon, such board to meet at designated times at least twice a year.

19. Shorter hours, adequate compensation and improved working conditions for custodial employees, employees in the Veterans Administration facilities, Federal penal institutions and the Public Health Service.

20. Optional quarters, subsistence and laundry with provision of applying cost uniformly to all positions wherein it is customary to supply such services, and employees to be charged for only such meals as they actually receive.

21. Defraying by the Government of the cost of traveling by employees and their dependents and all other costs, including the transportation of household effects incidental to the transfer of employees from one duty station to another for the convenience of the Government; payment of transportation home for dismissed war service appointees and others released through reduction in force.

22. Providing all employees of the Government with uniforms and necessary equipment in those cases where the wearing of uniforms and use of special equipment are compulsory.

23. Compensation during required training and study courses when conducted on other than Government time.

24. Straight eight-hour shifts for all nurses working in Government hospitals; nurses' positions to be placed in Professional Service Classification.

25. Legislation making it possible for Government employees engaged in hazardous work to obtain insurance at normal rates.

26. Emergency medical attention and health education for civilian Government employees through an efficient health service.

27. Establishment of the United States Employment Service as a permanent Federal agency and the continuance of efforts to bring the salaries and working conditions of the employees of this agency on a par with other classified services.

28. Five-day, 35-hour week with no decrease in income.

29. Restoration of holidays at earliest possible date and actual time and a half pay for employees required to work on holidays.

30. Elimination of multiple taxation on Government employees' incomes by States or subdivisions thereof.

31. Optional retirement at full annuity after 30 years of service. Unqualified disability retirement regardless of age and continuance on the annuity rolls until reinstated, of persons who have recovered from disability.

Elimination of the tontine charge.

32. Full protection of the rights of all members of this Federation who are war service employees and their retention in the service after the emergency where such action does not conflict with existing law covering restoration of veterans and the provisions of the Executive Order under which employees transferred into war jobs are entitled to re-employment; such protection to include the establishment of a re-employment list for these employees upon separation in order to give them maximum opportunity for re-employment in the Government service wherever their skills may be best utilized.

33. Establishment of adequate transfer facilities offering employees opportunity to seek positions for which they are best suited and at locations where they can render the most efficient service, these facilities to be made available to war service employees in offices where separations are imminent by reason of reorganization or curtailment of activities.

34. Dismissal wage equal to half pay for six months for employees with five years of service who have been dismissed without prejudice; and proportionate dismissal pay for employees with less than five years of service.

35. Protection to the fullest degree of the rights of all members of this Federation who transferred to war jobs, with respect to return to their former positions, salary advancements to which they would have been entitled, and opportunities for promotion they would have had, to insure that employees shall in no way be penalized for patriotic endeavor; reinstatement in the most nearly comparable positions if original positions are abolished.

36. Protection against loss of pay for employees suspended and later exonerated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled at New Orleans, Louisiana, endorse aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees, that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

This resolution requests the cooperation of the Executive Council with the American Federation of Government Employees in

securing enactment of legislation endorsed by that organization and in the interest of its members.

The objectives enumerated are in accord with the established principles of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Higher Standards in Government Employment

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, William McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzi, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements, the establishment of a Civil Service Employees' Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employees representation thereon; employee representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and extension of the Civil Service system with respect to appointment and to tenure of office; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of

the shorter week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to these groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work; liberalization of the Civil Service Retirement law and establishment of the right to optional retirement after thirty years' service; application of seniority principles to all Government employees; establishment of a system of longevity pay; and kindred betterments, and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for establishments in private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organizations of Government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

This resolution requests the continued co-operation of the Executive Council with the affiliated Government employee organizations in securing legislation to effectuate various objectives. The objectives are in line with established principles of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation to Provide for Pay Increases on Longevity Service

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, William McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt,

International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, District 44, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Trade Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The principle of longevity pay is recognized and its practice well established in many industries and employments, including the military and naval establishments of the United States Government, and

WHEREAS, Government employees in top automatic salary grades have few opportunities for advancement, and a stationary salary scale in an economic world where living costs and standards are continually rising is equivalent to a steady reduction in pay; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principle of longevity pay for Government employees, and instruct the Executive Council to support the efforts of the affiliated Civil Service Employees organizations to secure its enactment.

This resolution requests the endorsement by this convention of the establishment of a system of longevity pay for Government employees.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Special Delivery Messengers

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, William McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union; Fred

Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, It is our belief that an equitable merit system for all government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, is the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to the employee, and

WHEREAS, The position of Special Delivery Messenger in the Postal service still remains unclassified; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in this, its sixty-fourth convention, does unqualifiedly endorse either legislation or administrative action, the purpose of which is to promote or effect the extension of the classified service to the position of special delivery messenger in the Post Office service.

This resolution requests the support of the American Federation of Labor to the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers in its efforts to secure for its members a classified civil service status.

Your committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, William McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William Doherty, William J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richard-

son, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the postal service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions, and

WHEREAS, Due to emergency conditions incident to the war, many temporary employees have been employed in the postal service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its sixty-fourth annual convention, assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the postal service except during bona fide emergencies, and be it further

RESOLVED, That prompt steps be taken to replace all temporary or non-certified employees with regular certified civil service employees not later than six months following the end of the present war.

This resolution requests that this convention assert its disapproval of the employment in the postal service of temporary non-certified employees except in times of actual emergency and then only for limited periods; and further, that the employment of temporary non-certified employees be discontinued not later than six months after termination of the present war.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Rural Letter Carriers

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate George F. Klinker, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

RESOLVED, That rural routes serving territory adjacent to the large cities and in heavily populated sections, be reclassified to a status equal to mounted city service with overtime pay provisions for services rendered in excess of 40 hours per week.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Rural Letter Carriers' Equipment

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate George F. Klinker, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The problem of transportation, equipment and maintenance for rural carriers is serious; no new automobiles are available and present equipment is rapidly reaching a stage beyond repair and the costs for reconditioning has become excessive and far exceeds present maintenance allowances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That rural carriers be given special priorities when replacement is possible, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the present temporary equipment allowance (Cole Bill) be increased from the provided 1 cent per mile per day to 2 cents per mile per day or that the exorbitant excessive costs be fully subsidized for the emergency period.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Hatch Act

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Freedom of speech and action is the inherent right under the Constitution of every man and woman, and

WHEREAS, The Hatch Act is in violation of the intent and purpose of the Bill of Rights by denying the Civil Service employee the privilege of participating in any activity connected with a political campaign, and

WHEREAS, It is essential that Labor play a part in the policies of and the legislation enacted by our local, state and national governments in order to insure the permanence of present benefits and to further improve the conditions of the working men and women, and

WHEREAS, The civil service employees as affiliated members in the Labor movement should be in a position to do their full share in the campaigns to secure the election of public officials friendly to their cause but under the provisions of the Hatch Act are forbidden membership or participation on any committee or group working toward that aim, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the repeal of the Hatch Act and other legislative restrictions placed on political activities on the part of Government employees.

This resolution requests that this convention go on record in favor of repeal of the Hatch Act which prohibits, among other provisions, participation by Government employees in active political campaigns.

Serious differences of opinion and conflicting views exist among the representatives of Government employees regarding the provisions of the Hatch Act. For that reason the committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to give serious consideration to amendment of the law to restore to Government employees the right to full and free exercise of participation in public elections without undue coercion from superiors or others in position to determine their tenure or welfare in their employment.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee reports jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 65, 79 and 81, as follows:

Forty-eight Hour Work Week for Firemen

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, Bert Hayman, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, The demobilization of our armed forces at the conclusion of our military victories over the totalitarian forces will necessitate the adjustment of our economic order to find gainful employment for the returning veterans, and

WHEREAS, The firefighters of these United States and Canada have been compelled to work longer hours than necessary, and

WHEREAS, If the hours of the firefighters of these United States and Canada were reduced to 48 hours a week it would provide gainful employment for many of the returning veterans; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct its officers to cause to be introduced in the Congress of the United States, in the various State Legislatures, and in the Parliament of Canada, bills to provide for the establishment of a 48-hour work week in the firefighting services.

Forty-eight Hour Week for Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Much readjustment of our economic order will be necessary to gainfully re-employ the millions of men who will be released from military service subsequent to the termination of war, and

WHEREAS, This readjustment will necessarily involve a general shortening of the weekly hours of labor, and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of fire fighters in these United States are required to be on duty for as many as 84 hours per week, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby go on record as strongly urging the establishment of a maximum 8-hour day and a 48-hour week for the fire fighters of the nation as part of the postwar re-employment program.

Forty-eight Hour Week for Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to recognize the rights of the International Unions to formulate policy for the elevation of the standard of their own members, and

WHEREAS, The International Fire Fighters Association at its recent convention at Louisville, Kentucky, by resolution, among other things, outlined for the membership of that organization a policy of striving for the forty-eight hour week for Fire Fighters; the exemption from the national social security set-up for men engaged in fire fighting; and the exemption from income tax, monies paid to Fire Fighters as Retirement Allowance, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge its support to the International Association of Fire Fighters in their efforts to secure the accomplishments of the above mentioned provisions of their national organization.

These three resolutions request the introduction of legislation in the Congress of the United States, the Parliament of Canada, and in the various state legislatures to provide for a forty-eight hour week for employees in the fire-fighting services. The three resolutions are identical, except that Resolution No. 81, contains, in addition to the forty-eight hour week, two objectives that are provided for in other actions of this convention.

Your Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 65, in lieu.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Labor Relations Board

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor

WHEREAS, The National Labor Relations Board was established by Congress to protect the right of workers to self organization; to form, join, or assist labor organizations of their own choosing for mutual aid and protection, and

WHEREAS, Present policy of the National Labor Relations Board as demonstrated in numerous certification cases and in particular its recent decision in the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company case in St. Paul wherein the National Labor Relations Board refused to place the names of three American Federation of Labor unions on the ballot even though the three unions had clearly shown that they represented a majority of the employees coming under their jurisdiction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor protest such actions of the National Labor Relations Board which constitutes a threat of the right of workers to organizing into craft unions under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take such action as is necessary to safeguard the rights of affiliated organizations.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Fair Labor Standards Act

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The large majority of American workers are today sought to be protected by federal legislation with respect to maximum straight time work week, and

WHEREAS, That form of protection is to be found in the Fair Labor Standards Act, which came into effect on October 24, 1938, and

WHEREAS, Upon examination it will be found that the same legislation creates various exceptions detrimental to the best interests of a substantial number of workers who properly should be protected to the fullest extent of the law, and

WHEREAS, The said workers are those that are employed in the packing and canning of perishable food products, and

WHEREAS, The said perishable food canning and packing industry is favored under said law, in that it is not required to pay any overtime for a period of 14 work weeks in any year, and is only required to pay overtime after fifty-six hours during any additional fourteen work weeks in said year, and

WHEREAS, Such legislation tends to discriminate and place at a disadvantage the workers in said perishable food, canning and packing industry, and

WHEREAS, The best interests of the workers in the said industry can best be served by the elimination of such exemptions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby goes on record in the support of the elimination from the Fair Labor Standards Act by appropriate federal legislation of all exemptions that the said act now allows the canning industry which have adversely affected the workers in said industry, a large number of whom are members of organized labor.

This resolution asks that amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act be sought to eliminate exemptions that are detrimental to the workers.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to take steps to effectuate the purpose of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Prevailing Wages

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate E. A. Carter, West Virginia State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has been for the past several years loans from the Government financed under the F. H. A. Act to persons and real estate firms for building of homes and business property, and

WHEREAS, This money is in a large measure supplied directly or indirectly by members of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, It is hardly possible for an A. F. of L. craftsman to get work on these houses because of non-union contractors and real estate firms building with non-union labor at a rate of pay below the prevailing standard of wages, and

WHEREAS, The above mentioned system tends to lower and keep down the living standards all over the country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor through its Executive Council endeavor to have passed by the next Congress of the United States an amendment to the F. H. A. act causing the prevailing wage to be specified in all cases where the Government insures money for the purpose of constructing or repairing by individuals, real estate firms or contractors.

The committee recommends concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Tax Credits On Bond Purchases

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present federal tax structure provides for a withholding tax of 20% of the gross income of wage workers, and

WHEREAS, Other taxpayers, including industry, are asked to pay their taxes only on a net income basis, and

WHEREAS, the 20% withholding tax has seriously cut in to the wages of many thousands of American working people, who have been unable to get any relief from the mounting increased cost of living, and

WHEREAS, It is now evident that the employers and businessmen of America contemplate further reducing the tax burden on business, and keeping the burden on the pay envelopes of the wage worker, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor ask the United States Congress to revise the tax laws and provide that the wage worker subjected to the 20% withholding tax be given credit on defense bond purchases to the extent of 50% of the withholding tax, as this is the only way that many of them now have of providing savings for their future security.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GEORGE: Your committee reports jointly upon resolutions Nos. 91 and 97 as follows:

Compensation for Silicosis and Dust Diseases

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Lawrence Foley, Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

WHEREAS, The members of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America have been and are engaged in an occupation which brings them in contact with silica dust, subjecting the membership to silicosis and other dust diseases, and

WHEREAS, Workmen's Compensation Laws in several States have provided liberal benefits for disabilities due to silicosis and other dust diseases and for death resulting from these same diseases, and

WHEREAS, The other States of these United States have little or no provisions in their Workmen's Compensation Laws to compensate for silicosis or dust diseases, and

WHEREAS, The lack of uniform benefits under the Workmen's Compensation Laws of the various States present an opportunity for employers to shift their work to those states not having compensation benefits, thereby subjecting the members of the trade to disabilities arising from silicosis and dust diseases without compensation benefits, consequently involving the disabled

worker in the payment of large medical bills, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use all available facilities at their command to bring about uniform silicosis and dust disease laws in the various states of the United States; that legislation be drafted and fostered in the various states for the purpose of creating a balanced relationship in connection with employment and Workmen's Compensation benefits in the trades subject to the hazards of dust diseases.

Compensation for Silicosis and Dust Diseases

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Thomas E. Wilkinson, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the State of Massachusetts, members of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America have been and are engaged in an occupation which brings them in contact with silica dust, subjecting the membership to silicosis and other dust diseases, and

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts Workmen's Compensation Law provides liberal benefits for disabilities due to silicosis and other dust diseases, and for death resulting from those same diseases, and

WHEREAS, Most of the states of these United States have little or no provision for workmen's compensation for silicosis or dust diseases, and

WHEREAS, The lack of uniform benefits under the Workmen's Compensation Laws of the various states presents an opportunity for employers to shift their work to those states not having compensation benefits, thereby subjecting the members of the stone and foundry trades to disabilities arising from silicosis and dust diseases without compensation benefits, consequently involving the disabled worker in the payment of large medical bills, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use all available facilities at its command to bring about uniform silicosis and dust disease laws in the various states for the purpose of creating a balanced relationship in connection with employment and workmen's compensation benefits in the trades subject to the hazards of dust diseases.

Resolutions 91 and 97 are identical and request the American Federation to use all available facilities to have enacted in the various states uniform laws for the prevention of silicosis and dust diseases and for payment of compensation to workers suffering from such diseases in amounts equal at least to the present maximum.

Your committee recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Executive

Council with instructions to confer with State Federations of Labor for the purpose of drafting a model compensation law to be introduced in each state legislature.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Uniform Workmen's Compensation Laws

Resolution No. 96—By James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The workmen's compensation laws in the several states are not uniform and vary in the amounts of weekly benefits paid and total amounts paid for injuries and death, and

WHEREAS, Montana is one of the few states where the total compensations paid for injuries and death, are high, running from \$8,400 for deaths, up to \$10,500, for total permanent disability, and running up to 500 weeks for total permanent disabilities, and

WHEREAS, Labor in Montana is continually confronted with attempts to amend the compensation law by lowering its standards to meet the standards of the neighboring states, and

WHEREAS, Such attempts, if successful, are detrimental to the welfare of labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to circularize the several states urging them to amend their workmen's compensation laws so they be uniform and standardized upwards, looking towards the benefit of the workers.

This resolution calls upon the Executive Council to take steps to bring about uniform compensation laws in the various states with benefits equal at least to the present maximum.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for appropriate action, and it is also recommended that consideration be given to securing the enactment of a federal Workmen's Compensation law.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GEORGE: I move the adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE GRAHAM, Montana State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, there is a great variation in the different State laws on workmen's compensation, and instead of the law being amended upwards for the benefit of the injured workers in many

States it is being amended downwards to the detriment of the injured workers. With the shorter work day coming on the employers and the insurance companies have made efforts to have the law amended to reduce the time that the compensation is based on to lower it to the shorter work day. In most States the law provides that the basis of compensation to injured workmen be based on the weekly wage of six days. Overtime and the seventh day are not included in computing the basis of compensation.

When they get down to the five-day week and the thirty-hour week, the insurers have made efforts to get the computing time down to the forty-hour week. When the wages are high this does not affect them, but when the workers are receiving low wages, the low paid men receive a deduction in compensation. During the depression when the workers were working week about in the industry when the crowd would work one week and lay off the next week while the others worked, the employers would try to pay compensation on the time the individuals were working. They went into the Legislature of Montana with a bill providing that a man receiving compensation for injuries would only receive compensation according to the time he worked, and if he worked two weeks a month he would receive only two weeks' compensation instead of four weeks. We succeeded in defeating the measure, and we showed that regardless of the time that a man worked, the fewer hours a man worked the less was his risk to the insurer. We cited cases where men worked seven days a week and where they worked long hours overtime and showed that accidents were greater, but where the men only worked a five-day week there were very few accidents. We succeeded in having the law defeated, and the compensation lawyers and the manager came to me a year afterwards and told me I was right, and they would never go into the courts or the Legislature on that subject again.

However, recently they paid men off on the five-day week basis, and this meant a reduction in compensation. One miner, a member of the CIO, went into court to collect the full amount. He was supported by his Union. He lost the decision in the local courts and it was appealed to the Supreme Court. The Montana State Federation of Labor entered into the fight also without consulting the CIO. We had a lawyer engaged and put him into the Supreme Court

as a friend of the court. We told him to make the arguments before the court. We submitted a better brief than the CIO counsel, although our counsel was working with the CIO counsel in court. We got a decision in our favor. It was a weak decision—3 to 2—and it is our belief that if we had not gone into court the man would have lost the decision. We went in because if the decision had gone against the CIO worker we would have suffered more than the CIO, because we had a greater membership in the State.

What I want to get at, Mr. President, is that in a number of States the Unions in those States have allowed the law to be amended to go down to the lower basis. If we go down to three days a week compensation will be cut also. With the higher cost of living compensation should be higher, not lower.

We find that the insurance companies are vicious on this line. We have also a case before us just now of an ex-service man who was discharged from the Army on account of the injuries received while in the service. He got his job and his employer was insured under private insurance. The insurance company notified the employer that they would have to discharge this veteran from their employment as he was injured and he was too great a risk. When the war is over and the injured veterans come home and want jobs, the insurance companies and the employers will be out to keep them out of a job because they consider them too great a risk, because they have partially defective eyesight or they have received slight injuries that make them not strong enough for the job.

These are the problems we want to be considered, and we believe the only way to do it is to have the Executive Council try to get the State Federations of all States together and work out a uniform program.

We find in our State that the percentage of total disability is as high as it is anywhere in the country. And the cost of compensation there is rising exceedingly high. We have the structural steel workers, and in some instances the premium is 19 per cent. That is, where the structural steel worker receives \$100.00 a week the employer must pay \$19.00 premium to insure him under the Workmen's Compensation Act. We even have cases now where in the building of homes for the workers the compensation premium has raised so high that it is equal to

12 1/2 per cent of the cost of the building. That is \$125.00 for every thousand dollars put into a working man's home.

This is something we have to work against, and we hope the motion carries and that the Executive Council will give good consideration to it and take action to remedy the evil.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GEORGE:
Your Committee reports jointly on Resolutions 102 and 105, as follows:

Mustering Out Pay

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor throughout Illinois and all over the United States have members serving in the Armed Forces of our country which make up a high percentage of the grand total serving our nation, and

WHEREAS, Many of these members have been in the Service now going on their fourth year thereby making extreme sacrifices not only on all the battle fronts of the globe, but in the separation from their loved ones at home and in most instances receiving compensation which is considerably less than received in private occupations, and

WHEREAS, Our people are fully cognizant of the great job all branches of the service are doing and who by their efforts, victory over the totalitarian oppressors is daily getting closer to the time when it will be finally achieved, and

WHEREAS, We believe the mustering out pay which, when finally agreed upon by Congress, was not commensurate with the sacrifices made, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention in New Orleans assembled enlist aid to amend the law Congress enacted so the men serving outside the continental United States or in Alaska receive \$600 instead of the \$300 authorized in equal payments of \$100 upon discharge and each month thereafter \$100 till total is received and that persons serving within the continental United States should receive \$400 instead of the \$200 authorized in the same equal payments till total is received.

Kilgore Bill

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is our belief that in the aftermath of this war neither the soldier or

the war worker should suffer and that adequate Federal Unemployment Insurance for both be provided, and that war plants owned by the Government be sold to only those who guarantee to operate them, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we wholeheartedly endorse the Kilgore bill in the Senate and its equivalent the Callers bill in the House and that we hereby petition our Congressmen to support these bills.

Resolutions Nos. 102 and 105 both deal with the reconversion and post-war objectives and program.

Your committee recommends that both resolutions be referred to the American Federation of Labor Post-War Committee for consideration and action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Citizenship for Filipinos

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Chicago Post Office Clerks' Union has many members of Filipino nationality, and

WHEREAS, The Filipino Post Office employees have many years of service and their livelihood is dependent upon their continued employment as Civil Service employees, and

WHEREAS, Filipino Post Office Employees have assisted in the growth of labor unions in Government Industry, and

WHEREAS, Filipinos are denied the privilege of American citizenship and their future status as government employees is endangered, notwithstanding the fact that many of them have more than 25 years of service, and

WHEREAS, Many legislators have introduced and supported legislation for Filipino citizenship, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in New Orleans go on record as favoring the enactment into law of H. R. 4826 providing citizenship for Filipinos.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Voorhis Bill H. R. 118

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Article 1, Sec. 8 of the Constitution of the United States provides that "Congress shall have power to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin," and

WHEREAS, Congress has substantially failed to exercise this power and has permitted the power to create the medium of exchange of the Nation to fall into private hands, thus bringing about at present a situation where the Nation, in order to supply its own credit for purposes of national defense or the accommodation of increased production, is compelled to issue interest-bearing bonds and transfer ownership of such bonds to private banks in exchange for newly created credits upon their books, and

WHEREAS, There has developed in the method of conducting commercial banks in the United States the custom of lending the private credit of such institutions under the guise of lending money, and

WHEREAS, Such credit, transferable from one depositor to another by the check or order of the depositor or any other person in his behalf is now generally accepted in payment of debts, thus in effect providing an uncontrolled and privately created circulating medium of exchange which performs the functions of money in disregard of Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The uncontrolled alternate expansion and contraction of this synthetic medium of exchange induces recurrent periods of uncontrolled and disorganizing inflation followed by disastrous periods of equally uncontrolled deflation, bankruptcy, and distress, and

WHEREAS, It has become necessary to the safety and welfare of the nation that inflation and deflation alike be prevented and that a stable buying power be maintained in the dollar, and

WHEREAS, These aims and purposes can only be accomplished if Congress acts to end the existing dependence of the United States upon a privately created and destroyed bank credit medium of exchange, and to substitute therefore a dependable medium of exchange not based upon debt, but put into circulation without increase in the public debt in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor records itself in favor of the Voorhis Bill H. R. 118.

The committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GEORGE: Your committee reports jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 75 and 76, as follows:

Yellow Dog Contracts

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate John

Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington D. C.

WHEREAS, The Federal Works Administration under the Lanham Act has the authority to grant public funds for works conducted to meet an emergency and to promote the public interest, and

WHEREAS, These funds under the present law may be granted to any agency regardless of the fact that the agency employs workers under a "Yellow Dog" contract; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take the necessary steps to prevent the use of funds of the Federal Works Administration to be paid to any agency which employs workers on a "Yellow Dog" contract or any project which is financed by Federal Works Funds.

Yellow Dog Contracts

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Certain funds such as are now available under the Lanham Act for the maintenance of schools and other activities, and

WHEREAS, These funds are being used in some states and communities to enforce the Yellow Dog contract against teachers, and

WHEREAS, There is danger that tomorrow such funds may be used to enforce the Yellow Dog contract on all the vast post-war federal, state and local public works programs, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20, 1944, go on record as actively supporting legislation which would prohibit the use of federal funds by any public or private agency for the payment of wages or salaries to workers employed by such agencies on any public works program under a so-called Yellow Dog contract agreement.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 76 in lieu of other resolutions on this subject.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Twenty-five Year Optional Retirement for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun, and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undermined, and

WHEREAS, Congress during the 74th Session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be most undesirable in all military tropical service, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of 62, and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Act but have a special retirement law approved March 1, 1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code June 19, 1934, and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, 25 years of service, and with full credit for such service, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to present legislation which will provide for an earlier retirement age with full annuity for years of service for the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Replacement of Aliens by American Citizens After the War

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, In Panama Canal, Panama Railroad, and allied positions on the Isthmus of Panama there are thousands of aliens holding positions in both "gold and silver" categories (United States citizens and aliens) in skilled, semi-skilled, and office work, and

WHEREAS, After the war emergency is over a reduction of force will be due, and

WHEREAS, A similar reduction in force will take place about the same time in Government institutions in the United States, and

WHEREAS, There would be no object in sending personnel back to the United States from the Canal Zone to swell the unemployment lists in the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to secure enactment of legislation which will give United States citizens preference in all skilled, semi-skilled, and office positions on the Isthmus of Panama when the war emergency is over.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Ex-Servicemen's Rates in Government Hospitals Applied to Employees and Retired Employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad and Their Dependents

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Employees of The Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company become ill from time to time while on vacation in the United States, as is also true of dependent members of their families, and have been required to go to the expense of entering private hospitals for treatment, and

WHEREAS, Retired employees are receiving a pension sufficient to pay for nothing except living expenses but have had to meet large hospital bills, and

WHEREAS, All personnel of the military and naval services in the United States have the privilege of enjoying hospitalization in the United States Government hospitals at greatly reduced rates, and

WHEREAS, Employees of The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company are engaged in service similar to that of the military and naval forces of the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to secure proper legislation which will give employees and retired employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company and their dependents the same rates in Government hospitals in the United States as are enjoyed by military and naval personnel.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Free Hospitalization for Civilian Government Workers on the Isthmus of Panama

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Military personnel are provided with free hospitalization during the war, and

WHEREAS, Many civilian employees of the Government on the Isthmus of Panama are doing work considered as vital and necessary to the war effort in their Government positions, and

WHEREAS, Many of these employees, because of arduous duties, long hours of overtime, unusual working hours, and the effects of the tropical climate, are suffering from maladies not directly traceable to their occupations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, give consideration to legislation which will make it possible for all Government employees considered as engaged on war or defense work to obtain free hospitalization in Government hospitals.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Injury and Death Compensation for Government Employees

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Injury and death compensation in Government service is based on average earnings of Government employees, and

WHEREAS, The Compensation Act was amended February 12, 1927, increasing the monthly compensation for total disability from \$66.66 to \$116.66, and

WHEREAS, Organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad believe that compensation for injury and death should follow the general trend of increases, both in wages and cost of living; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to secure the enactment of legislation which will follow out the purpose of this resolution.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Panama Canal Employees Substituting in Supervisory Positions Should Receive Standard Wage Rates

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government navy yards, arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions, and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken, and

WHEREAS, In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislative Representatives of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, The present National Administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and is fostering the principle of selective representation, and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location, a long way from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes, and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Canal Zone Cen-

tral Labor Union, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure, and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912 specifically gives the Federal employees the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representative without reduction in compensation or position; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War, to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave, or quarters status.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Pay While On Leave for Canal Employees

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Panama Canal regulations provide that hourly employees on leave may receive only six days pay for every seven days of leave, and

WHEREAS, Each day per week is paid for at the regular day's earnings, except Saturday, which is considered a "G" or non-work day, and

WHEREAS, Hourly employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are being penalized to the extent of one day of leave for every seven taken, and

WHEREAS, Attempts to correct the situation through decisions from the Comptroller General have failed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do everything in their power to assist the Canal Zone Central Labor Union to obtain by legal means payment for every day of leave taken by hourly employees, or authority for granting the additional day without charge against leave credit.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Holiday Occurring Within a Work Week

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, Timekeeping regulations on the Panama Canal provide that when an

hourly employee is prevented from working on a holiday occurring during the regular five day work week from Monday to Friday, and then works on Saturday, he receives overtime pay for the Saturday worked at the rate of time and one-half, and

WHEREAS, When the same employee works on a holiday occurring during a regular work week, he is paid at straight time for that holiday, but when required to work the Saturday at the end of the same work week he is also paid only at straight time, and

WHEREAS, The hourly employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad desire that regulations be adopted which will include holidays in the 40-hour work week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to render all possible assistance to provide that a holiday worked within a regular work week be considered as an nine-hour period in the regular 40-hour week.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Restoration Panama Railroad Ships

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal through the Panama Railroad has operated a government-owned steamship line since the beginning of the construction period, and

WHEREAS, It was found necessary to construct three new ships to replace those worn out in service, and

WHEREAS, These ships—modern, high speed, and the first completely fire-proof ships ever constructed—were delivered in 1939, and

WHEREAS, These ships after December 7, 1941, were immediately turned over to the military services and constituted one of the finest single contributions to the war effort at a critical time, and

WHEREAS, There have been periodic attempts by private steamship companies to dissolve this steamship line and divide the Panama Canal freight and passenger business between them, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to have legislation enacted, if necessary, so that the three vessels may be returned to the Panama Railroad Company as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities to enter again their former role as carriers of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad freight and passengers, and that said vessels be returned in a condition equal to

that at the time of their being taken by the armed services as transports and that the cost of restoring them to their former fitness be borne by the Government of the United States.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Extension of Existing Forty-Hour Week Law

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, The present 40-hour week law is only temporary, with a provision that it continue in effect only until June 30, 1945, and

WHEREAS, a similar act, known as Section 23 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act 1935 (Thomas 40-Hour Week Amendment), afforded great relief of unemployment in certain classes of positions during the depression, and

WHEREAS, Similar unemployment conditions can be expected on the cessation of the present war, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, take steps to insure a continuation of the shorter work week, not to exceed forty hours, for all Government employees on the Isthmus of Panama who are citizens of the United States.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Compensation for Death or Injury in Line of Duty for Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate Kenneth W. Baer, Canal Zone Central Labor Union, Panama.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States vetoed H. R. 1712 (A Bill to provide relief of families of two Government employees killed in line of duty because of the war effort), and

WHEREAS, The President in his veto message stated, "If it should be the feeling of Congress that additional benefits beyond those provided by the present Employees Compensation Act should be made available to civilian employees of the Federal Government who are engaged in the performance of unusually hazardous duties, it would appear that these benefits should be provided by way of general legislation which

would accord uniform treatment in this respect to all civilian employees," and

WHEREAS, It is to be expected that during the 79th session of Congress some legislation will be considered providing for the relief of families of Government employees killed under unusually hazardous conditions in line of duty due to the war effort, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to take the necessary steps so that such legislation as may be enacted covers the families of Government employees on the Isthmus of Panama.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Compensation for Dislocated Workers

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Millions of American workmen employed in war-time industry were compelled to leave their homes, and

WHEREAS, With the end of war-time contracts these same workers must return to the communities from which they came, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That to prevent workers from suffering losses due to unemployment and transportation to their home, they should not under any circumstances become public charges but should be compensated in a reasonable amount until they have been relocated and an opportunity given to them to resume their peace-time vocation.

The committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the American Federation of Labor's Post-War Committee for inclusion with other objectives in dealing with the post-war program.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Provide U. S. Civil Service Commission Authority to Up-grade Salaries to Correspond with Private Industry

Resolution No. 141—By Delegate Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has long prided itself on the fact that it has seriously undertaken to recognize the value of the American workman and see to it that he receives a compensation adequate to his needs and for the task at which he labors, and

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Commission is now authorized by the Classification Act of 1923 to subdivide grades by classes according to kind of work, but is not authorized to subdivide grade salary ranges, when necessary, to correspond to subdivision by classes, and

WHEREAS, Good administration would make it desirable that an entrance rate be established for a particular class that is equal to one of the intermediate rate of the grade, also, it would be desirable to fix a minimum for a given class below the maximum rate for the grade in which that class is allocated, and

WHEREAS, Senate Bill S. 2060 has been introduced, referred to the Senate Committee on Civil Service and been endorsed by the Civil Service Commission and Bureau of the Budget, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, does endorse Senate Bill S. 2060 and instruct their legislative committee to work for its enactment into a law.

The committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MINIMUM WAGE PRICES FOR FISHERMEN

Resolution No. 153—By Delegates Harry Lundeborg, John Hawk, Morris Weisberger, James Waugh, Seafarers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Fishermen of New England and New York work on a profit-sharing system whereby their wages depend on and are determined by the fluctuating prices and sales proceeds of their catch as fixed by a Vessel-Operator-Fish Dealer Combine, and

WHEREAS, The Vessel-Operator-Fish Dealer Combine, by their control of prices at ports of fish landings, have for a time almost immemorially depressed fishermen's wages to achieve low labor costs, and

WHEREAS, The present price ceiling structure as promulgated by the Office of Price Administration in July, 1943, represents a 36% cut in fishermen's wages in comparison with wages prevailing prior to such price regulation, and

WHEREAS, The Vessel-Operator-Fish Dealer Combine have recently undertaken a campaign to pressure the O.P.A., to remove Fresh Fish Unions, and wages to the Fishermen may be further

depressed—and all this without seeking parallel price adjustment of food, ice, fuel oil and other costs of fishing vessel operation which the fishermen now pay, and

WHEREAS, Congress, in the Price Control legislation, has declared its purpose to protect wage earners against "undue impairment of their Standard of Living" by stabilization of both prices and wages, even to the point of preventing "a post emergency collapse of value," and

WHEREAS, In implementation of such purpose, Congress in the 1944 Act continuing Price Control has further declared that price regulation of fresh fish must conform to a minimum standard, to wit, the "average 1942 prices," and

WHEREAS, Canada, to uphold present fishermen's wages, made an initial appropriation of \$25,000,000.00 and this by way of a support price mechanism, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and now is forthwith empowered and instructed to undertake all necessary and appropriate measures, Legislative, Administrative, and otherwise—

1. To assure the North Atlantic Fishermen minimum wage-prices on a parity with present price ceilings,
2. To prevent removal or suspension of price control over the North Atlantic Fishing Industry, unless any such relaxation of control is coupled (a) with assurance of minimum wages and prices to fishermen comparable to the 1944 Price Control Act standard as now in part embodied in the Fresh Fish Price Regulation (M.P.R. 418), and (b) appropriate price reductions to the consumer,
3. To extend to the fishermen, the benefits of "support prices" as now enjoyed by producers of agricultural commodities under the provisions of the Commodity Credit Corporation Act and related Federal Laws and Executive Orders.

The committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Equal Rights to Merchant Marine

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates Lloyd A. Thrush, John Marchiando, Progressive Mine Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has adopted legislation for the post-war benefit of our millions of service men in all branches of the armed services, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor hereby heartily endorses such legislation as rightfully due to the men and women who daily risk their lives for the protection of America, and

WHEREAS, We voice our thanks to these service men and to the fortunate turn of fate which has prevented war from touching our shores with its devastating effects, and

WHEREAS, We are as deeply grateful for the existence of our Merchant Marine, without which it would have been impossible to deliver our American made munitions, planes, tanks, foods, clothing, medicines and other material of war to the far-flung battle fronts and into the hands of our millions of American and Allied soldiers, and

WHEREAS, We feel an equally deep debt of gratitude to the thousands upon thousands of men who have risked their lives in the Merchant Marine in their battle to deliver the goods to our service men in quantity and on time, wherever they might be; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge upon the Congress of the United States of America that any and all rights accorded to the men and women in the armed services of the United States be extended with equal American justice and generosity to the men in the Merchant Marine for their valiant conduct throughout the war, in the face of serious submarine warfare waged by the enemy for many months and for the Merchant Marine's subsequent heroism under fire, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all present legislation be amended so that equal rights shall be provided for all members of the Merchant Marine on the same basis as that accorded to all members of the armed services, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the future all legislation include rights and benefits, in equal share, for all members of the said Merchant Marine.

This resolution requests support by the American Federation of Labor of legislation to provide that men in the Merchant Marine service shall be granted benefits equivalent to those provided for those in the armed services for service during the present war.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to confer with the Maritime Unions in reference to it.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GEORGE: That completes the report of the Committee on Legislation, which is a unanimous report, and is signed by:

Harvey W. Brown, Chairman; Leo E. George, Secretary; Emanuel Koveleski, B. M. Jewell, Foster J. Pratt, James M. Duffy, Edward Carlough, Michael B. Gallagher, James B. Burns, Joseph F. Landis, L. V. McGulgan, Marx Lewis, Christian Madsen, Gustave Knuese, Lee Kistler, Roy W. Singer, Lawrence Litman, Frank X. Martel, Holt Ross, C. M. Harvey, David L. Behncke, William G. Shord, Harley F. Nickerson, H. Z. Collier.

Committee on Legislation.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GEORGE: I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Legislation as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair expresses to the committee the thanks of the convention for the services rendered.

The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on the Executive Council's report and presents to you Vice President Bates, Chairman of that committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BATES: The report of the committee on Executive Council will be made by the secretary of the committee, Miss Selma Borchardt.

Delegate Selma Borchardt, secretary of the committee submitted the following report:

New International Unions Chartered

(Page 119, Executive Council's Report)

We note with pleasure that two new international charters have been granted by the Executive Council—one to the International Chemical Workers Union and the other to the Office Employees International Union.

The jurisdiction of both new internationals was clearly defined, both in relation to the existing A. F. of L. unions, already functioning, whose rights would be fully safeguarded, and in relation to fields in which these new unions would be developed later.

The chartering of the Chemical Workers marks a step in our activity in a new field of industrial development. Synthetic products and new processes growing from their use will be rapidly developed in the post-war period. We recognize that the unions serving these workers will, among its many, many tasks, utilize the findings from research in the field of new hazards to workers' safety which are inherent in this new work. The Federation is eager to assist the new International in this work.

The granting of the charter to the Office Workers, too, is particularly significant. The organization of these men and women affords an opportunity to serve one of the

most exploited groups of white collar workers. The entire field of labor relations between employer and a small number of employees may well be developed by this new union.

The Federation is happy to record our growing strength among these workers, and we shall do what we can to assist them.

We recommend the adoption of this section of the Report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organization of Women Workers

The subject of "New International chartered" which was assigned to this committee affords us the opportunity of pointing to the need of organizing the millions of women at present employed. Eighteen and a half million women are at present employed. Their membership and active participation in the bona fide trade unions of their respective crafts is essential to their well being, and to the general welfare of the nation.

Through trade union agreements and through legislation obtained through trade union activity, their physical, social and economic well-being must be fully protected.

Your committee recommends that special attention be given to the organization of women and further that they be aided in every possible way in obtaining and maintaining agreements and legislation assuring them of equal pay for equal work, and in every way affording them protection of their physical, social and economic well being.

We recommend the adoption of this section of the report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Reaffiliation of the International Typographical Union

(Page 124, Executive Council's Report)

Your Committee notes with great pleasure that the International Typographical Union has reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

This union, one of the oldest and strongest unions in this country has contributed

richly to trade union development in this country. It has, in turn, been aided and supported by the other trade unions. It belongs within our close family circle! We welcome them back and join with the Executive Council in expressing the hope that nothing shall ever occur again which will in any way mar the friendly and mutually helpful relationship now established between the American Federation of Labor and the International Typographical Union.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Change of Title, Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers

(Page 125, Executive Council's Report)

Following the Act of Congress changing the name of this group of workers from Railway Mail Laborers to Railway Mail Handlers, the organization petitioned the Executive Council for a change in title. The request was granted, calling the organization the National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers.

Your Committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Fraternal Delegates

(Page 278, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reported the selection of Brother Hugo Ernst, Secretary-Treasurer of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, and Brother Holt Ross of the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union to attend the British Trades Union Congress in Blackpool, England, on October 16 and Brother Anthony Valente, President of the United Textile Workers of America, to attend the Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada in Toronto, Canada on October 23.

These delegates have now reported to this Convention and we recommend an expression of thanks to them for having conveyed for us to our British fellow trade unionists our wishes to work ever more closely with them

for the betterment of the free trade union movement among all truly free men the world over.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The Metal Trades Department

(Page 281, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports on the increase in membership of the Unions in the **Metal Trades Department** and on the effective work which this Department has done in negotiating contracts and in effecting adjustments in employment.

Your Committee recommends that the Department be highly commended for its effective work, for the millions of members it serves.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Benefit Services of Standard National and International Unions For 1943

(Page 126, Executive Council's Report)

During the last year the international and national trade unions of this country paid close to twenty million dollars in benefits to the membership. In addition many millions more are paid out by local unions. This is highly significant not only in large financial sums involved but far more in indicating the determination of our movement to meet emergency demands of our membership. These benefits supplement social insurance to which American workers are entitled under our law and in this way exemplify a principle which to us is fundamental. Governmental aid should supplement, but never supplant our own initiative and our own efforts.

We commend the unions for this service and hold it as rich evidence of the strength and virility of our movement.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

War Bond Campaign

(Page 255, Executive Council's Report)

The report of the Executive Council setting forth the magnificent participation of

our members in the War Bond Campaign is highly gratifying. From our limited and incomplete returns we see that our members have invested well over a billion dollars in war bonds. In addition to these purchases made by individual members, local and state bodies and all of the national and international organizations have purchased millions of dollars of bonds.

In cooperation with the Labor Section of the War Finance Division of the Treasury Dept., bond selling rallies have been conducted by unions in all parts of the country. Our members have set up the machinery for sales within their own organizations and have then sold the bonds. Our unions have also set up machinery for pay roll deductions and have obtained signed authorizations from our members for pay roll deductions.

Your committee commends the report of the Executive Council on this subject and would recommend that the American Federation of Labor urge all nationals and internationals as well as city central bodies to seek to establish some sort of machinery through which to record the bond purchases made by our membership, so that we may see how far above the billion dollar mark we shall now go.

We further recommend that all A. F. of L. publications be asked to carry an appeal to our members urging them to retain the bonds which they have purchased, pointing out that in so doing they render a double service to our nation and to ourselves.

In conclusion your committee recommends that we renew our firm stand in opposition to compulsory savings.

The result of the voluntary plan of the Treasury Dept. demonstrates that a compulsory savings plan is not only unnecessary but actually harmful and would result in a reduction of purchases of War Bonds, while our present method has proved highly successful.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Railway Employees' Department

(Page 288, Executive Council's Report)

The Report of the Executive Council sets forth fully the magnificent story of the works of the nation's railway employees to

the war effort and to the maintenance of our domestic economy.

The settlement of the nation-wide wage dispute which taxed the patience of our men to the breaking point is a great achievement to their credit.

During this year the movement has been instituted for liberalized vacation agreements, and revision has been sought on existing agreements. It is encouraging to note that only 5 per cent of the total railroad mileage of the country is now unorganized.

The Canadian R. R. workers too have sought to effect wage agreements. There, the Report points out adjustments are sought in relation to the governmental cost of living, beginning as of December, 1940. The Report points out, however, that the Canadian Board held that comparisons could not be made with wage rates in the United States and that therefore its decision, a grant of a six cent per hour increase for all employees was made on the basis of comparison with the wage rates paid in other industries in Canada.

We would point out that while railroad traffic has increased 80.1 per cent in the last year since the war (as measured by revenue ton miles), railroad employment has increased only about 14 per cent.

The lag in employment has resulted in a heavy tax on the health and welfare of the railroad workers. Over-work and fatigue, terrific constant strain have had their terrible effect on these men. We know they will carry on with ever faithful diligence, no matter how great the strain may be, but we realize that relief must be given them.

We therefore recommend that the A. F. of L. lend every possible aid to these men in seeking to accelerate the return of railroad workers now in the armed forces to the railroad industry. We further recommend that the convention endorse the efforts of these workers to obtain: More liberal retirement provisions, more adequately planned and more liberal unemployment insurance benefits, the administration of the Carriers' Taxing Act by the R. R. Retirement Board; the Wagner-Wheeler Bill S. 1911 and Crosser Bill H.R. 4805 providing R. R. social insurance program to improve administrative as well as social benefits for the R. R. workers.

We would again commend these workers for their rich and patriotic service.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BORCHARDT: This completes the report of the committee, and it is signed by the following:

Harry C. Bates, chairman; Selma Borchardt, secretary; Robert Byron, F. A. Fitzgerald, Henry F. Schmal, Leo J. Buckley, George Q. Lynch, Charles M. Rau, William Campbell, Frank J. Coleman, Irvin Barney, Matthew Burns, A. C. D'Andrea, C. F. Preller, M. J. Sexton, Luigi Antonini, Rudolph J. Peterson, Lloyd A. Thrush, Jean W. Dubuc, John Malone, Joseph F. Boyen, G. Leo Abernathy, Joseph Steiger, Robert C. Kirkpatrick, John O'Hare.

COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BORCHARDT: I now move the adoption of the report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and adopted unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair wishes to thank the committee for the service it rendered.

The Chair wishes to inquire whether any other committees are ready to report at this time.

No other committees were prepared to make their reports.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for announcements.

COMMUNICATIONS

SECRETARY MEANY: We have received the following message from the Women's International Union Label League:

Tulsa, Oklahoma,
November 18, 1944.

Mr. George Meany,
Secretary American Federation of Labor.

Greetings:

To the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor the Women's International Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary sends greetings. We wish you a constructive and harmonious convention.

Very respectfully,
EFFIE WISE,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Resolutions Requiring Unanimous Consent

SECRETARY MEANY: Three resolutions have been submitted which require unanimous consent. The subcommittee of the Executive Council recommends that unanimous consent be given.

No objection was offered from the floor, the resolutions were introduced and referred to the appropriate committees, as follows:

Canadian Discrimination Against United States Pilots

Resolution No. 162—By Delegate E. W. Higginbotham, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, The U. S. Pilots of the Great Lakes are now being unjustly discriminated against in practice of their occupation as pilots by the Government of the Dominion of Canada by the passage of Orders in Council by the Ministry of Marine establishing what is known as the St. Lawrence-Kingston-Ottawa Pilotage District and the regulations thereunder, and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Pilots, members of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, possesses Pilots' licenses to navigate the waters of the St. Lawrence River and Canals thereof from Cape Vincent, N. Y., to Montreal, P. Q., Canada, and

WHEREAS, In spite of possessing such licenses, issued by the United States Government the regulations and Orders in Council so promulgated by the Minister of Marine unjustly and discriminatorily deny the U. S. Pilots the right to earn their livelihood by piloting either United States or Canadian vessels in the Canadian Canal system to Montreal, and

WHEREAS, Such rules and Orders in Council require that the vessels in the Canadian Canal System be piloted solely by Canadian pilots under the rules and regulations of the St. Lawrence-Kingston-Ontario-Pilotage District, and

WHEREAS, Said Canal waters are entirely within the Dominion of Canada, upon information and belief under the terms of a Treaty between Canada and the United States entered into in 1909, these waters are considered International Waters, and

WHEREAS, Under the terms of the Treaty of 1909, the Canadian pilots are allowed to do piloting in United States waters (Lake Michigan) and only through a local Canadian law passed in 1934 and amended in 1936 but not enforced until September, 1943, the United States pilots are not allowed to do piloting in Canadian waters which are "International Waters" under the Treaty, and

WHEREAS, The waterways involved are the subject of the proposed St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Development and we insist that United States citizens should have equal rights

with Canadians over the route and a fair share of the employment involved and an understanding can be more easily obtained now than after the development is completed, and

WHEREAS, Canadian pilots are now operating on United States territorial waters of Lake Michigan and have the privileges accorded United States pilots in the use and navigation of the St. Mary's Falls Canal, the improved channels of the St. Mary's and Detroit Rivers and the New York State barge canal system, and

WHEREAS, This practice of the Minister of Marine of Canada where the same situation exists thus depriving United States citizens of equal rights of employment with the citizens of other countries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the State Department of the United States of America be requested to take such action as may be fit and proper to eliminate the unjust discrimination now being practiced against United States pilots in the Canadian Canal System, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That further recommendations be made to the State Department of the United States of America which will provide for such other relief in the premises as may seem just and proper.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Jewelry Workers Charter Rights

Resolution No. 163—By Delegate Leon Williams, International Jewelry Workers Union.

WHEREAS, One, Walter W. Cenerazzo, in October, 1943, led a cessation movement against the "International Jewelry Workers Union" of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, By working in conjunction with certain companies formed an independent company union, under the name, "The American Watch Workers Union" and

WHEREAS, Walter W. Cenerazzo has attempted to raid and spread turmoil in local unions under the jurisdiction of the "International Jewelry Workers Union," and

WHEREAS, Said Walter W. Cenerazzo made application for a charter of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This application of the American Watch Workers Union is an application for a grant of the same jurisdiction as now held by the International Jewelry Workers Union, and

WHEREAS, To grant this application would constitute a clear trespass on the jurisdiction now held by the International Jewelry Workers Union charter, granted by the American Federation of Labor in 1916: under that Charter the "International Jewelry Workers Union," assumed its rightful place with the family of Unions in the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, From that day to this, the International Jewelry Workers Union has loyally and faithfully carried out the mandates of the American Federation of Labor

as provided by the Constitution of that body, and

WHEREAS, Section 5 of Article 4 of the American Federation of Labor Constitution provides, no organization or person that has seceded from the American Federation of Labor shall receive any recognition by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, It is provided in Section 11, Article 9 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor:

"No Charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant and the Charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions without the written consent of such Unions, and

WHEREAS, The International Jewelry Workers Union has not and will not consent in writing or otherwise to the granting of a Charter to the American Watch Makers Union, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans go on record against the granting of a Charter to the American Watch Workers Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Fair Labor Standards Act

Resolution No. 164—By Delegate Thomas E. Wilkinson, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States of America, after two years of intensive study and debate, enacted into law the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, a declaration of a national policy on the matter of wages and hours and other conditions of employment, and

WHEREAS, This definition of policy declared that:

"The Congress hereby finds that the existence, in industries engaged in interstate commerce or in the production of goods for interstate commerce, of labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers:

(1) Causes commerce and the channels and instrumentalities of commerce to be used to spread and perpetuate such labor conditions among the workers of the several states,

(2) Burdens commerce and the free flow of goods in commerce,

(3) Constitutes an unfair method of competition in commerce,

(4) Leads to labor disputes burdening and obstructing commerce and the free flow of goods in commerce, and

(5) Interferes with the orderly and fair marketing of goods in commerce," and

WHEREAS, The minimum standard at that time was determined to be adequately protected by the adoption of a minimum scale of wages beginning at 25 cents per hour to a maximum of 40 cents per hour which is being achieved by the issuance of industry wage orders, so that all industry subject to the Act is now on a 40-cent minimum, and

WHEREAS, This 40-cent minimum is now and has been demonstrated to be for some time a substandard condition of employment as measured by the minimum standards of the National War Labor Board, and

WHEREAS, Cost of living surveys and analyses have indicated that it is impossible for the American worker to achieve and maintain the minimum standards of living necessary for health, efficiency, and the general well-being of himself and his family, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself as in favor of the establishment of a minimum rate of pay of no less than 50 cents per hour.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I want to present Brother A. R. Johnstone, fraternal delegate to this convention from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Brother Johnstone is Vice President of the Tenth District of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees organization, also President of the Union Label Trades of Canada. He comes to us, therefore, as one of us and as a member of a splendid, fine militant organization, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

As the years come and go we find that the line of distinction, territorial distinction between the United States and Canada becomes more dim every year. Slowly but surely over the years we have developed a most friendly and cooperative relationship between the people who live in the Dominion of Canada and those of us who live in the United States.

A better spirit has been developed, a brighter vision, a more clear and friendly understanding, and each year our friends from Canada have brought to us inspiring messages which have served to strengthen the bond of friendship and good will between the people who live in the Dominion of Canada and the United States.

Now we are fighting together—men in the armed service of the United States are fighting side by side on foreign soil with the men of Canada. That will help to strengthen and develop the understanding and good will which has grown constantly over the years.

We are glad to extend to Brother Johnstone a warm and cordial welcome to this convention and I am pleased to present him to you now for the delivery of the message which he has brought to you. I present to you Brother A. R. Johnstone, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

MR. A. R. JOHNSTONE

(Fraternal Delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)

Mr. President Green, members of the Executive Board, distinguished guests, delegates and friends, I am gratefully cognizant of the honor that has been bestowed upon me in having been elected to bring to this great and important Convention of the American Federation of Labor the fraternal greetings and good wishes of the officers and members of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

While my message to you is primarily from those organized workers within the Trades and Labor Congress, I believe it might also be taken as coming from the workers of Canada generally—particularly so, as during the past year the gains in membership made by our Congress have placed us in the position of being recognized, without dispute as the dominant voice of organized Canadian workers. At our Fiftyninth Convention held in Quebec City in September 1943 our officers reported a total membership of 198,000 dues-paying members; at our Sixtieth, or "Diamond Jubilee Convention," held last month in Toronto, our officers were able to report a dues-paying membership of 330,000, representing an increase of 70 per cent in the period of one year. We are still going strong. We are naturally proud of this accomplishment.

Canada is now entering her sixth year of active participation in this global war against aggression and Fascism, and we have cause for pride in the record of Canadian toil and achievement during those years. To a degree never before known in the history of the nation, Canada was mobilized in one common cause. Fourth in productive achievement of all the United Nations, the Dominion has set up a mighty production record. From Canadian shipyards have come more than one thousand armored naval and cargo ships; from the aircraft plants more than eleven thousand planes; from the automotive factories some five hundred and sixty thousand mechanical transport, and thirty-one thousand armored fighting vehicles have been delivered. From the gun-shops came eighty-three thousand units; arsenals and shell-filling plants in Canada have produced fifty-nine million rounds of heavy ammunition, and three billion rounds of small arms ammunition. The output of the chemical and explosive industry has been in excess of one million tons; the signals, instruments and

communications industry produced two hundred and eighty millions of dollars worth of equipment and supplies. From general manufacturing plants came millions of dollars worth of stores, military equipment, and furnishings. In the same period of time more than one and one-third billion dollars have been spent in construction. Steel production has increased to three million tons per year, double the peace-time output. The total production of refined copper, nickel, lead, and zinc has risen twenty per cent since 1939. Power installations have produced a total of ten million horsepower, an increase of twenty-one per cent over 1939, and aluminum production in Canada was greater than the peace-time production of the entire world. Canada has not been a recipient of lend-lease, but has set up a parallel agency, the Canadian Mutual Aid Board. Our mutual aid expenditures as of March 1944 were in excess of one billion nine hundred million dollars. The United Kingdom, the Soviet Republics, Australia, China, West Indies and India, have been beneficiaries under this plan.

With a total population just over twelve million, of whom less than nine million are over fourteen years of age, Canada has more than seven hundred and eighty thousand men and women in the armed services, and more than four million two hundred thousand men and women engaged in non-agricultural industry. Those two groups account for 56.5 per cent of the available manpower over fourteen years of age, yet since 1939 the export of agricultural products has been doubled, and necessary peace-time occupations have continued in creditable fashion by the balance of those able to perform work of any nature.

Behind those cold figures lies the story of an industrial evolution of vast potential effect upon the destiny of the Dominion. Through this prodigious effort to serve its own freedom, the nation has learned its own strength. The workers are the nation; they, therefore, have learned of their strength.

The wonderful record of achievement which I have outlined briefly could not have become an epic in the history of Canada's war effort had it not been for the marvelous sacrifices and cooperation which organized labor, and labor generally, made and gave so freely. The knowledge and evidence of the supreme sacrifices being made by our brothers on the world-fighting fronts acted as a stimulant to greater effort. It will continue to be so. The wonderful and unexcelled efforts of the soldiers and workers of our Allied Nations on the fighting fronts and on the production lines must, of course, serve to keep us striving to improve even our best previous records. The production records of your United States will continue to astound the world, our allies, and our enemies, for generations to come. The record of effort and cooperation which has gone forth from the great International and National Unions, chartered by and comprising the American Federation of Labor, causes us to swell with pride and to glory in the fact that we are almost 100 per cent a part of your great family of International Unions. We glory in the no-strike pledge of

the American Federation of Labor, to which we have contributed, and we glory with you at the manner in which it has been implemented. Your leaders, and ours, have indeed proven worthy of the trust that we have reposed in them.

While we continue to concentrate our energy on our most important job, the winning of the war in the shortest possible time, we have many other tasks to perform: rights which must be protected against the inroads of selfish, morale-destroying employers and their political marionettes. Our Dominion Government has performed a creditable job in its fight against inflation, which made necessary price control as well as wage control. In this they have had the unqualified support of organized labor as represented by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. We cannot agree, however, that price control has been as effective as wage control, with the result that many of our workers, even at this late date, suffer from the unequal balance of control. Wages in many cases were controlled at depression levels; therefore, we will continue to demand the necessary revision to eliminate unjust hardship.

Canadian workers have demonstrated recently that they are becoming more politically conscious than ever. They are demanding advanced protective labor legislation in keeping with the advances made in other countries where democracy is the accepted form of government. In two of our nine Provinces the old-line political parties have been swept from their mandate to govern through the medium of the ballot box, and new parties have been placed in power to govern and implement their promises to secure for the workers their birthright. There is no reason to suppose that the same procedure may not be followed in other Provinces, or in the Dominion, until our governments realize that they must govern in a manner that will insure the workers those rights for which they have worked, fought, and died. Those changes do not indicate dissatisfaction with our present form of government in Canada; they merely indicate that governments will be required to introduce fair, adequate and constructive labor policies if they expect to survive. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is committed to no political party. They reiterated their stand in this regard at the recent convention. We will continue to endeavor to defeat those aspirants who oppose the legitimate demands and requirements of Labor, while we will endeavor to elect statesmen with the mentality and heart to realize that workers are the backbone of any nation; as such they must be kept strong if the nation would remain healthy.

Organized labor in Canada has with some success impressed upon governments the advisability and necessity of labor representation on the many boards and government commissions that have become necessary as a result of the war. Our people have given valuable service. This is admitted by the governments. In spite of this, however, the governments have not availed themselves of labor representation to nearly the extent that we desire, require and are entitled to.

With the continued smashing of Hitler's forces in Europe, we commence to visualize the ultimate and thorough defeat of Germany and her satellites. We know that the defeat of the hateful and despicable sons of Nippon is also inevitable. It will remain only a question of time until the combined forces of the Allied Nations are centralized in the Pacific for the purpose of delivering the final knockout blow to the assassins of Pearl Harbor. The fighting sons of Canada will march shoulder to shoulder with yours, to take revenge for those of their comrades who fell before the Japs at Hong Kong. There must be no faltering or slackening of the all-out effort by all the Allied Nations until the defeat of Japan is as great—yes, or even greater—than that measured out to the enemies of democracy in Europe. Our victories will be Christian victories, so definite and final that even those unchristian Japs will know that the God, who moulded and controls the destiny of the earth, has no regard for their self-styled son of Heaven, who, with his war lords, conceived the rape of our civilized world, launched at Pearl Harbor on December 7th, 1941.

Then will come the peace, which must be made as final and lasting as our victory. The peace must be terrible in its atonement to those who broke peace, yet it must be a just and constructive peace. There will, of course, be complete disarmament of the aggressor nations, but this will not suffice—we must also disarm the "Fifth Column" which operates within the vicious international cartels effectively controlling scientists, chemists, inventors, and patents for profit motive only. No longer can we allow monopoly of vital industrial processes. These belong to the world; therefore, they must only serve the needs of mankind. Peace must bring to the brotherhood of man the freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of press and speech, and freedom of religion that have been promised us. Those are the fundamentals of the great peace for which the blood of our fathers, sons and brothers has been so freely shed. Complete and lasting peace has been our war aim. Labor has an obligation to our glorious dead to see that they have not died in vain; to discharge this obligation, organized labor in the name of labor must fill their important place at the peace table. Nothing less than this will do.

Even as we visualize and plan for victory and peace, much of our thought is concentrated on the important problem that we will face in the transition from a war-time to a peace-time economy. This great and important task must not be left until we are forced to say, too little planning, and too late. Organized labor in the United States as represented by your American Federation of Labor is working on post-war rehabilitation plans. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has also realized the importance of preparation in this regard. The problem has been approached by establishing a capable committee, whose findings and recommendations to date have been approved by our Congress in convention.

We are agreed that poverty is no longer necessary, and is intolerable in a modern civilization. The production and consuming capacity of our people is indispensable to the future success of our internal economy, and it is necessary that industry and government plan to provide and maintain work opportunities for all persons who, whether they work by hand or brain, shall be assured full and useful employment, to maintain and increase output of industry and income. It is our duty to accept responsibility in leading this effort.

It is regrettable that people are living in fear of what the post-war world may hold for them because of the failure of Government to announce any definite or practical plan for meeting the impact of the transition from war to peace. We need have no fear of scarcity in the post-war period unless it is created. Millions of dollars have been expended by Government in the erection of plants for the production of war supplies and equipment. It will become necessary to make their productive capacity useful in our peace-time economy. It is essential that those plants shall not be sacrificed to private corporations or be controlled by monopolistic groups. We believe that plants and equipment owned by Government now operated as Crown Companies should not be sold to private interests unless guarantees are forthcoming from the prospective purchaser that the acquired plant machinery and manpower shall be put into operation and utilized without undue delay for full scale civilian production. We shall oppose the sale of Crown Company properties to monopolies or corporations which may desire to close such plants in order to strengthen their control in any particular industry.

The problem of the demobilization of the men and women in our armed forces and their return to gainful and productive peace-time occupations is one of major importance. We as workers know the need of taking good care of all who have served in the armed services of their country; the very best we have is not too good for them. However, the process of demobilization must be conducted in a well-organized fashion, with cooperation between Government, organized labor, and recognized veterans' organizations, so that no citizen without service shall become the victim of injustice, and so that demobilization will not be the means of displacing permanently workers now employed, thereby creating an unemployment situation which would lead only to chaos and disaster.

We believe that the adoption of the forty-hour week in all branches of industry, with the ultimate adoption of the six-hour work day, and the five-day work week, with no reduction in earnings, and provision for a further reduction in hours if necessary without loss of income, will be the solution necessary to establish post-war happiness, security and prosperity. War emergency provided unlimited funds for destruction. Peace-time economy must provide sufficient funds for construction and happiness. Some might ask where will the money come from. Many more might ask where all the money now in circulation was during the period when they suffered from extreme

want. Perhaps the answer is best told in story form: "During the agricultural depression of the hungry nineteen thirties, a clergyman in a small mid-Western town picked up a ten dollar bill on the sidewalk. It was the first he had seen in quite some time. Finding no claimant, he used it to buy groceries for his family. The grocer, surprised at being paid in cash, paid it on an account to the garage man, who in turn paid the druggist. The ten dollar bill changed hands many times in the little town, and things commenced to look brighter for many people. The milkman finally received the ten dollars in payment of a long over-due debt. He was so elated he decided to get married, as things were looking prosperous in his little community. He paid the parson for the ceremony with the ten dollar bill. The parson recognized the bill. As he had no immediate need for money he took it to the bank, where the teller told him it was a counterfeit. The clergyman was very disappointed and sad. However, when the first shock of his disappointment had worn off, he derived some happiness in the fact that he had actually received ten dollars worth of groceries for performing the marriage ceremony, and while in circulation the phony ten dollar bill had served to make business a little better for his friends and fellow citizens, and no person had suffered any actual loss."

Earlier in my presentation to you I have touched on the progress and increase in membership accomplished during the past year by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. We have unbounded faith in the future of our country, and we have faith in the determination of our workers to become organized for economic security. We are well aware that the efforts of the American Federation of Labor and many of the International Unions operating in Canada have to a considerable extent made our recent successes possible. I am instructed to convey to all of you who have instituted added organizational effort during the past year our appreciation and heartfelt thanks. Canada is on the march. We have, and will continue to exert our best effort to promote organization throughout our entire Dominion, all within the American Federation of Labor where possible. On behalf of the Trades and Labor Congress, as well as the unorganized workers in Canada may I ask for a continued and intensified organizational effort which will certainly help to make it possible for us to send our fraternal delegate back to your convention next year, able to tell you that we have a membership exceeding 500,000 workers in this Canada of ours.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have been pleased at the receipt of this message so sincerely and earnestly delivered by our fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. I can assure him that the suggestion he made that the representatives of National and International Unions put forth additional efforts in an organizing campaign in the Dominion of Canada will be complied with. I can likewise assure him that, so far as the American Federation of Labor, the parent body is concerned, we will very gladly respond, we will extend all assistance and help possible and will join

with our fellow workers and our comrades in Canada in the promotion of an aggressive, militant organizing campaign in that great country.

We are pleased indeed over the increase in membership of the Canadian Unions which he reported here. That is a very healthy sign. We want to continue the fight until everyone eligible to membership in our International Unions living and working within the Dominion of Canada are associated with us.

We thank you for your visit and we thank you for the inspiring message you delivered.

For years there has developed between the American Federation of Labor and the National Farmers' Union a fraternal and cooperative relationship. We have developed understanding, and as a result of it we have cooperated with the National Farmers' Union, and the National Farmers' Union has cooperated with the American Federation of Labor. We have found that organization responsive to the program of the Federation. In many ways we have extended assistance and help to the National Farmers' Union.

I extended to President Patton, of that organization, an invitation to visit with us and to bring a message to the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention. Because of a convention of the Farmers' Union which was held last week and other pressing engagements, President Patton was unable to come, but he has sent a representative, Mr. Paul Sifton, who represents the Industrial Relations Department of the Farmers' Union to speak to us. He is here now and I am pleased to introduce him to you for an address.

MR. PAUL SIFTON

(Industrial Relations Department,
National Farmers' Union)

President Green, Secretary Meany, officers, delegates and friends of the American Federation of Labor and of the National Farmers' Union: I have been authorized and directed by President James G. Patton and by the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, generally known as the National Farmers' Union, to bring to you the unanimous resolution of fraternal greetings and expressions of appreciation for the practical cooperation that has been given to our organization by people's organizations, notably including the American Federation of Labor.

First, for those of you who come from states other than agricultural states in which the Farmers' Union has its principal membership, I want to say in just a moment what the Farmers' Union is and is not. The Farmers' Union was formed in 1902 as an independent and autonomous organization of, by and for working farm families. It had since its inception a clear recognition of the interlocking welfare of working farmers and their families and wage earners. We knew a long time ago and we have never forgotten that the market for farmers' products and fair prices for farmers' products depends upon whether or not the wage earners in the cities have adequate purchasing power—and that means jobs at fair wages and under fair working conditions. Coming down a bit closer, the National Farmers' Union is not any one of the farm organizations which opposed the anti-inflation program, which opposed economic stabilization and which opposed subsidies. We have consistently endorsed with all of its strength, the war-time anti-inflation Act and urged the use of subsidies to maintain prices. We are happy in the position of not having to change our clothes, our faces and our attitudes when the war ends in Europe while other organized farm groups will have to go out and change their program so they, too, can support the program of keeping farm prices for two years after the war.

We have a record of which we are proud, of actively supporting union legislation and having had the cooperation of organized labor in legislation and administration of it in the interest of working farmers.

I want to read to you a statement from our program which was adopted at our national convention in Denver which ended two weeks ago:

"We pledge ourselves to cooperate with other groups, including such parts of organized labor, business and industry, such technical, professional, religious, political, civic and welfare groups as concur in the objective of abundance for all to be attained by creating a system of genuine free enterprise. Such a system will include:

"The right of people to cooperate freely to supply their needs;

"The rights of business men and firms to compete freely to supply wants of customers;

"The right of all the people to use freely their government to curb monopoly and scarcity practices, together with the people's rights to provide through government action for the common good, wherever, whenever, and to the extent that common good cannot be, or is not being, provided by private and cooperative enterprises."

That is a quote from the preamble of our 1945 program. I want also to quote from the detailed program, Point 14, "Cooperation With Other Peoples' Organizations."

"We recommend and again endorse the Farmers' Union policy of cooperation with other people's organizations in areas of agreement, which policy has proven its value in saving programs of vital importance to farm people and the general welfare."

This is the adopted policy which will guide our Board of Directors, officers and employees during the year 1944.

I want to say also that it was emphasized in the course of our convention that such cooperation, we hope, will exist and grow and strengthen as the acquaintanceship and confidence strengthens, not only nationally, but by states, counties and localities.

We are able and recognized that if this peace is finally to be won as a peoples' peace, it can only be won by peoples acting through their organizations, promoting peace, and therefore we have urged our members to get in touch, more than in the past, with other peoples' organizations, including organized labor and working out a practical, full, understanding and cooperative spirit with those other peoples' organizations.

Those of you here from Colorado, Montana, South Dakota, North Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Iowa and several other states will sustain, I hope, my statement that in the past the Farmers' Union officials and members have not taken a run out powder when the going was tough in your state and bad legislation was up before your Legislature.

We are ready to again cooperate with you at all stages and levels when there is an area of agreement, and the areas of agreement existing so far are infinitesimal.

I want to state at the direction of President Patton, our appreciation, President Green, for the help—the practical help—that has been given over the past two years by the American Federation of Labor in saving the Farm Security Administration, the one agency in this government that has pursued a consistent policy of putting farm families back on the farm. It is the agency whose duty it was to revert trained farm workers back to the land they love and cultivate. That agency has the honorable record of having put back on the land, 950,000 working farm families. That was part of its "crime." The other part of its "crime" was that as the war broke and demands for food increased—the Farm Administration which was called upon to do the dirty jobs such as flood disaster—was called on to furnish and train farm labor, and that they pay decent minimum wages, etc. I want to go into this one phase in detail a little because it is of supreme interest to us and to your organization.

The Farm Security Administration found that it seemed necessary to import labor from other countries. It was discussed with the Government of Mexico. That government said they would only consider it on the stipulation there were labor standards set and enforced for their nationals coming into this country to work on American commercial farms and fields. They and their Consuls had had experience, and an agreement was made between our Secretary Wickert and the Mexican Government that these standards should prevail—30 cents an hour minimum pay, living quarters 12 x 14 feet for four human beings, with weatherproofed ceilings and walls, clean drinking water. Can anyone object to that? Of course they objected to at one time having to drink out of irrigation ditches. One privy for every 25 persons. Could anyone object to that?

That set of standards was criticized by other farm organizations as an attempt, I quote, "at a social revolution in the midst of war."

Jim Patton, our President, has said, "I am not a mean man, but I am just mean enough to wish one of these cold, frosty mornings Edward Asbury, III, should find himself on the end of that line of 25 people."

What happened? The job was taken away from the Farm Security Administration and turned over to a division of the Department of Labor, and they proceeded to go ahead and apply those standards to American citizens. So it was again taken away and given to the United States Extension Service, dominated in many states by a private farm organization which I have previously mentioned, and today the fact is those standards I have mentioned to you could be enforced only with respect to aliens imported into this country, and the proposal now is to continue this importation under these standards for another year. I think this is a matter of concern not only to farm operators—farm family operators, who compete with this sweat shop competition, but also to organized labor. This degrading denial of minimum standards to people in the farm industry militates against those of us who work on the farm. And it will be a threat to the labor standards and pay of organized labor generally.

It is an old saying that base money, drives out good. It is equally true with labor standards, that base labor standards drive out good labor standards. We are not greedy as farm laborers, but our job is to see there is fair competition in agriculture so that working farm families can actually have a chance to go ahead and buy three square meals a day, fuel, have a decent house and provide medical treatment for our people operating our farms. We ask only for help in establishing fair competition in agriculture.

In that connection I want to read a section that was adopted as part of our program at the convention in Denver under the subject, "Land Policy."

"I. LAND POLICY

A. Action to Save Family Type Farming

For years, farm organizations, legislators and government spokesmen have declared that family-type farming must be made the basic pattern of American agriculture, that it is the basis of rural democracy and thus one of the foundation stones of democracy for all Americans. Yet, with few exceptions, no realistic effort has been made to advance this pattern in agriculture.

It is time to act to check and reverse the dispossession of American farm families from the land. Fair competition must be established within American agriculture. To do this, we propose the following program."

In reading this I want to point out the same minimum wage standard we propose for farm labor, we use as the basis for farm prices after the war.

"To extend the Wage-Hour Act to include all farm wage earners, and the amend-

ment of that act to set a minimum of 60 cents an hour, the least that will sustain purchasing power necessary to meet dietary needs. The same minimum must, of course, be used in computing the payment for the labor of a farm family in determining the price formula to be used in production agreements, as set forth under B below.

To extend the Social Security Act to cover all farm people including farm labor.

To extend the National Labor Relations Act to include farm labor and employers of more than two wage earners for more than 30 days in any calendar year.

To direct greater production by family-type farming through adoption of a conscious and deliberate policy of assigning progressively larger shares of needed production goals and of such farm program payments as may become necessary to family-size operations.

Vastly increased use, by farmers themselves, of cooperative mechanisms not only in the purchase of supplies and the assembly and marketing of farm products in their original state, but the use of such mechanisms in every stage of the entire farming, marketing, processing and distribution cycle. This must be done with utmost speed to take advantage of:

(a) The surplus materials and war plants already being made available, and

(b) To survive against the competition of factory-type farming in the rapid transformation of farming practices that accumulated technological development has stored up and will release when the war ends. Government aid, in credit, in technical assistance research, and the release of patents and know-how must be available, starting at once."

I hope my good friend Charlie Handy will not find any objection to that proposal, for we have always worked close together.

Now I want to say in the minute or so that I still have left, that in the past we have been glad to join the opposition to the Smith-Connally Bill, to a very bad tax bill, and to support the Kilgore-Murray Bill. I think at least three Senators supported the bill through our effort, Senators Shipstead, Langor and Aiken of Vermont.

We enjoy having our President Patton serve on the Economic Stabilization Board of the War Manpower Commission with your President, and we look forward to further cooperation in the newly set up Stabilization Reconversion Board to which your President and my President have just been appointed.

I want to read to you in the few moments I have left a preamble of our program:

The lives of our finest men and women are being spent on the world's battle fronts to give us, and all peoples, another chance to organize a People's Peace. If we fail, they are betrayed.

Their hopes and the hopes of millions in every land add up to nothing less than a new world, a world that will make sense to returning veterans and to all productive workers, a world in which they can buy back with their incomes and wages the products of their hands and brains and their eternal courage, a world in which abundance for the first time spells

health, security and happiness, not breadlines, foreclosure sales, bonus marches, and "made work" at pauper's wages. The world they want will deny the rule that because we can always produce too much we shall never have enough except in war. The world they seek will accept abundance and know how to use it for people.

Most of those who fight and produce to win this People's War have promised themselves that this time we shall not again lose the peace after we have won the war.

If permanent world peace is to be a reality, we must maintain the level of production, prosperity, and practical international cooperation which we have achieved in war.

We must have a world organization with power to enforce decisions against those who disturb or break the peace.

There must be full employment, with all it means in terms of prosperity, security, happiness, and good will among men and among groups in our society. It must be maintained by private enterprise if possible, by a combination of private enterprise and public undertakings if necessary.

Neither of these two goals can be won and held without the other; they are dependent upon each other; we must work for both at once.

The President and the Congress that our democracy has just elected must be held to these principles. This we propose to do, and we call upon all other people's organizations and individuals of good will to cooperate in that endeavor.

I extend to you in closing, President Green, and to you delegates an urgent invitation to strengthen cooperation with the National Farmers' Union in the coming year. We want it also clearly understood, and we know that you understand that we are an independent and an autonomous organization of, by and for working farm people, working farm operators committed to protect and advance their interest in line with the public interest. We believe that holding fast to that fundamental charge laid down by us, that we and you can do a great deal in the coming year to make a peace that will last and be palatable and will not be just another breathing spell while the people of the world recuperate and raise another crop for another war. We are determined to have a peace that will last.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Permit me to thank you, Brother Sifton, in the name and on behalf of the delegates here for your visit this morning and for the message which you have brought to this convention.

There are so-called farm organizations in the United States, but the representatives of the American Federation of Labor recognize the Farmers' Union represented here by our friend, Mr. Sifton, as the real farm organiza-

tion in our great country. It is not an organization in name only, it is an organization that has committed itself to the support of sound, constructive economic policies.

Please assure Brother Patton, and those who work with him, of our willingness and our purpose to cooperate fully with you during the coming year and in the future just as we have in the past. I thank you sincerely.

Permit me to announce that at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon, Brother Horner, fraternal delegate from Great Britain, will deliver his address to this convention.

Escort Committee For Archbishop Rummel

PRESIDENT GREEN: I further wish to announce that Archbishop Rummel of the Roman Catholic Diocese of New Orleans, will appear and deliver an address to the delegates tomorrow at 11 o'clock. Archbishop Rummel spoke to us four years ago. He made a most favorable and deep impression upon our hearts and our minds. He is pleased in that he is afforded the opportunity to meet with us and greet us and speak to us again tomorrow. I will appoint on the committee to escort him to the hall Brother Joseph P. Ryan, of the Longshoremen's International Union, Brother P. J. Morrin, of the Ironworkers' International Union, and Brother Albert Adamski, of the United Garment Workers' Union.

Dinner For Delegates Representing State and Central Bodies

COMMITTEE MEMBER QUARLES: The Louisiana State Federation of Labor will give a banquet tomorrow night at 8 o'clock at the Jung Hotel for all delegates representing Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor. They expect to get a personal invitation to you, but if they don't they ask you to come over to the hotel between now and tomorrow night.

At 12:30 o'clock, p. m., the convention recessed to 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

FIFTH DAY — MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

November 27, 1944

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:40 p. m.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The convention will please be in order. The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for presentation of a resolution.

SECRETARY MEANY: This resolution requesting unanimous consent was introduced by a number of women delegates to the convention on the Equal Rights Amendment. The subcommittee of the Executive Council recommends unanimous consent be granted.

No objection was offered from the floor of the convention, the resolution was received and referred to the appropriate committee, as follows:

Equal Rights Amendment

Resolution No. 165—By Delegates Catherine Connelly, Can Workers Local Union 22623, Louise Collier, Ketchikan, Alaska, Central Labor Union, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers, Angela Bambace, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, Eva Schwartzman, Madison, Wisconsin, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, There has developed during the last two decades a movement which through a so-called equal rights amendment to the Constitution has sought to deny to women home makers and to women industrial workers the benefit of the laws which seek to assure to the child the support of his father, and to the workers the social protection of much needed labor legislation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled does reaffirm its support of every move which would afford women actual political and economic equality, and does therefore oppose the so-called Equal Rights Amendment which would vitiate family support laws and destroy all social protection now afforded to women and to the family, under the laws of the several states and the Federal government, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon our State Federations of Labor to continue the fight to have eliminated in their respective states all laws which deny women full political equality or which actually discriminate against women economically, and that at the same time we urge them to seek to preserve the laws essential to the protection of the child's support as a part of the family, the laws essential to the social and physical well being of women industrial workers, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor wire to the Republican and to the Democratic leaders of the Senate and of the House of Representatives our opposition to the so-called Equal Rights Amendment because this proposed amendment would destroy all existing customary law and statutes through which family support laws and laws protecting the social and the physical well being of American industrial workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I am pleased to present to you Brother Arthur Horner, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. He is a very active representative of the Miners' organization affiliated with the Trades Union Congress in Great Britain. He is an executive officer of the Miners' Union of Great Britain and also President of the South Wales Miners' Organization. He has come up all of the way, the hard way, just like all of us have come up the hard way. He is a rugged mine worker representing a great organization with an excellent standing in Great Britain. He has acquired his education in the school of trade unionism and I know that he brings to us a most interesting message.

Permit me to say to him right now in the beginning of the delivery of his address, that he is warmly and heartily welcomed by the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. I am pleased indeed to present to you Brother Arthur Horner, fraternal delegate, from the British Trades Union Congress.

MR. ARTHUR HORNER

(Fraternal Delegate From Great Britain)

Mr. President and Fellow Trade Unionists:

At this, one of the greatest moments in the history of the world, I feel honored to have been given the privilege of conveying to you the fraternal greetings of the British Trades Union Congress which represents approximately seven million organized workers. This high membership which we were able to record at our 76th Congress held this year at Blackpool, is only one aspect of a number of significant developments which I am certain will play an important part in solving the problems of peace in an even better way than we have been able to

solve the problems which have arisen in this long and bitter war.

During the war the British Trades Union Movement has fully utilized the new opportunities which have been presented to it. It has shown an understanding of the true meaning of Trade Unionism. It has displayed a most responsible attitude towards workshop and production questions, and has given considerable evidence of the realization of the constructive role which Trade Unionism is called upon to play in all the great economic and political issues affecting the welfare of the British people, whilst at the same time there has been the fullest acceptance of responsibility in working to establish unity and cooperation between the workers of all lands irrespective of race, color or social system.

The recent years have developed the urge towards consolidation of Trades Union Unity inside Britain and for the support of united leadership and a common policy so as to ensure that the full power of the trade union movement may make itself felt, not only in negotiations upon current economic questions with the employers, but as well in all matters involving legislation and the determination of Government Policy. Side-by-side there is a growing evidence of a keener interest in the internal administrative affairs of trade unionism. It has shown a greater concern to establish all-round efficiency both in the administration of the trade unions and in providing greater educational facilities which will enable the Movement to command the services of more highly trained and experienced Trade Union Leaders.

I am pleased to state that women-workers now constitute a very important part of our trade union movement. We consider that the significant role played by your own women workers as well as ours entitles us to place on record the debt of gratitude which the people of the United States of America and of Great Britain owe to the women of both countries in view of the indispensable and significant part they have played in the struggle for victory.

Mining Situation:

As your President has told you, I am President of the South Wales Miners' Federation and as a member of the Executive Committee of the Mineworkers' Federation of Great Britain, you will probably expect me to say something about the British Mining Industry which is the basis of the economic life of Great Britain, and about the conditions of the mineworkers and the work of our Trade Union with which my life is so closely bound up.

I am aware that a Commission of Mining Experts from your country visited us a short while ago, and we have the impression although we have not been given the opportunity to examine the report of that Commission, that certain criticisms of the industry were made. It was contended—so I am informed—that the British mining industry is technically backward and is in consequence, quite incapable of giving results comparable with those which are obtained in the United States of America. I would

not deny the truth of such a charge, but I would draw attention to certain explanations for this situation.

I would remind the delegates here present, that after five years of the last war there were more than one-million persons employed in the British coal industry. At the present time the man-power of the industry is approximately 700,000. There is an annual wastage of manpower of approximately 30,000 per year due to injury and disease, old age and death. No one can leave the mining industry in Great Britain for any other cause than these. We have been unable to secure compensation for this loss of personnel other than through forms of compulsion similar to those applicable to members of the Armed Forces. This difficulty is undoubtedly the result of a number of factors, the most outstanding being the terrible impoverishment of the mineworkers and their families in the period between the two wars. In addition the age level of our manpower has been raised by nearly five years, so that we have a much higher proportion of older men than we had at the outbreak of war. This in an industry which calls for such a high degree of physical energy, is an extremely serious factor in its effect upon production. Attempts have been made to place the responsibility for the present coal deficiency upon the shoulders of the mineworkers; charges of absenteeism have been frequently made in this connection. I would, however, point out that the actual time worked by the British miners, the average of 5½ shifts per week, is higher than during any shifts in the last 30 years of British mining history. The general body of workmen are expected to work six shifts per week of 7½ hours, plus one winding-time, which brings the total period during which the men can be engaged in the mine, to 6 shifts at 8½ hours per shift. Many thousands of maintenance workers are employed and actually work 7 shifts per week. It is notorious that the conditions of pay and of working which prevailed in British mines at the outbreak of war, were deplorable. The Mineworkers' Federation of Great Britain has endeavored, with some success in the course of the war to bring about improvements, and to introduce some measure of post-war security into the matter. These efforts have been condemned in certain interested quarters, but it is undeniable that had not the improvements which have been brought about, been realized, the manpower of the British Mining Industry might have become so low as to make it impossible to maintain the essential supplies for the prosecution of the war. The Mineworkers Federation of Great Britain has itself in the past expressed many of the deficiencies inherent in the general structure of the British mining industry. We have been built up into a Federation of 22 autonomous districts. This position in the past has enabled the employers again and again to exploit temporary differences into interests as between District and District, to the general detriment of the conditions of the miners as a whole. Arising, however, from experience of the immense value of an united policy, and the greater value which could result from unity in organization, we have

at long last taken a decision to establish one mineworkers' union for all mineworkers in Britain and a ballot vote of the members has overwhelmingly confirmed this decision. The vital necessity for solving the British coal problem is outstanding; and unless this is done speedily the whole position of the future of Britain will be placed in great jeopardy.

76th British Trades Union Congress:

The 76th British Trades Union Congress has just concluded its deliberations and I feel it to be obligatory upon me that I should give you a brief outline of the questions discussed at the Congress.

The main questions included Trade Union Structure, Organization, Trades Union Unity, Health and Social Services, Workmen's Compensation, Old-Age Pensions and Education. Other resolutions were expressly concerned with the International side of our activity and a decision was taken confirming the convening of a World Trade Union Congress to be held in London early in 1945. We gave considerations to matters arising from the recent I. L. O. Conference held at Philadelphia. There was as well a serious demand for the right of the Indian people to decide their own destiny and for an immediate resumption of free and friendly discussions with representatives of the Indian people with a view to reaching a rapid and satisfactory settlement of all outstanding questions. There were in addition a number of important resolutions which dealt expressly with the policy and activities of our various trades unions in the circumstances of war, and with our activities following the termination of hostilities. They involve consideration of our Joint Production Committee and other forms of joint action with the employers and with the government which have grown up in the course of the war including the removal of war-time restrictions, demobilization, pay and allowances for men and women in the Armed Forces, and the very important question of full facilities being given to the men and women now in the forces so that they might record their votes at the next general election in our country.

A further series of resolutions dealt with legislation and government policy. These concerned the repeal of the Trade Dispute Act, the justification for extended powers being given to Trade Boards, and of the strengthening of Joint Industrial Councils. The most interesting aspect of the Congress was, however, the comprehensive statement produced by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress upon economic and post-war construction.

The various employers organizations and the government of our country will do well to give serious attention to what the Trade Union Congress desires. Our growing influence and authority entitles us to this consideration. Neither the employers nor the government of the day can afford to ignore or neglect the part which the Trades Union Congress is able to play in every issue that concerns the welfare of the British people. This is not only so because of the work carried through by the trades unions which during the war has made vic-

tory possible but also because of the deeper political understanding that has developed, and the vital and indispensable role of the labor movement as a whole in peace as well as in war.

The End of the War Is in Sight:

It now appears that the end of the war in Europe is in sight and the end of the world is at last to be freed from the menace of Fascism and Nazism. It has been a terrific struggle and in the course of it nearly all of us have been changed and strengthened by the grim experience that this peoples war has brought to us. I feel it incumbent upon me to express gratitude to the American working people of all sections and unions for all that they have done to produce the means to enable us to emerge victorious from this war. We assure you of our deep understanding of the enormous sacrifices your people have made in Europe and in the Far East. At the same time I feel entitled to refer to the part played by the people of Britain, who for five long years have toiled and sacrificed. Many of your countrymen have seen our blitzed cities and towns, they have paid their tribute to the proud bearing and endurance of our civilian population, especially those who reside in Southern England and London. Members of your armed forces, passing through these areas have again and again rendered splendid assistance in rescuing the people and in saving homes during attacks from flying bombs and rocket shell.

It has been indeed an epic story in line with the best traditions of your own workers, soldiers, sailors and airmen. We feel entitled to claim that the work undertaken by the trade unionists in America and Britain, the arduous toil of long hours, the willingness to teach others, previously untrained in trades and crafts, the initiative and the ideas which have emanated from the workers side in functioning joint committees; these have been in very truth the foundation upon which it has been possible to organize and assist our joint mighty armies, navies and air forces. Without this solid foundation, we should not now be visualizing an early liberation of the world freed from Fascism, expecting the lighting of the lamps of peace throughout Europe once again.

In Britain, and I am sure, too, in the United States of America, we both recognize the debt we owe to the peoples of China and of the Soviet Union. Great as our nations have proved themselves to be, as incalculable as our resources are, I do not believe that we should have reached our present victorious position except for the role played by these two great countries. We shall never fully know the extent of the sacrifice and suffering, the courage and the endurance of the common men and women in these countries. There can hardly be a home in either country in which pain and bereavement have not entered, and in which people are not dry-eyed because they have no more tears to shed.

In this hour of approaching victory in Europe, let there be no misunderstanding

about the character of the enemy we have been engaged in fighting. Full restitution must be made by those responsible for the criminal disturbance of the peace of the world. We must have no illusions, the struggle against Fascism will not cease with the termination of hostilities. It must be made clear to the German people that the toleration of a fiendish government such as the Nazi regime is, must result in full restitution being made to the victims of this regime.

Our British Trades Union Congress has declared in clear terms that whilst we are determined that the Nazis and others in Germany directly responsible for hideous crimes, shall pay with their lives, we at the same time cannot absolve the German people from all responsibility for the perpetration of these crimes. We believe that the enforcement of restitution is an essential condition for the future preservation of world peace.

We also still have the war in Japan in the Far East to win and I take this opportunity, Mr. President, of officially pledging the same consistent support of the Trades Union Congress in this struggle as you have given to the struggle in Europe. From our point of view it is all one war; we will stand, fight and win together. That is the position of the British Trades Union Congress.

At the same time we must exert the powerful influence of our Trade Union Movement to ensure by all possible pressure that our Governments apply the principles of the Atlantic Charter to all countries now approaching liberation.

We cannot really be serious democrats if we deny to other peoples the freedom it is in our power to give to them. To give them what we claim for ourselves in the way of freedom, independence and democracy is to win new allies who will wholeheartedly cooperate and fight alongside us in the struggle against Japan, and in so doing will not only shorten the war in the Far East, but will lessen the sacrifices in British and American lives.

As peace in Europe draws nearer, and the main Fascist enemy is destroyed, the thoughts of our trade unions are more and more concerned with post-war problems and what the future holds for them. I admit that I approach this problem in the spirit that the future lies in the hands of the working people who we here represent. I do not believe that we will allow the unity that has been built up in the furnace of war to be thrown aside in the days of peace. If this does take place, then we must face what it means. A hectic, short-lived trade boom, followed my unemployment, depression on a scale greater than 1931, intensified rivalries between the nations of the world, and especially between Britain and America, leading to further economic crises and World War No. 3. It is unthinkable that we should betray the living and the dead by allowing such possibilities to materialize. It would be a crime if through our inability to grasp the splendid new opportunities opening out to

us, British and American boys should again have to die in a new World War.

We must, we can prevent this from taking place and it is for our two countries to set the example. Our productive resources have been enormously expanded by war, so that now everything depends on our ability to make use of this to expand world trade and develop a better standard of living at home. A fight between Britain, America, Canada, and the rest for a static volume of trade, would be ruinous to all of us. We have gone through this process in the pre-war years, and we saw the result—millions of unemployed engaged in hunger marches in the midst of an economic chaos.

I must make it crystal clear that the British trade union movement is fully determined that there shall not be a repetition at the end of this war similar to the situation which obtained following the last war. Without appreciating this it will be impossible to understand the viewpoint of our British trade union movement. We believe that prosperity can obtain at the end of this war. In order that this belief may be realized, we insist that the greatest use must be made of our productive resources for the purposes of peace as we have endeavored to use them for the purposes of war. We are faced, though perhaps less acutely, with problems similar to yours, due to the necessity to find markets for our greatly increased outputs. We cannot agree to attempt to solve the problems of markets by cutting down production outputs. If this is so it implies that we have to secure a better standard of life for the mass of the people in the form of better wages and conditions and improved social services. Finally, we believe that there must be proper planning in the utilization of our resources, and in order that this planning may be efficient, there must be genuine democratic control in which the trade unions play a leading part together with Governments. Only by these means can we prevent restrictions of outputs and the fixation of prices by great inter-locking trusts and cooperations.

Hence, as a trade union movement we take the view that we have every interest in assisting to raise the standard of life in every country, aiding the trade union movements in the liberated countries and the colonial countries, and in working for orderly agreements between our Governments, and in selling the maximum to the reconstructed Soviet Union, China and other countries that need our products.

Our faith, like yours, is based on the working people and a strengthened democracy. There must be no repetition of our anxious and bitter previous experiences. All over the world today there are political as well as military victories being won. Democracy has grown stronger in a real way. Unity and cooperation are no longer platform perorations. The world is more and more tending to be guided by the joint declaration of President Roosevelt, Premier Stalin and Premier Churchill at Teheran: "As to peace, we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace." "We

recognize fully the complete responsibility resting upon us and of the United Nations to make a peace which will command the good will of the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations. We express our determination that our nations shall work together, with yours, not only in the war, but in the peace that will follow."

This thought is the key-note to solving the post-war problems. The world needs all that our common productive resources can produce. International economic cooperation alone can give the workers of Britain and of America the higher standard of living they have a right to enjoy in good wages and shorter hours, a basic minimum wage and social security. This alone can help restore devastated Europe and the Soviet Union and enable us to assist the backward colonial countries. We welcome the start that has already been made in new forms of international cooperation and understanding, as seen through the work of U. N. R. A. A and decisions of the Hot Springs, Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks conferences.

In Britain however, we take the view that if we fight for unity between all states despite differences of social systems, so we might fight for an united trade union movement in every country and on a world scale; This is the guarantee of peace, not only in solving post-war problems but it can prevent employers setting one Union against another, or the workers of one country against another. This is why the British Trades Union Congress has taken the decision to convene a World Trade Union Conference at the earliest possible moment. We think it is not enough to leave the World problems for Governments alone to solve. We think it is our business.

Without the trade union movement the war would never have been won, but it is also true that without the trade union movement the peace can be lost. Just as Britain, the United States of America and the Soviet Union are the principal pillars for world security and international economic cooperation, so, too, are the trade union movements of these countries decisive. We cannot see the best sons of these nations die in defense of the common cause, and then, when it has been won, risk throwing our victory away because of a refusal to unite and work together in peace-time. I am aware that the American Federation of Labor does not see eye-to-eye with the British Trades Union Congress on this matter, but the tolerance which has always characterized our respective movements will, I am confident, enable us to continue our mutual respect despite these differences. The close relations between American and British Labor which we prize so highly have been strengthened during the war. Also, in the common struggle the British and the Soviet trade unions have developed a better understanding, and a real friendship, which we think has been of great assistance in our mutual war effort. We expect this position to continue, and to be helpful in solving the problems of peace. British Labor has been glad to be a link between the

American and Soviet trade unions, but we look forward to the day when this role will no longer be necessary for us.

Fellow trade unionists of the American Federation of Labor, I know you are more familiar with what happened at Concord and Gettysburg than I am, but let me remind you that at Concord your ancestors fired the first shot in the battle of independence and Gettysburg commemorated the victory for the unity of the U. S. A.

At Gettysburg, your great President Abraham Lincoln said:

"We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom—and that Government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

We have won forever the right Lincoln spoke about; we can maintain that right if by our joint efforts we can establish world trade union unity. We too, like those at Concord will fire a shot that will be heard right round the world, for the workers of all lands can then be united.

I hope that the results both of the recent Convention of the Trades Union Congress in Britain and of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, will contribute towards a common understanding between the trade union movements embracing all sections and unions of our two countries and of the World. A heavy responsibility rests upon all of us to see that the whole future of our work is carried through in the same spirit of unity and sacrifice that our sons have displayed all over the world in destroying the menace of Fascism. These open out for us new vistas which, if we utilize them properly, will encourage the common man to proceed to the accomplishment of the greatest social advances that have yet opened to us.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am sure that Brother Horner, the fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress fully appreciates the fact that a convention of the American Federation of Labor is an open forum where our men who participate in the deliberations of our convention and in its proceedings present their point of view to an audience, the members of which express upon their faces and in their countenances, their deep appreciation of information, facts and suggestions that may be offered. Here in this open forum is where men express their points of view in democratic fashion and we were pleased indeed to listen to this address delivered by Fraternal Delegate Horner this afternoon.

May I request that he carry back to the organized labor movement of Great Britain the fraternal greetings of the membership of the American Federation of Labor. I ask him to assure them of our deep interest

in their welfare and of our determination to stand with them and by them in this great world conflict until victory is won, and the representatives of the totalitarian forms of government surrender unconditionally.

I know that each of you listened very closely and gravely to the address delivered by Brother Horner, and as you did, I cannot help but think that you realized, as I did, that the people of Great Britain have passed through a terrible experience during the past five years. We see their destroyed homes, we see them sleeping and living in quarters and in places uncomfortable and inconvenient. We see them living in a state of suspense and apprehension constantly, from morning until night, and from sunset to sunrise, and how bravely and courageously they have faced the struggle!

As the bombs fell it seemed their determination to win increased. If any people have manifested heroism and courage under the most trying circumstances it is the people of Great Britain during this war, and their sorrows and sufferings have touched us deeply, and awakened our emotions, and we know because they are closer to the picture and have suffered more (we have not suffered in comparison with them, even in the slightest degree) that they look at the whole situation perhaps differently than do we.

Their perspective must be influenced by the suffering which they have undergone. Is it any wonder that they exact retribution and call upon the tyrants to pay the penalties of the crimes they have committed? We share with them that feeling, that determination that Hitler and Hirohito and the totalitarian leader of Italy, Mussolini, and all of the tyrants that stood together, must, when the end comes, pay the price even with their lives, if necessary, in payment for the crimes they committed.

We know how those people feel, those whose homes have been devastated, the lives of their loved ones snuffed out, they themselves driven to desperation. We sympathize with them and we sorrow with them. We share their feelings of sadness and sorrow at this moment.

However, we feel we are fighting this war to end totalitarianism and human slavery throughout the face of the earth. We are fighting a war to make men free, to confer upon the humblest person who ever lived, under the most humble circum-

stances, that freedom which we covet for ourselves and wish to give to others. For that reason, we of the American Federation of Labor are unwilling to support a policy that in effect would continue human slavery when the war is won. We want men to be free wherever they live. There shall be no more forced and involuntary servitude forced upon anyone if we can prevent it.

We shall favor the punishment of the guilty, make them pay for their crimes, but we will not agree that it shall be carried further in order to inflict on those who are helpless and have been the victims of totalitarianism even in their own homes punishment by imposed slavery and involuntary servitude.

Now my good friend, Brother Horner, referred to our Labor Conference or World Conference to be called in England. I am thoroughly aware of the motives that inspired the British Trades Union Congress to call such a world conference.

But it occurs to us that, first of all, if a world conference should have been called, it ought to have been called by a world agency, such as the International Federation of Trade Unions, a world trade union organization in which the American Federation of Labor is represented and in which the British Trades Union Congress is represented—free democratic trade unions. For some reason or other this agency did not participate in the call for a world conference.

Then we do not understand why those dissident forces in our own country who have launched upon a dual movement for the avowed purpose of destroying the American Federation of Labor should participate in such a conference and endeavor to tell the American Federation of Labor, the great American labor movement that has functioned for three-quarters of a century, what it shall do. For that reason, Brother Horner, and for other reasons, it is my judgment that the American Federation of Labor will not be represented at the World Conference, such as is being called to meet in London next January. We want to establish unity here; we want a united labor movement here; we believe that unity and solidarity should be established here. We stand as we have always stood, and we are not responsible for the division that re-

restore solidarity and unity here at home, and we view with some feeling of apprehension steps that may be taken by our professing friends to widen and perpetuate the division that exists within the ranks of labor within the United States.

Just another word. We are determined that the voice of labor, as expressed by the American Federation of Labor, shall be heard at the Peace Conference. We shall insist and demand, with all of the power at our command, that the American Federation of Labor shall be represented at the Peace Conference, wherever it is held, when victory is finally won. The American Federation of Labor will go to that conference with a program, and that program will be formulated in democratic fashion by the seven million members of the American Federation of Labor. Those who represent us will present that program, the program of American labor, to the Peace Conference, and we will fight together with any who will fight with us for the establishment of a just and lasting peace which will guarantee freedom, justice and liberty throughout the world.

I cannot refrain from expressing myself in your behalf in making reply to the address delivered by Brother Horner at this time. It is made in a most sincere and kindly way, and I pledge to him, and ask him to pledge to those back home, the sincere desire and purpose of the American Federation of Labor to strengthen the bonds of fraternal delegates. We hope they will never do anything that will disturb that fine, friendly, fraternal relationship.

We thank you for coming across the sea, risking your own safety, as you did, to deliver your message to this convention. We are happy to have you here. You are among your friends, those who think as you do and speak as you do, very largely, and we express the hope that you will enjoy your visit with us. We wish for you a happy and safe return to your loved ones across the sea.

Now, Vice-president Birthright, of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, is prepared to report in behalf of that committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BIRTHRIGHT: The report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies will be submitted by the secretary of the committee, Delegate Quinn.

Delegate Quinn, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Central Body and State Federation Affiliations

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, Detroit, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has annually urged that all local unions affiliate with the central body and state federation of labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor in the district in which their local unions are located, and

WHEREAS, There are a number of such local unions that have failed and neglected to assume their rightful place in the central bodies and state federations of labor, and

WHEREAS, Many international unions have written into their constitution provisions making it mandatory that local unions affiliate with their central bodies and state federations of labor, and other international unions have set up regulations to encourage local unions to affiliate with central bodies and state federations of labor, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, and international unions, frequently look to city central bodies and state federations of labor to make effective the policies of the national organization above mentioned; and this can best be done if the city central bodies and state federations of labor will build to their maximum strength, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in order to insure a more uniform observance of the policy of the American Federation of Labor and the international unions, the secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor shall make a survey and report to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor those unions and the localities in which they are located who are not in affiliation with our city central bodies and our state federations of labor to the end that the American Federation of Labor can place this information before the delegates so suitable action might be taken to insure the largest possible percentage of affiliations.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for their consideration and action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Recommendation of the Committee

The Committee on Local and Federated Bodies had one resolution referred by the Convention. However, your Committee wishes to submit the following report:

There is usually in each city a Central Labor Council chartered by the American Federation of Labor which is the coordinating body for that locality and has at all times through cooperative actions of its affiliates been able to give added support and strength to the locals of the International Unions and Federal Labor Unions.

In view of the many war activities there are many local activities where Central Labor Unions are called upon to participate. The Officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are mindful of the work that can be accomplished by the various Central Labor Councils to cooperate to the fullest with the various Government agencies by having representation on various Boards and Committees as set up by our Government Agencies. We are in receipt of information from the various localities that members of our various unions are giving their time in serving on various Boards as established by the Government. On important Board is that of the Selective Service, which is the Draft and Appeals Boards in which our members have given valuable service. Knowing of the importance of these Boards, we encourage the members of our various unions to continue by serving on these important Boards. Other important Boards are the Rationing Boards, and labor in the various Central Bodies has set up advisory committees to work with the office of OPA, also with the Defense Committees and with the Committees on sale of War Bonds and Stamps. Your Committee believes that the various Central Labor Councils are very important in this work and we therefore request that they continue this work in our all-out effort for Peace and Victory.

May we therefore recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor forward a communication to all International Unions calling upon their local unions to affiliate with their Central Labor Councils to coordinate their activities in the various localities also the affiliation of all Federal Labor Unions to the Central Labor Councils.

Committee Secretary Quinn moved the adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE MARTEL, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, I listened with a good deal of pleasure to the remarks of the Secretary of the committee that he has just made to this Convention, and I wondered just how sincerely those who represent the International Unions will take the words of advice and counsel that came from the committee here this afternoon and that undoubtedly will be followed up by a stirring letter from the President of the American Federation of Labor.

I think there is all too much riding on the backs of those organizations that do support the State Federation of Labor and the City Central Bodies by local unions in communities who have no justified excuse for not affiliating, but who are willing at all times to accept the work of the State Federation or the City Central Bodies. Let me say to you, my friends, that in no community of America are the American Federation of Labor Unions today in the same position they were in a decade ago. Today we have competition, we have a rival organization and there are no local unions that are guaranteed freedom from being raided by the opposition.

But whenever it takes place the International Unions and the local unions affected are looking to whatever agency of the American Federation of Labor exists in that community to protect their interests. My friends, the ability to do it will be measured by the degree of affiliation of the local unions.

The resolution that I introduced here in this Convention which has been referred to the Executive Council, if passed, or if such a report is made to the Convention by the Executive Council, will give all of us a true picture of who those people are that have been failing to measure up to their obligations. In some cases it is purely a local situation; in other cases it is habitual on the part of local unions of certain International Unions. I think all of us—those who belong to International Unions who, by law, mandate that their locals shall affiliate and those who advise that they should affiliate and those who hope that their local people will have sense enough to affiliate—all of us ought to have the picture. We ought to know who those people are. They are on the outside.

It has occurred to us, Mr. Chairman, that International Unions have written us letters asking that we assist their local unions when their local unions were not even in affiliation. I am not complaining alone for our locality, because I believe in Detroit we have the largest affiliation of any Central Body in America, and we have it in spite of the fact that I believe we have the highest per capita tax in America. But if there is any place where the American Federation of Labor local unions ought to be in, it is in the City of Detroit, and those few that are on the outside whose International Unions are allowing them to stay outside without criticism ought to take cognizance of that to encourage them to get in, not only in Detroit but in every Central Body in America.

There are groups of International Unions in this Federation who, because their membership is employed in national institutions and whose wage scales are made on a national or divisional basis, seem to think they have no reason to rub elbows with the men and women in the community in which their people are doing their work.

I say to you, my friends, it doesn't make any difference whether your members are working in a local motion picture theatre or for a railroad, they are still part of the American Federation of Labor and ought to participate in activities of the Central Bodies of the State Federation of Labor.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, when we come back next year the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will be able to report that they have been responsible for inducing those International Unions that continue to permit their Local Unions to shirk their responsibility, to take the place where they properly belong. If there is anything going on in their Central Body of the American Federation of Labor that any International is not happy about, they do not correct it by staying out. They should get inside and fight it out with those on the inside, not run away from their responsibility.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any further remarks?

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY QUINN: Mr. Chairman, that completes the report of your committee which is signed by:

W. C. Birthright, Chairman; James C. Quinn, Secretary; C. C. Coulter, Joseph Marshall, A. Adamski, R. E. Woodmansee, George O. Baker, Wm. J. Moran, Alfred Rota, Wm. McGuern, J. W. VanHook, Lloyd Klenert, John Lundergan, Arthur J. Strunk, Abraham Mendelowitz, Thomas A. Lenehan, Angela Bambace, Michael J. Mungovan, John Hawk, Edward W. Kaiser, Anton Johannsen, John E. Breidenbach, John Gillard, J. F. Schmitt, Claude Skeldon, Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

I now move adoption of the report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

DELEGATE MARTEL: Mr. President, when I made my statement, I hope no one here takes my use of the name motion picture operators to mean that they are not affiliated and do not cooperate in Detroit. They do cooperate with us in every instance. I just mentioned that as comparing a large group with a small one.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Chairman Stevenson of the Shorter Work Day Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK-DAY

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN STEVENSON: The Secretary of the Committee, Brother McDonald, will make the report.

Committee Secretary McDonald made the following report:

Your Committee on Shorter Work-Day is mindful of the importance of this question. War-time conditions have disturbed our thinking about hours of work because our industrial army has willingly worked long hours and has sacrificed health and many work standards in producing implements of war. Nevertheless, in the minds of all workers there is concern about unemployment in the post-war world.

Workers of America have achieved a rate of production never before equaled and far exceeding expectations in spite of the fact that millions of our most able workers are in the military forces of our country. We look forward to and hope for the early return to civilian life of our sons and brothers. It must be realized that employment must be available for this vast army of workers. One means of spreading employment is by the reduction of work-time and labor's program of shortening the work-day and week must be advanced. Your committee notes that there has been a remarkable lack of mention by post-war planners of shortening hours of work as a realistic way of spreading employment. There will be shifts of employment, new services will be needed, the

care of the sick and wounded from both the military and industrial armies will require expansion of medical and social services as a greatly enlarged peace-time industry. In this field at present conditions are such that the responsibilities we owe our social dependents cannot be fulfilled. Hours of work in public institutions in many places are 12 to 15 per day. Man-power shortages are so acute that patient labor is used to the general detriment of the services and the patients themselves. The establishment of the 30-hour week in public institutions for the care of the sick and wounded to whom we owe so much would open employment to hundreds of thousands of additional workers. This is only one illustration of what the application of a 30-hour week will mean.

Technical advances in industry and the accelerating rate of production have developed tensions which cause workers to burn out at an early age. This is justifiable in time of war. The application of the shorter work-day would relieve these tensions as well as spread employment. Since full employment is the first necessity, in maintaining a well-balanced economy, and in insuring stability to our democratic institutions, every attention should be given to shortening hours of employment.

This problem was presented to the convention in three resolutions in the intent of which the committee concurs; they are Resolutions Nos. 121, 122 and 123.

30-Hour Week

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Post-war production and employment foreshadow the difficulty, if not distress, of millions of young workers being demobilized from the armed forces and of additional millions being discharged from manufacture and transportation of war materials, and

WHEREAS, During the war period expressed in terms of labor saving machinery, enormous strides have been made, thus rendering more acute the task of finding jobs for all in a peace-time economy who are willing and able to work, and

WHEREAS, This technological development, constantly enriched by the discoveries of science, has already laid a foundation on which the needs of the population, including the needs for exports to other parts of

the world, in a normal peace-time economy can be provided for abundantly in much less time than what now constitutes the generally accepted workday, and

WHEREAS, The problem of maintaining the American standard of living when the emergency of war production ceases is intimately bound up with the task of finding jobs for all who are willing and able to work, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, as a measure of protection against post-war unemployment, take energetic steps toward the universal establishment of the 30-hour work week of five days of six hours each, without reduction of basic pay, for all workers.

30-Hour Week

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The closing of defense industries and demobilization of the armed forces will create a vast amount of unemployment following the end of the present war, and

WHEREAS, New methods of production, new labor saving devices, development of substitute products requiring less labor, and other advancements of science, will tend to aggravate the amount of unemployment, and

WHEREAS, The greatly increased potential productive capacity of our country will not be utilized unless every able-bodied citizen is provided with useful work thus assuring a consumer demand with purchasing power sufficient to utilize all of our potential productive capacity, and

WHEREAS, The objective of "freedom from want" will never be attained while unnecessary unemployment exists, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of a thirty-hour week immediately following the close of the war.

30-Hour Week

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, One of the problems uppermost in the minds of the working people of the United States, as a consequence of the curtailment of production when the fighting ceases, is the fear of unemployment which leads to insecurity and mass unemployment, and

WHEREAS, The subject of full employment and prosperity is something which concerns every union worker in America, and

WHEREAS, One of the major issues, of which the American Federation of Labor has been a proponent for many years, is the six-hour day, thirty-hour week which would spread available jobs over a greater proportion of workers and would tremendously alleviate the evils of insecurity, unemployment and poverty, and

WHEREAS, It has been proved that where the six-hour day, thirty-hour week has been made effective great benefits to the community have resulted and what benefits the community benefits the entire nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled in the sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor request that legislation be introduced before the Congress of the United States which shall embody the principle of the six-hour day, thirty-hour week to become effective immediately upon the cessation of the fighting, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to the Representatives and Senators of the Congress of the United States.

Inasmuch as the intent and character of these three resolutions seem almost identical, your committee has adopted No. 123, and the committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously approved.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: This completes the report of your Committee on Shorter Work-Day, which is signed by:

Harry Stevenson, Chairman; Roderick McDonald, Secretary; James P. Meehan, Chris Lane, John Pelkofer, William Cooper, Louis P. Marclante, Sal B. Hoffman, B. A. Murray, Milton P. Webster, Harry J. Hagen, Elmer P. Meinz, Joseph P. McCoy, Walter Lenox, F. D. Laudemann, Herbert Skinner, George Haberman, George W. Brayfield, Ray Kelsay, Robert Arnott, David Gingold, Timothy Desmond, John W. Austin, Frank Evans, B. J. Helmke, Committee on Shorter Work-Day.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have no doubt observed the distinguished looking person sitting on the platform with me every day. He has stood behind me loyally supporting me and through radar, electricity or whatever it is, I have felt his gracious influence. I refer to the gracious Secretary Emeritus, our distinguished and beloved Frank Morrison. I want him to say a word to you just now.

Secretary Emeritus Frank Morrison

President Green, Secretary-Treasurer Meany, delegates and friends: I feel that

it is a great privilege to be here today and to listen to the debates that are going on and to know something about the growth of the American Federation of Labor. I hope to see you often. I hope I will be able to do something worthwhile in the future as I always tried to do in the past. The great labor movement is going forward. As I said last year, there is nothing that can stop the movement and the growth of the Federation and there is nothing that is going to prevent the reuniting of all of the National and International Unions of the American Federation of Labor in the future.

(Applause.)

PRESIDENT GREEN: I requested Brother Valente, President of the United Textile Workers, to come to the platform for the purpose of presenting to you a very brief report on his attendance at the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress as fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor. We have time to hear his message this afternoon and I know you will be deeply interested in what he will present. I know that he represented the American Federation of Labor in a proper, sound and dignified way at the convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. I now present to you Brother Valente.

REPORT OF ANTHONY VALENTE (Fraternal Delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)

Mr. President and Delegates: I wish to take this opportunity to thank President Green for permitting me to serve as the Fraternal Delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

When I was informed of my appointment, I was very happy not only because of the personal gratifications attached to such a distinguished mission but because of the possibilities of expanding and strengthening the influence of the United Textile Workers of America among the textile workers of Canada and members of other International Unions.

It was indeed a very great honor and privilege to meet with Brother John Brown from the British Trades Union Congress and the other Fraternal Delegates from Newfoundland and Mexico. It was also most interesting and educational to follow the deliberations of the many delegates who took the floor during the convention and pressed for progressive legislation for the post-war era.

It will be interesting for us all to know that this was the 60th Diamond Jubilee Convention

of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and that membership in the affiliated organizations is the greatest in numbers since the foundation of the Canadian labor movement. Seven hundred and eleven delegates were in attendance—an increase of 192 delegates over the 519 delegates attending the sessions of the 1943 convention. I believe that all of us will be agreeably surprised to learn that the Canadian labor movement, as represented by the Trades and Labor Congress, has now reached the all-time high of 329,315 members, an increase of 138,537 members since the 1943 convention. I understand that the population of Canada is approximately 15 millions, of which 2 1/5% are members of the Trades and Labor Congress. In comparison with the relationship of trade union membership in our own country to the total population, our Canadian Brothers are somewhat far ahead of us, and they are to be complimented on this splendid achievement.

I'm glad to report that the workers of Canada are greatly interested and planning in every manner possible to participate in the program in the formulation and effectuation of plans for reconversion and meeting post-war problems. I was deeply impressed with President Percy Bengough's statement to the convention that it may be necessary to secure the 30-hour work-week if the unemployment situation is to be solved and full employment is to be provided to all workers at decent minimums and under no circumstances at reduced wage levels.

The convention dealt with more than 300 resolutions. Paramount among these was the resolution providing for a sweeping program for social and economic reform. This resolution instructed the incoming officers to take under advisement the setting up of a national non-partisan political committee in line with the policy so long pursued by the American Federation of Labor.

During my stay I took advantage of the opportunity and met with the officers of the United Textile Workers of Canada, which is an independent Textile Union in Canada. I am very happy to report that the results of my conference were very fruitful. We have arrived at an agreement whereby this independent organization will become affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America and the 20-odd locals of the United Textile Workers of Canada will be issued charters from our International Union.

I feel quite confident that now that this is accomplished, we as an International Union, with the help and assistance of other International Unions in Canada and the American Federation of Labor, will forge ahead and organize not only the hundred-odd thousand textile workers but we will be part of the force that will bring about organization of all unorganized workers in the Dominion of Canada.

It is somewhat more than a pleasure for all of us to know and understand the sincere and cordial attitude of the people of Canada towards the people of our own country. There has never been in the history of the world two nations who lived more completely in peace and harmony. Perhaps it might be well for the leaders of the world in seeking a basis for permanent peace to examine and explore all the conditions which have made possible the

magnificent relationship which exists between our nation and our Canadian neighbors.

An exemplification of how the members of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress feel about certain policies of our government, I believe is set forth in the following letter which was sent to President Roosevelt and which, because it appears to me, to so clearly demonstrate the amity and friendship of the workers of Canada, I want to read this letter to you.

Toronto, Ontario,
October 28, 1944.

"Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The President of the United States,
White House, Washington, D. C.

The following report was unanimously approved by The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada at their Diamond Jubilee Convention held at Royal York Hotel, Toronto:

"Your Executive recommends that this Trades and Labor Congress of Canada at its Diamond Jubilee Convention in the City of Toronto, go on record in support of the policies and principles that have been from time to time enunciated by the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, in his determination to cooperate and coordinate the Allied cause in a victory of freedom of the individual, instead of economic and political slavery.

"It is therefore with a feeling of pride that this Trades and Labor Congress, as a part of the American Federation of Labor, have cemented those bonds of friendship and fellowship which has been the means of peace and security as between Canada and the United States for 100 years. Not only so, but we have reason to think that through our affiliations as wage earners with the workers in the United States, that they too constituted, as Trade Unionists that no-strike pledge, and were so active and willing to fight on behalf of our common cause and heritage.

"We hope under your continued guidance the United States of America will go forward in a united policy in cooperation with those principles of freedom and democracy and the right of the common people to determine their own form of self-government.

"On behalf of the Executive Council of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada,

J. A. SULLIVAN,
Secretary-Treasurer."

It will also be a source of gratification to all of us to know that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada as a part of our own great American Federation of Labor, stands firmly in the belief that it shall maintain its complete independence as free men before the world and to show you how strongly the Trades and Labor Congress feels about this principle, I want to quote the closing remarks of President Bengough, which are as follows:

"One thing I want to say and that is that this Congress stands very square on National Unity and will oppose any who are against bringing that unity to fruition. On the International Field this Congress is not an isolationist group. We stand for the uplifting of the workers of the world!

"We have had a number of Government speakers here but this should not be looked upon as a barometer of our political beliefs. This Congress is not going to become the dog running behind the wagon of any political party!"

I assure you that my trip was most enjoyable. The reception that I received not only from the officers of the Congress but from the many delegates and the officials of the City of Toronto is something I shall long remember. The beautiful gift that I received from the delegates attending this convention will be something that I will cherish always.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you Brother Valente, for your message and for the manner in which you represented the American Federation of Labor at the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

I want to submit a supplemental report of the Executive Council entitled, "Brotherhood of Railway Clerks vs. the Order of Railroad Telegraphers." It reports upon jurisdictional differences which arose between the two organizations. It will be included in the proceedings of the convention today and referred to the Committee on Adjustment for disposition.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Brotherhood of Railway Clerks vs. The Order of Railroad Telegraphers

A jurisdictional dispute arose between the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the Order of Railroad Telegraphers. Said dispute was presented to and considered by government agencies created for the purpose of dealing with such disputes.

The phase of this jurisdictional dispute which was brought to the attention of the Executive Council dealt with an application made for an injunction on the part of the officers of The Order of Railroad Telegraphers to restrain the officers of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks from attempting to enforce the jurisdiction of said organization over certain workers employed on certain railroads.

After giving consideration to the question and after taking into account all testimony, information and facts presented, the Executive Council adopted the following resolution:

"RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor after hearing parties at interest does formally request the Order of Railroad Telegraphers to abandon the suit for injunction now pending in the Federal District Court for the Eastern division of the Eastern District of Missouri, and that The Order of Railroad Telegraphers submit to a determination of the jurisdictional questions in controversy by the A. F. of L. pursuant to custom, practice, well settled and established procedures and in obedience to obligations of affiliation. The Executive Council deprecates this action of The Order of Railroad Telegraphers and regards such conduct as contrary to and in violation of the long established policy of the American Federation of Labor to oppose the use of the injunction against Labor Unions in labor disputes."

In addition, the Executive Council at its meeting held in Philadelphia during the month of May 1944, adopted the following declaration:

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

May 9, 1944.

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY AND STEAMSHIP CLERKS, FREIGHT HAND- LERS, EXPRESS AND STATION EM- PLOYEES, VS. THE ORDER OF RAIL- ROAD TELEGRAPHERS:

This case came on for hearing and decision through complaint filed by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, April 29th, 1944, against The Order of Railroad Telegraphers alleging that the telegraphers have been and are now invading and transgressing the work jurisdiction of said Brotherhood. The Order of Railroad Telegraphers was chartered by the American Federation of Labor October 31, 1899, and new charter was issued September 18, 1901, and thereupon admitted to affiliation as an International Labor Union of railroad employees engaged in transmission of intelligence by Morse Code through wires. In the year 1913, said ORT applied to the A. F. of L. for extension of jurisdiction to include the clerical work and this request was denied in the year 1914. No extension of jurisdiction has been granted since date of affiliation.

The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks was admitted to the A. F. of L. in 1907 as an International Labor Union of Railroad and Steamship clerks employed by railroads, steamships and other transportation companies. On application, jurisdiction was extended to include freight handlers employed by railroads.

At the hearing of their complaint by the Executive Council, the Brotherhood alleged that the members of the ORT have been and are now making records, bills, accounts, assessing and collecting charges for the transportation of property and selling tickets and other clerical work for the transportation of persons.

In many instances members of the ORT devote substantially their entire work day to clerical work and only one hour or less

to telegraphers' work. It was shown by the Brotherhood that the ORT had admitted to membership employees of railroads who devote their entire working day to clerical work such as selling passenger tickets, receiving, deliveries, billing, rating and collecting charges and making of other records for the transportation of property.

The ORT admitted its members have been and are now doing clerical work as claimed by the Brotherhood, but undertook to defend this conduct by pointing out that this has been done for many years to a varying extent and that clerical work is a part of their jurisdiction. It was also claimed that unless members of the ORT are permitted to do clerical work their jobs as telegraphers will in many instances be discontinued because there is no need for their services as telegraphers. The ORT admitted some of its members are exclusively employed doing clerical work and they do have in membership clerks employed by the railroads in the United States and Canada.

The facts are clear that the Brotherhood was granted jurisdiction over all railroad clerical work of the character above described and that the ORT has invaded the work jurisdiction of the said Brotherhood granted by the American Federation of Labor. Their violation of clerks jurisdiction by the ORT cannot be excused because it has continued for some time. The very purpose of the A. F. of L. in granting work jurisdiction to International Unions would be defeated if their contention were accepted. It would breed non-respect for the rights of affiliation and induce industrial conflict that will inevitably result in work interception.

The Executive Council finds that the ORT, is violating the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, et al, and instructs said ORT to confine its members to the work jurisdiction granted by the A. F. of L. and directs that any member of the ORT performing clerical work be disassociated from membership.

The Executive Council regarded the resort to the use of the writ of injunction in the controversy herein referred to, as a violation of the traditions and policies of the American Federation of Labor and of the declarations made by conventions of the American Federation of Labor regarding resort to the use of the writ of injunction in labor disputes. It is the fixed traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor to bring about and promote the settlement of jurisdictional disputes which arise between organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor through conferences and submission to duly and legally constituted tribunals set up by the American Federation of Labor, rather than to resort to the use of the writ of injunction.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

TRIBUTE TO DECEASED MEMBERS

PRESIDENT GREEN: I will call upon Secretary-Treasurer Meany to read the list of our very dear members who have departed this life during the past year. You know we always observe that beautiful and appropriate custom of paying tribute to our departed members. Secretary Meany will read the list and then if we have omitted the names of any who should have been included you will be accorded the privilege of adding those names to the list. After that we will stand for a moment and pay our silent tribute.

Secretary Meany read the following list:

List of Officials and Representatives Deceased Since the 1943 Convention

Chas. J. Jennings, Organizer, American Federation of Labor—September 22, 1943.

Andrew A. Myrup, President, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—October 1, 1943.

Edw. D. Vandeleur, Secretary, California State Federation of Labor—October, 1943.

Carl Riedle, Volunteer Organizer, American Federation of Labor—November 12, 1943.

P. M. Draper, Honorary President Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—November 23, 1943.

W. W. Britton, Former President and Secretary, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union—November 28, 1943.

Dad Hurley, Organizer, American Federation of Labor—December, 1943.

John H. Reardon, Retired Executive Board Member of Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America (of Worcester, Mass.)—January 2, 1944.

T. M. Guerin, Member, General Executive Board for United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America for 31 years—January 2, 1944.

Leslie Goudie, Representative, Chicago Teamsters—January 15, 1944.

Frank R. Meyers, President, International Council of Aluminum Workers, and Organizer, American Federation of Labor—January 21, 1944.

Wm. H. Whetor, Organizer, American Federation of Labor—March, 1944.

C. O. Young, Organizer, American Federation of Labor—May 5, 1944.

Joseph McDonagh, Secretary-Treasurer of Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor—May 5, 1944.

T. A. Scully, Former Secretary-Treasurer of Operative Plasterers' International Association

ciation of the United States and Canada—May 8, 1944.

D. E. Nickerson, Secretary, Oregon State Federation of Labor—June 30, 1944.

John B. Colpoys, Editor of The Trades Unionist (Washington, D. C.)—July 7, 1944.

Harry Nichols, Assistant President of International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America—July 20, 1944.

Captain James J. Delaney, President of National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America—September 19, 1944.

Dan Regan, Member of International Executive Board, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America—November 6, 1944.

E. C. Davison, Secretary of International Association of Machinists—November 21, 1944.

A. S. Holohan, Past Secretary Arizona State Federation of Labor and Organizer of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders' League of America—October, 1944.

Sarah Hagan, Assistant Secretary San Francisco Central Labor Council for 43 years—September, 1944.

A. W. McIntyre, International Representative of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers—October 10, 1944.

A. C. Hayden, member of International Executive Board for 31 years, American Federation of Musicians.

Peter Beisel, Representative, Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union—November 4, 1944.

George H. Cartlidge, former Vice President Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

William Burnett, General Executive Board Member, State County and Municipal Employees.

M. A. McConville, International Union of Operating Engineers—August, 1944.

George Black, International Representative, Brotherhood of Boiler Makers.

William Van Houten, Georgia State Federation of Labor.

Jean Greenfield, President Hebrew Actors' Union, and First Vice President Associated Actors and Artistes of America.

James H. Maurer, former President, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

Elias Reisberg, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

In accordance with the usual custom, the delegates rose and remained standing in silence for one minute.

President Green called for reports of committees that were prepared to report at this time.

The Chair recognizes Vice President Woll, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

SPECIAL ORDER—REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

VICE PRESIDENT WOLL: The Committee on Resolutions will complete its work tonight and will be ready to report to-

morrow morning. I move that a special order of business be set for 10 o'clock, Tuesday morning, November 28th, to hear the report of the Committee on Resolutions, to continue until completed.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

VICE PRESIDENT TOBIN, Chairman of the Committee: Nothing has been submitted to the Committee on Law, of which I am chairman. There have been no amendments offered to the constitution. Consequently, we have nothing to report.

It is our opinion, however, that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor should be gone over very carefully during the coming year by our General Counsel and a committee from the Executive Council, a report of their findings to be submitted to the next convention suggesting any amendments that should be made for the consideration of the next convention in accordance with the new laws that have been enacted during the past year in many of the states. There are many loopholes not only in the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor but in many of the Constitutions of our International Unions, and for their own protection careful consideration should be given those Constitutions in order to protect the membership in the courts of the land if you are haled into court.

There is nothing to report this year on behalf of the Committee on Laws on the Constitution.

I therefore offer a motion that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be adopted without change at this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

No further committees were prepared to report, and Delegate Lindelof, Brotherhood of Painters, offered a motion that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to 9:30 o'clock, Tuesday morning, November 28th.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the convention adjourned at 4:40 o'clock, p. m., to 9:30 o'clock, Tuesday morning, November 28th.

SIXTH DAY — TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

New Orleans, Louisiana, November 28, 1944

New Orleans, Louisiana
November 28, 1944

The convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock by President Green.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Dr. Glenn L. Sneed, Pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church of New Orleans will pronounce the invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

(Reverend Glenn L. Sneed, Westminster Presbyterian Church)

Our Father, God, Thou who art the Father of our spirits and the source of all wisdom, light and truth, we look up to Thee to invoke Thy blessing upon this convention. We pray for Thy blessing upon its officers and committees, upon its members who belong to organized labor throughout the world.

Wouldst Thou give to each a spirit of justice and righteousness. May each according to his ability and skill render such service as will entitle him to the material compensation and spiritual satisfaction that belongs to those who do honest work.

We pray that Thou wouldst bless organized and unorganized labor in their efforts to cooperate with capital and management. Wouldst Thou bless all men of good will throughout the world; may they find a channel of expression in the counsels of the nations.

We pray especially for all men of good will and cooperative spirit in all walks of life as they look toward a day of peace.

Grant that the spirit of brotherhood may increase in the life of the world and hasten the day when wars may cease to the ends of the earth while justice and righteousness cover the earth.

May this convention and what it represents in the world make an honorable and powerful contribution to the on going of Thy kingdom among men. We ask these things in the name of Jesus Christ, the Master Workman of the race who said that I am the light of the world, my Father maketh hitherto and I work. Amen.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT RESOLUTION

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany for an announcement of a resolution requiring unanimous consent.

SECRETARY MEANY: A resolution has been submitted by Delegates Zaritsky, Mendelowitz, Herschkowitz, Goldman and Lewis, under the caption, "Palestine".

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there objections to the introduction and consideration of the resolution just reported upon by Secretary-treasurer Meany. Hearing none, the resolution will be received and referred to the appropriate committee for action and consideration.

The resolution is as follows:

Palestine

Resolution No. 166—By Delegates Max Zaritsky, A. Mendelowitz, S. Herschkowitz, M. Goldman, Marx Lewis.

WHEREAS, The inhuman slaughter of European Jewry continues unabated, and the Nazis—intent upon completing their program to annihilate the Jewish people—are devising new and more horrible methods of mass murder. The documented reports of the unparalleled crimes committed in the death camps of Maidanek, Oswiecin and Treblinka, in the ghettos of Poland, in the market places of Roumania and Hungary, have outraged civilized humanity. To date, approximately 4,000,000 innocent Jewish men, women and children have suffered horrible death by shooting, asphyxiation, starvation, strangulation and fire, and

WHEREAS, We are determined that those Jews who have survived the holocaust shall be rescued and rehabilitated by the United Nations, and are equally determined that such rescue and rehabilitation shall conform to the particular needs and problems of uprooted European Jewry, and

WHEREAS, Decisions affecting the future of the homeless Jews of Europe are being made daily by international agencies, such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, agencies which derive their authority from the peoples of the United Nations, and

WHEREAS, The people of the United States have demonstrated their wholehearted sympathy with the plight of Europe's Jews and have expressed America's determination to bring about a just solution of this most pressing of human problems—a solution which will take into account the real needs and desires of the Jewish people. During the past year the American people have called for the fulfillment of the pledge contained in the Balfour Declaration. An overwhelming majority of our people desire the opening of Palestine's doors to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and the re-establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. These sentiments have been voiced through

the forthright Palestine planks included in the platforms of both major political parties, and through the notable statements endorsing Jewish aspirations in Palestine made by a large majority of the membership of both Houses of Congress, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, in a historic declaration made on October 15th, 1944, re-affirmed our country's traditional policy of support for the Jewish National Home in the following words: "I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization," and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has followed a policy of staunch and unwavering friendship for Jewish Palestine and has throughout the years supported the Jewish National Home and admired the magnificent accomplishment of Palestine Jewry, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always had deep respect for and a feeling of kinship with the Histadruth, the General Federation of Labor in Palestine, and has during the past year supported the program so admirably carried out by the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine, and

WHEREAS, Jewish Palestine has demonstrated its willingness and its ability to rehabilitate Europe's persecuted Jews and has, despite the Chamberlain White Paper of 1939 and other obstacles, fought the war against the common enemy with almost unparalleled devotion to the democratic cause, and

WHEREAS, Resolutions, reflecting America's conviction that at long last justice must be done to the long suffering Jewish people, have been introduced into both Houses of Congress: These bi-parisan measures (HR 418-419 and SR 247) call for the free entry of Jews into Palestine and full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of War has recently announced that no military reasons stand in the way of action on the Palestine resolutions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urges the passage at the earliest possible moment of the pending Palestine resolutions, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls for the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth and urges upon the Government of the United States to take speedy and definite action on the Palestine question—action which will be in conformity with the historic, but as yet unfulfilled, pledges made to the Jewish people, and with the present needs of the persecuted Jews of Europe.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Green submitted the following Supplemental Report:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined the following credentials and recommend that the delegate be seated:

J. S. Voorhies, representing the Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Central Trades and Labor Council, with one vote.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Vice President Woll, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, for announcement of the presentation of the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

VICE PRESIDENT WOLL: Mr. Chairman, your committee had before it 89 resolutions out of 164 introduced to the convention, practically more than half of the resolutions presented to the convention.

Your committee likewise had 77 subjects of the Executive Council's report out of approximately 135 subjects—again over half. All of these subjects were thoroughly considered by your committee. None of them was overlooked or slighted in its consideration.

Meetings of the committee were very well attended, and as Chairman of the Committee I want to thank each and every member for their prompt and constant attendance at every meeting.

Now as to the method of reporting, wherever two resolutions deal with the same subject or are closely related to each other we report upon them jointly. Wherever a resolution is related to a subject of the Executive Council's Report, we report that resolution with the Council's report, either immediately following or in combination with the report. We do that in order to avoid repetition.

As to the order of reporting, we shall as far as possible report in the numerical order in which the resolutions are presented, although we may deviate from that procedure slightly to accommodate some of the delegates who must leave early. Then, too, we shall bear in mind in reporting to the convention the fact that we wish to treat both morning and afternoon papers fairly.

I make this explanation so the delegates may know why we are proceeding as we do.

The Secretary, Mr. Frey, will present the report of the committee.

Delegate John P. Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

We will read the number of the resolutions and the introducers, the subject, and the committee's report unless there is a request for the reading of the full resolution.

Application of Seniority Principles to All Federal Employees

Resolution No. 1—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex. Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Jos. Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers', Die Stammers' and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Jos. Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Seniority is a well established principle in most trades and industries, and

WHEREAS, Seniority principles are recognized and operate successfully in several post offices, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of seniority principles among all Federal Employees.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Retirement System for A. F. of L. Employees

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex. Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, There is at present no equitable provision for retirement upon annuities, of the officers and employees of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The establishment of an equitable retirement system for such officers and employees has received favorable action by previous conventions, there, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be urged to expedite a study of the subject with the end in view of the establishment at the earliest practicable date of an equitable retirement system for all full time officers and employees of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to be taken up in connection with its study and consideration of the retirement question for officers and employees of the Federation.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY: There were referred to your committee three resolutions, Nos. 3, 29 and 34, relative to the same subject, namely, Labor Representation at Peace Conferences.

Labor Representation At Peace Conferences

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horibeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Werfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The burdens and sacrifices of wars are borne inevitably by the workers, and

WHEREAS, The future welfare and security of workers everywhere are dependable upon the establishment of equitable and humane international relations and the maintenance of permanent peace, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor make appropriate representation to the President of the United States urging the inclusion of duly constituted representatives of the American Federation of Labor in any conferences to negotiate the terms of peace following the present war.

A. F. of L. Representation at Peace Conference

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates C. J. MacGowan, William E. Walter, J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, William J. Buckley, J. P. McCallum, Harry Nacey, J. F. Schmitt, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, American Labor has made the most gigantic contribution to the suc-

cessful prosecution of the present global war ever witnessed in the history of mankind, and

WHEREAS, This great contribution is portrayed by the great number of our sons who lie among the uncounted dead, or who have been incapacitated for life in one form or another. We have given generously of our slender earnings. We have endured discomfort and inconveniences, and we have accepted for the duration of the war, the lowering of many of our precious standards, and the impairment of our standard of living, and we have likewise, as soldiers in the Army of Production, kept the faith and redeemed our pledge to the nation to surrender our traditional defense—the right to suspend work, and

WHEREAS, All of these sacrifices and contributions have been made willingly and cheerfully in order to preserve for ourselves and for posterity, the sacred institutions of American liberty, and

WHEREAS, We feel that the workers of America should not again be called upon to lay such precious treasures at the altar of liberty without insisting that all reasonable things be done to establish and maintain a permanent, healthy and militant world peace, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we respectfully insist and demand that the American Federation of Labor be represented in the Peace Conference deliberations by fully accredited spokesmen of this organization to the end that power politics, secret diplomacy, balances of power and other machinations which will sow the seeds of future wars will be exposed and defeated so that when the peace is arrived at, it will, in truth and in fact, be a lasting peace so that the peoples of the earth may bind up their wounds and undertake the gigantic task of restoring civilization and normal peacetime activities.

Labor Representation at the Peace Conference

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor having played a very important role in the conduct of the war through production in vital war industries and other necessary war jobs, through a no-strike pledge, and also in furnishing a large percentage of the manpower actually engaged in military operation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby records itself in favor of the proposition: That all organized labor friendly to the American Federation of Labor and not dual thereto shall be represented at the Peace Conference.

Your Committee recommends approval of Resolutions Nos. 3 and 29, and further recommends that Resolution No. 34 be amended to read:

"That this convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby records itself in favor of insisting that duly accredited representatives of the American Federation of Labor shall be appointed to participate in the peace conferences."

With this amendment your Committee recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Essay Contest

Resolution No. 4—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Hundreds of thousands of members of the American Federation of Labor are enrolled in the armed forces of the United States and are participating in the conflict in every theater of the present war, and

WHEREAS, Their views and opinions arising from their experience are of the utmost importance in the consideration of terms of peace, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor conduct an essay contest open to all members in the armed forces upon the subject "The Peace For Which We

Fight," and that suitable recognition be accorded the authors of winning essays, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the winning essays be published in the American Federationist.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and consideration, and such action as it deems advisable.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Attaches in State Department

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Samuel Otto, Joseph Tuvim, Angela Bambace, David Gingold, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The role of labor in the conduct of international relations has grown during the war and will doubtless continue to increase after the war, and

WHEREAS, In recognition of this fact the State Department has undertaken to appoint labor attaches in many countries where the United States has diplomatic representation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the creation, within the State Department, of an Under-Secretariat of Labor to organize and supervise the work of the labor attaches who along with the head of the secretariat shall be chosen from the ranks of organized labor.

In endorsing this resolution in principle, your committee would point out that at present labor attaches have not been granted statutory status; in fact the entire labor division in the Department of State has thus far not been given any status by legislation.

Your committee in endorsing this resolution recommends that an effort be made to have appropriate legislation enacted through which, chosen from the ranks of labor, qualified persons would be selected by the Department of Labor and accredited through the Department of State, to serve in a like manner as attaches in other fields after their status is established by law, qualifying through the proper department, and accredited for and serviced by the Department of State.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

International Machinery For Peace

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Samuel Otto, Joseph Tuvim, Angela Bambace, David Gingold, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, We are today involved in a vast struggle of world-wide proportions against those who have sought to conquer the world and impose upon it tyrannical domination, and

WHEREAS, We are fighting in this war for the right of every man to have a voice in the government of his country; for the right of every man to live in peace and security, and to enjoy social and economic standards consistent with human comfort and human dignity, and

WHEREAS, It is our belief that in order to achieve these aims the old, discredited system of power politics, balance-of-power manipulations and arbitrary divisions of spheres of influence must be abolished and that this modern interdependent and closely-knit world must be reorganized on the basis of collaboration among all nations, large or small, and

WHEREAS, It is our unshakable belief that such collaboration cannot attain its full effectiveness unless labor is fully and adequately represented on the international councils by delegates chosen by organized labor itself, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United States shall help to establish an international machinery with adequate power to maintain the peace against all possible future aggressors and to assure the small nations of the world security from unilateral action or domination by the bigger powers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the free and democratic movements of all countries shall have direct and adequate representation on such international councils, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our foreign policy be directed towards support of the principles of Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, and the removal of trade barriers and the encouragement of the exchange of goods among nations as a means of advancing their economic stability and collective well-being.

Your committee recommends that the second resolved be amended by inserting the word "labor" between the words "democratic movements", and further recommends that the last resolved be amended so that it will read:

RESOLVED, That our foreign policy be directed towards support of the principles of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, and the promotion of commercial relations between the nations of the earth as a means of advancing their respective economic stability and well being.

With these amendments your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. Employees Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 7—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowers, Alex Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letters Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers', Die Stammers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels B. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the workmen's compensation law covering government employees and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's Compensation Laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia and the large body of workmen employed on Federal Emergency projects, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of Federal workmen's compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal workmen's compen-

sation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to request that the U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission, its records, and functions be returned to the national capital at the earliest practicable date, and be it further.

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horibeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers', Die Stammers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Landis, Irvin Kuenzli, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The administration of laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of positions under the Classification Act of 1923, and the administration of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees, and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law, and

WHEREAS, Many decisions had under these laws are quasi-judicial ones, and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bipartisan commission, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to request of the President that one of the members of the United States Civil Service Commission be selected with particular reference to his active interest in organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Jurisdictional Disputes

Resolution No. 10—By Central Labor Council, Everett, Washington.

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes cause dissension between internationals and also between local unions, and

WHEREAS, These disputes also waste a great deal of the time of international officers and business representatives and also time at meetings of local councils and local unions, and

WHEREAS, Most of these jurisdictional disputes are caused because the jurisdictional claims of the various internationals overlap and in some places are not clearly defined, and

WHEREAS, Every effort should be made to eliminate all causes of dissension in organized labor, in order that union men and women can work together in harmony to improve wages and working conditions and also work together for economic and social progress, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to appoint an impartial committee to examine the jurisdictional claims of the various international unions, and to request the internationals affected to adjust their jurisdictional claims where they overlap or otherwise conflict with each other.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Racial Discrimination

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, Detroit, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The constitution of the United States guarantees to the citizens of this country equal rights before the law, and that there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, or color, and

WHEREAS, The Selective Service Act specifically states that no member of the armed forces shall be discriminated against because of race, creed or color, and

WHEREAS, It is now charged that the Selective Service Act is being violated in that the negroes inducted into the Armed Forces are discriminated against, particularly, this is true in the Air Forces by the establishment of a segregated Air Base at Tuskegee Institution at Tuskegee, Alabama, and

WHEREAS, These negroes in the Armed Forces have given a good account of themselves in the conflict and have assumed their full responsibility with credit to themselves and to the nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor investigate the allegation made that the discrimination is being made against negroes in the Armed Forces, and that every opportunity be afforded to those making the charge to present their evidence to the end that all such alleged discrimination shall be eliminated and that the people of the United States, both negroes and whites, will have full confidence that prohibition against discrimination is being fully observed.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY: Your committee has considered Resolutions Nos. 12, 14 and 56 jointly because they cover the question of public relations.

A. F. of L. Public Relations Department

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Samuel Otto, Joseph Tuvim, Angela Bambace, David Gingold, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The 1943 Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor, in acting on a number of resolutions calling for the establishment of a Public Relations Department, has expressed its accord with the spirit of those resolutions and suggested

that the Federation's public relations activities be improved, enlarged and better coordinated, and

WHEREAS, That same convention has recommended that the Executive Council set up a special fund, supplemented by voluntary contributions from affiliated national and international unions, to finance an effective and comprehensive public relations program, and

WHEREAS, While we regard these still unrealized decisions of the 1943 Convention as a step in the right direction, we still believe that the expansion and improvement of organized labor's public relations could best be effected through the establishment of a properly financed Public Relations Department by the Federation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention approve the formation of such a public relations department in the American Federation of Labor to interpret the true social aims of organized labor; to present a responsible picture of trade unionism as an element in the American way of life; and to establish close mutual relations of good will and cooperation with those sections of the public to whom labor is bound by a community of interest.

Labor News Commentator

Resolution No. 14—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, All American labor has lost respect, esteem and support from the American public through the distortion of many radio newscasters and commentators, and

WHEREAS, The distortions, half-truths and inaccuracies by these broadcasters as well as by the people engaged in gathering and preparing the news for broadcast, have caused serious harm to American Labor, and

WHEREAS, These prejudicial and biased news broadcasts are usually sponsored by corporations, many of which are avowed enemies of American Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee of three members of the Executive Council to study ways and means of sponsoring Labor's own news commentator on a satisfactory network frequently enough so that Labor can get its spot news with full confidence in its truth and accuracy, and be it further

RESOLVED, This Committee report its findings to the Executive Council at its next regular meeting and make public the Council's findings and decision.

Syndicated News Column for Labor

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Most of the daily newspapers in the United States carry as a regular feature syndicated articles by one or more columnists who specialize in smearing organized labor and labor unions and in fomenting and encouraging of racial and religious discrimination and prejudices, and

WHEREAS, The malicious and untrue propaganda contained in these syndicated columns is constantly distorted, emphasized and magnified throughout the entire nation, and

WHEREAS, There is a present and future need for the existence of a fair, liberal and pro-labor syndicated daily column, and

WHEREAS, If such a daily syndicated column were available for publication in newspapers which are willing or desirous of presenting all sides of the picture through its columns, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor presently having a statistical department which specializes in gathering the facts it is in a position to establish, sponsor and maintain a daily syndicated column for use by newspapers throughout the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20, 1944, go on record in favor of establishing a syndicated daily news column as provided in the next four paragraphs:

1. That the present news service of the American Federation of Labor be extended to include a daily syndicated news column.

2. That such syndicated news service be made available to all news publications wishing to purchase a syndicated labor news service.

3. That the American Federation of Labor employ an outstanding news writer to prepare a daily column for use by newspapers throughout the nation so that the working man and the public generally may have a true, unbiased and straight-forward picture of the facts concerning matters affecting labor and labor unions.

4. That the American Federation of Labor do all in its power to obtain the greatest possible publication of this news column in the newspapers throughout the country.

Your committee is in approval with the purpose of the resolutions, but believe that they should be referred to the **Executive Council** so that the most practical means of developing our public relations should be established.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Participation in B. L. S. Surveys

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Cost of living statistics as compiled by the United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, have become a factor in wage controls as administered by Federal Government agencies, and

WHEREAS, Even prior to the institution of governmental controls as a result of the present war emergency, such statistics formed the basis of wage controls in many agreements between industry and labor, and

WHEREAS, Serious deficiencies in the data content of the Bureau of Labor Statistics Index was disclosed by the report of the Labor members of the President's Committee on the Cost of Living, and

WHEREAS, The reconciliation of this index by the incorporation of such deficiencies discloses that this index, in its present form, fails completely in reflecting the magnitude of the actual rise in the cost of living, thereby destroying any confidence which organized labor may have had in the index as an instrument to be used in wage controls and adjustments, and

WHEREAS, The restoration of this lost confidence on the part of organized labor in the adequacy and reliability of the index is essential if the index is to serve a useful purpose in relation to collective bargaining, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby requests that labor personnel, appointed by labor, be made a part of the Bureau of Labor Statistics to assist in determining the policy, as well as the compilation of data content for the BLS Cost of Living Index and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, and to the Secretary of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Free Medical Care For Wage Earners

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The inadequacies of the Federal Social Security Act and its complete lack of protection for workers and their families during periods of illness are well

known, and are, if anything, made more glaringly outstanding since the enunciation of the democratic principles of freedom from want and freedom from fear, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the New Orleans A. F. of L. convention go on record requesting the American Federation of Labor to sponsor federal legislation, either as an amendment to the Social Security Act or for separate enactment, which will provide for free hospitalization and free medical care together with a stipulated financial support for all wage earners and their families during periods of illness.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Permanent Committee on Social Security of the A. F. of L.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Aid to Veterans

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The premise of the international unions of the American Federation of Labor is the same as the desire of all veterans' organizations in getting and securing full employment for returning service men, and

WHEREAS, This singleness of purpose has already been proven in good faith by labor and the veterans' organizations in the support for the GI Bill of Rights, and

WHEREAS, Each organization will be in a better position to accomplish the best possible employment for the men and women now serving our country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge its help and full support to all service organizations and agencies to assist, augment, and if necessary, carry out a program of full employment for returning veterans, as well as assist these organizations wherever and whenever possible to help the returning servicemen receive all the help and benefits a grateful nation can give them.

Your committee endorses the purpose of the resolution, and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY: Your committee considered Resolutions 17 and 18 jointly.

Marshaling Labor's Vote For Preservation of Democracy

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Our country has fought two wars in twenty-five years, championing the rights of oppressed peoples to preserve the right of self-government, and

WHEREAS, This right of self-government, which is democracy, can be endangered just as much by the people's failure to express themselves by voting, as by foreign aggression, and

WHEREAS, Democracy is living and progressive only when the largest possible number of Americans use the privilege of the secret ballot, and

WHEREAS, True democracy must have the largest possible expression by voters to make it workable and a reality, therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor develop permanent, complete and concise plans for getting out this vote, a plan to include all details to encourage Americans to use the privilege of the ballot, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor transmit this plan to all Central bodies, State bodies, as well as International Unions, so that full voting strength will be mustered for all county, township, village, school, judicial, municipal, state and national elections.

Membership's Duty to Vote

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The right of Americans to vote is one of America's sacred privileges for which a number of wars have been fought, and

WHEREAS, The privilege of the secret ballot is a valuable attribute of liberty, and

WHEREAS, The proper use of the ballot is considered the mark of good citizenship, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always endeavored to fight for the cause of democracy and good citizenship and its components, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend to all international unions that there be included in their constitutions, as well as in the by-laws of their respective local unions, a clause which shall read: "It shall be the duty of every eligible member of this Union, as

proof of his love of liberty and democracy and an expression of his desire to be a good citizen, to register, to vote and be properly registered for all elections, and at all times to make the most intelligent possible use of the ballot in all elections.

With the general purpose of Resolutions Nos. 17 and 18 your committee is in cordial approval. It is labor's responsibility to see that all wage earners eligible should register so that they may cast their vote as citizens. Your committee however believes it advisable that the resolutions be referred to the Executive Council for study so that practical plans may be worked out and recommendations made to the affiliated bodies.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National AFL Government Service and Advisory Department

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Many complex problems are continually arising pertaining to wage stabilization, the National Labor Relations Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, Walsh-Healy Act, etc., which seriously affect the welfare of all members of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, These problems are steadily becoming more important, and requiring greater, application of skill and research to properly present these problems to guarantee maximum benefits for the membership, and

WHEREAS, Many unfavorable decisions and rulings have been made as a result of unwise presentation and representation, and

WHEREAS, Such unfavorable decisions and rulings could be avoided, and greater benefits and security could be effected by a more unified approach to these problems, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed to establish a department comprised of the most capable experts available, to develop policy and strategy, to combat unfavorable trends and decisions and establish information service designed to advise national and international unions on dangerous trends, and how best to approach these problems, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this department be sufficiently staffed to assist all natural and international unions in properly presenting labor's problems in all such cases.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Products of Anti-Labor States

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Robert C. Kirkpatrick, John Simons, Tillman K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, John W. Austin, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The States of California, Florida and Arkansas have submitted amendments to their Constitution which are framed to be used against organized labor and

WHEREAS, The adoption of such amendments will reflect a hostile and unfair attitude of the people of such state or states toward organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon all members of organized labor to recognize as unfair, all products from such States as adopt such anti-labor amendments, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all publicity features of the American Federation of Labor devote necessary space to supply information to its members as to the names of sources of supply of the products of such state or states and the trade names of such products, if any.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to take effect if, and when, the time is propitious.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Committee to Investigate Social and Economic Conditions in Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate Nicolas Norgueras Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The geographical position and its ethnological conditions place Puerto Rico in a privileged situation to render invaluable services to our Nation in its relations with the Latin American Countries, and

WHEREAS, It is most desirable that social and economic conditions be improved for the welfare of the two million American citizens inhabiting our Island, therefore, be it

RESOLVED. By the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

1. That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to appoint a committee to investigate at the earliest possible moment the social and economic conditions of Puerto Rico so as to enable the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, upon the report of this committee, to recommend to the President of the United States and to Congress those measures that might be considered just, reasonable and necessary to ameliorate social and economic conditions of the inhabitants of the Island and that would also permit Puerto Rico, through its duly accredited representatives to participate in all the post-war plans and programs intended to rehabilitate our Nation and Dependencies.

2. That said committee be also empowered to investigate how the labor movement of Puerto Rico is functioning and to find out what cooperation could be rendered to carry out its work to improve conditions of the toiling masses of Puerto Rico and to protect and maintain the principles and ideals of the A. F. of L.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the expression of the committee that it has thorough-going sympathy with the problems of our brothers in Puerto Rico.

Committee Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE RIVERA, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen: Mr. Chairman and delegates of the American Federation of Labor convention, I am having this privilege of addressing this convention to sustain the report of the Committee on Resolutions in connection with Resolution No. 21, from the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen. I note that the resolution and the report are self-sustainable, due to the fact that they have received the careful consideration of the distinguished delegates who compose the Committee on Resolutions, but I want to say to the convention that we are absolutely convinced that the American Federation of Labor and you people must not forget that Puerto Rico is an American possession linked with this great nation, since we have the honor of being ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Paris. The very moment the American troops landed on our Island, we started our labor movement there, and in 1901 we became affiliated with this great democratic American labor movement. In the year 1905 we were honored and privileged in having the late President Samuel Gompers visit our Island. This visit was greatly

beneficial and had good results for our working people down there.

Later on we had other committees investigating many industries, the cigar industry, the tobacco stripping industry, the needle working industry and other industries.

Now we are requesting from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that a committee be appointed to go to our Island and investigate our social and economic conditions, also our labor movement.

Our economic conditions have been worse during this emergency. We have no war industries there. Our Island is mainly agricultural, the main industry being the sugar industry, which employs over 130,000 workers. Due to lack of fertilizer, the production of sugar has been hampered. This year we produced 800,000 tons of sugar. The production next year will be nearly 1,000,000 tons of sugar. Our capacity to produce sugar amounts to 2,000,000 tons per year. Lack of fertilizer and transportation have hampered also our coffee industry and our tobacco production.

As I said to you before, we have no war industries, and besides that we are just encountering, as you have here in this nation, a dual movement down there which claims to be sponsored by the Insular government. The party in power seems to give backing to this dual movement, although by this time we are approaching the government in order to discuss in a round table conference all our differences, so that peace in our industrial relations may be maintained because they are so badly needed now in war-time.

But we want you people of the Executive Council to go over there and devote a helping hand to us in our struggle. We are fighting to maintain the principles and ideals of the American Federation of Labor. We have been doing that for nearly a half a century, and besides we are really proud to be American citizens and to belong to this great labor movement, the American Federation of Labor.

If it were possible we would like to have the honor of President Green in Puerto Rico, as we had that honor of President Gompers in the year 1905. We would feel glad if he would come, and we are sure that will have practical and beneficial results.

Gentlemen of the convention, I have spoken in support of the report of the Committee on Resolutions, hoping that a committee will be appointed to come to our Island and investigate

our social and economic conditions and also our historic labor movement.

Thank you.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CIO

(Page 119, Executive Council's Report)

UNITED MINE WORKERS FAILURE TO BECOME REAFFILIATED

(Page 120, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption "Peace Negotiations With The CIO" the Executive Council reports that during the year there was no conference between the committee representing the American Federation of Labor and the committee representing the CIO, for the purpose of finding a basis for unity. In the meantime division, discord and disunity has existed in the ranks of labor; the situation has grown worse, confusion, distrust and bitterness have increased; that the CIO, in addition to organizing the unorganized has devoted much of its effort toward raiding organizations of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council voices the opinion that the leaders of the CIO are responsible for the confusion and bitterness which has developed.

Regardless of the attitude of the leaders of the CIO, your committee is convinced that our responsibility to the labor movement of the United States and Canada is such that we should unceasingly explore every avenue which would lead toward unity within the American labor movement. We are aware that a large portion of the rank and file of the CIO deplore disunity as much as we do, and we owe it to these men and women to continue, despite rebuffs that may be encountered, to work steadily for conferences leading to the consummation of unity.

Because of its relationship to this portion of the Executive Council's report your committee also gave consideration to that portion of the report under the caption "United Mine Workers Failure To Become Reaffiliated." This portion of the report contains the vital correspondence on the subject which passed between President William Green, A. F. of L., and President John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers. The outstanding fact is that the United Mine Workers made an application for reaffiliation, and because of questions which developed the affiliation did not take place.

Your committee, in view of all the facts concerning these negotiations, recommends

that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to renew the invitation to the United Mine Workers to reaffiliate, for the practical reason that the reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers should strengthen the American Federation of Labor while proving helpful to the United Mine Workers. We believe that in connection with such invitation to the United Mine Workers, full consideration should be given to the directions and authorizations given to the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council by the Boston Convention, 1943.

With these comments your committee recommends approval of both of these portions of the Executive Council's report.

In connection with the general subject Resolutions Nos. 44 and 48 have been considered. They are as follows:

Labor Unity

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Robert C. Kirkpatrick, John Simons, T. K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, John W. Austin, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, the 87th Convention of the International Typographical Union held at Grand Rapids, Michigan, August 19 through August 25, 1944, passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the 87th International Typographical Union Convention meeting in Grand Rapids, August 19 to 25, 1944, request that the two 'peace' committees of the AFL and the CIO begin immediate conferences to unite these two great labor organizations."

WHEREAS, The difference between the AFL and other organized labor groups have continued for a period of time making it unlikely that unity in the ranks of labor will be achieved without some concrete indication of a practical basis on which the AFL is willing to approach the problem, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL Peace Committee and Executive Council prepare a statement for the benefit of all AFL affiliates and members, containing the following information:

1. Those points on which there is a fundamental disagreement with the CIO and/or other labor groups outside the AFL.
2. The basis on which the AFL would be willing to settle such controversial points and
3. Present plans for bringing about a meeting which has for its purpose the exploration of possible avenues of reaching an understanding with these outside labor organizations.

Labor Unity

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Samuel Otto, Joseph Tuvim, Angela Babbace, David Gingold, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Unity of the trade union movement, for many years a matter of paramount concern to all keenly interested in the welfare of organized labor, is to day more than ever desirable and urgent, and

WHEREAS, This division in organized labor is bound to offer its enemies even greater advantages for attack in the post-war period, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the sub-committee of the Executive Council, charged with the duty of negotiating with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, immediately upon the adjournment of this convention, to invite the representatives of the Congress of Industrial Organizations to meet and explore again every practical possibility for bringing about unity within the labor movement, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the sub-committee of the Executive Council appointed to negotiate with the United Mine Workers of America for the reaffiliation of that organization with the American Federation of Labor, be similarly instructed to take the initiative in renewing conferences with the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America in an effort to find a basis of adjustment and reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be given broad powers to summon the aforesaid sub-committees and to take part with these sub-committees in further conferences with the representatives of the CIO or the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America whenever, in his judgment, resumption of such conferences is advisable or opportune.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolutions Nos. 44 and 48.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee covering the general subject matter in the Executive Council's report and Resolutions Nos. 44 and 48:

DELEGATE JOHN MARCHIANDO, Progressive Mine Workers of America: Delegates, I rise to oppose the report of the Resolutions Committee, as well as the wording of the report of the Executive Council on the decision regarding the reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers of America back into the American Federation of Labor.

In the report of the Executive Council it states on Page 20:

"The Executive Council has considered the report of its Committee, the letter submitted by President Lewis and the application of the United Mine Workers of America for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor in a sympathetic way. The Council proposes that the United Mine Workers return with the jurisdiction they had when they left the American Federation of Labor. The Council instructs its committee to again meet with a committee representing the United Mine Workers of America for the purpose of clarifying all questions that have not been settled."

Delegates, that decision rendered to the United Mine Workers of America has practically given the jurisdiction held by the Progressive Mine Workers of America back to the United Mine Workers of America.

As Secretary-Treasurer of the Progressive Mine Workers of America I contend that it is a strict violation of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which was adopted here again just yesterday. Under that Constitution the organization that I represent was chartered back in 1938, given jurisdictional rights over all workmen eligible for membership in and around coal mines, coal washers, and coke ovens in the United States of America, or complete jurisdiction over all workers in coal mines in the United States of America.

That jurisdiction was followed by a letter from President William Green of the American Federation of Labor to President Ozanic, who at that time was President of the Progressive Mine Workers of America, defining those jurisdictions.

Now under this decision, or in the last convention in Boston, it seemed that the rights of the Progressive Mine Workers of America would be protected at all times. We appeared before the Executive Council and that was understood, but I find that that has not been done.

Now I will take you back to Page 18, in the affiliation of other International charters, where the jurisdiction of these International Unions was clearly defined and established, and it was stipulated by the Executive Council and agreed to by the representatives of two International Unions, that the jurisdiction of the Internationals already chartered by the American Federation of Labor would be protected.

I contend you are protecting the other International charter, but not that of the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

But as President-elect of the Progressive Mine Workers of America I deem it my duty to do everything in my power to keep the Progressive Mine Workers of America in the fold

of the American Federation of Labor. I want you men to understand that the Progressive Mine Workers of America believe in the American Federation of Labor. I am asking that you vote down that report, which I know you will not do, but nevertheless let it be understood the Progressive Mine Workers will not stop fighting yet, because if any men know anything about John L. Lewis and his cohorts, the Progressive Miners do. When you talk about peace and harmony in the labor ranks by bringing that man back in here, I think you are kidding yourselves.

Go back to 1936. He did everything possible to disrupt the ranks of the American Federation of Labor, later he organized the CIO, and then went into District 50 and has been raiding you continuously, but that is water over the dam. But do you think by bringing him back here he is changing his spots? He is not. He is no different and his form of government in the United Mine Workers of America is no different than the form of government Hitler has in Germany.

We have men over the water today fighting for democracy, and I think we should practice a little democracy back home by keeping men who are dictators out of the American Federation of Labor and not giving them a home back here.

I am probably taking up your time, but I want you to know the Progressive Mine Workers of America have a number of things at stake. I know we are a small organization of 35,000 dues-paying members, but go back to 1938 when Joe Ozanic was President of the Progressive Mine Workers, when we had 125,000 signers who made application to join our organization. It was not dormant until the National Labor Relations Board threw all those signers into the waste basket. When this war is over we will not sit idly by, but will have to amend some laws. The miners in this country have no love for John L. Lewis. If they had the opportunity to vote they would vote themselves out of that organization, and I ask you not to give away the charter of the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

Then read the letter that John L. Lewis wrote to President Green. He accused the American Federation of Labor of everything. Let me read what he had to say. He addressed President Green of the American Federation of Labor as "Gentlemen." President Green addressed him as "Dear Sir and Brother."

Washington, D. C.,
May 8, 1944.

Mr. William Green, President,
and Members of the Executive Council,
Adelphia Hotel,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen:

Press reports reveal that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has again with characteristic servility to the Roosevelt Administration failed to take affirmative action with respect to the pending application for reaffiliation by the United Mine Workers of America, dated May 17, 1943.

Solely with the desire to make a contribution toward the constructive unification of American labor, the United Mine Workers of America, a year ago, filed its application for reaffiliation with your Council. Throughout this period of a year, the majority of the members of your Executive Council have lacked the courage to either vote "Yes" or vote "No" on the question of acceptance. Instead they have constantly muttered and mumbled and indulged in fearsome incantations over the fallacious and hoary question of jurisdictional rights. It is an amazing exhibition of base hypocrisy approximating moral turpitude.

It is, of course, publicly known that certain members of the Executive Council have been given imperative instructions to refuse admittance of the United Mine Workers of America to the American Federation of Labor by the New Deal politicians who are opposed, for political reasons, to unity in the ranks of labor. This is a continuance of the opposition of the New Deal managers as exemplified when the United Mine Workers of America proposed merger of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. in February, 1942.

Every well-informed person in Washington knows the identity of the New Deal executives and the members of its Palace Guard, as well as the identity of the individual members of the Executive Council, who from time to time during the past year have clandestinely counselled together to insure the consummation of their shameful plans to betray the interests of the men and women of labor. The members of the Executive Council by their dishonorable intrigue have permitted the American Federation of Labor to become the puppet of a political organization, and, in fact, to achieve the status of a political company union.

Will you please without further procrastination or hypocrisy return to the United Mine Workers of America the application for reaffiliation dated May 17, 1943, together with check for per capita tax which accompanied the application.

Yours truly,
(Signed) JOHN L. LEWIS.

And then the American Federation of Labor will get on its feet and ask a man of that sort to come back into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. I say to you, leave John L. Lewis where he is and when he wants to come in, let him come in and make the first bid.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: I do not intend to take much time of your convention on this subject, but to say briefly the committee having this matter in charge gave due consideration not only to the points elucidated by the previous speaker, but other points involved.

Our committee viewed this matter not from the standpoint of personalities or of what President Lewis might have said about this or that member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. We realize leadership of any organization is temporary, that life is not permanent, and that the United Mine Workers and other organizations will continue to go on no matter who is charged with leadership.

Therefore, we considered the matter not from the standpoint of John L. Lewis or Phil Murray, but rather from the standpoint of organization. We also considered the matter of what is confronting organized labor in the future. With the post-war period coming upon us, with the antagonism that is being aroused around the country against organized labor, it behooves us to be alert and to build up our movement as solidly as we can to forget personalities, yes, even technical points, and organized labor in the strongest way we possibly can.

And who is it that will deny that if we might have the organizations of the CIO and the United Mine Workers of America all under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, labor would not be better situated to meet the antagonism, the prejudices, and the opposition that will confront us when war will cease and peace will prevail once more?

It is in that light that we considered this matter, and despite the rebuffs we have received from the CIO and the United Mine Workers of America, we feel that we ought to rise above them and realize the necessity of the occasion, and ask them to come back on terms satisfactory to us.

Having reached that conclusion what does our committee recommend? It recommends re-affirmation of the action taken a year ago at the Boston convention, which fully safeguards the rights and interests of each of the affiliated organizations concerned. We feel that nothing has developed between this time and the year previous that should alter the decision of the convention arrived at at that time, and we therefore ask a re-

affirmation of the action taken at the Boston convention on this subject a year ago.

We feel, too, in response to the criticism made of Council's report, that the Council acted fully within the discretionary authority given to it by the Boston convention, and if criticism is to be made, then let criticism rise against the convention of Boston and those who were in attendance at that time.

I feel confident, however, that this convention will re-affirm the action of the Boston convention, and we urgently hope and pray that that may be done in the interests of the wage earners as a whole.

DELEGATE DUFFY, Operative Potters: Mr. President and members of the American Federation of Labor, I hold no brief for John L. Lewis. I have disagreed with him in the past when I thought he was wrong, as I have with other delegates to this convention, and I expect, as long as I have life within my body, to continue to be independent in these matters.

I do know and you know that there are many delegates to this convention who are much concerned as to what is to be the eventual and final development in this division in labor. I admit that John L. Lewis has sinned and so have you and so have I. But God knows that John L. Lewis has not sinned any more grievously than many other heads of International Unions.

My brother delegate from the Progressive Miners used the word "dictator." That is a common expression among the delegates to this convention, that there is too much dictatorship within the American Federation of Labor. You know and I know that heads of some of the largest units in the American Federation of Labor have sinned equally grievously with John L. Lewis in the matter of exercising a dictatorship attitude. It is common within American Federation of Labor conventions, and has been since I have been attending, beginning here in New Orleans in 1928. I have heard it said many, many times, and so have you, that "we are the largest dues paying organization in the American Federation of Labor, and unless you do so and so in accordance with my desire we can and will withdraw from membership in the American Federation of Labor." To my notion no one acted more grievously or was more guilty, yes, of mortal sin than to harbor such state of mind or allow that spirit to overcome them.

Did John L. Lewis turn his back on the American Federation of Labor? Yes, he did that, and so did others. The Progressive Miners themselves were born in secession. They had their beginning in rebellion and secession when they withdrew from the United Mine Workers of America. They asked forgiveness and were brought back into the American Federation of Labor.

Other organizations, large and small, have done likewise. As the Master said, "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone." God help some of us if stone throwing becomes a habit and a daily practice in this convention.

Aside from all that, what I am interested in more than anything else is the welfare of the rank and file of the American labor movement. To my notion that transcends all other considerations. If my being sacrificed personally in my present job will advance the welfare and the interests of my membership, God forbid that I would ever entertain the thought of doing other than bowing to the welfare of the majority in my organization. That, to my notion, would be true statesmanship. That would simply be a matter of being honest with yourself and with your God and with your fellowmen in seeking the objectives of the laboring people of this nation.

Personally I would like to see John L. Lewis back in membership in the American Federation of Labor. I am going to be frank with you. I hear many, many members sitting around this hall and in the hotel corridors and other places deploring the lack of force and fight and militancy and determination in things pertaining to the American Federation of Labor's duty and obligation to its objective to bring to the rank and file the things they have a right to expect. I have heard many of you delegates say, as I personally have said in private and I want to say here now in public, that I think we need the force of John L. Lewis in the American Federation of Labor, knowing that John L. Lewis, when he does come back, is going to be just like you and me—an ordinary human being, and he is going to sin again and again and again. We have an obligation to properly evaluate and appraise those shortcomings and misgivings. If they show a disposition of sorrow and regret for those things and are willing to come back and put their shoulders to the wheel and help in our common objectives,

God forbid that we become so unconscious that we cannot rise above our petty personal differences and vote as we should vote.

I have no fear of John L. coming back into the American Federation of Labor, but I would much prefer settling any differences I may have with him or any other representative of labor within the house of labor. Bring him back in here and let's fight it out with him. I understand that he has agreed to surrender all questions in dispute as to jurisdiction except in the case of the Chemical Workers. I understand further that his District 50 first established organization within the chemical industry. If that be true, it seems to me he might have a prior claim to organization within the chemical industry. In all other instances, it occurs to me that he has no claim.

I repeat, I understand he has said definitely and specifically that he will surrender all such claims except within the chemical industry. I feel as I do because I honestly and truly desire, and I pray, I yearn, I dream of unity within the house of labor. God will not permit me to point the accusing finger at John L. Lewis because of his shortcomings in that respect when I sit here day after day, as I have in conventions since 1928 and I know some of the heads of the largest organizations in the American Federation of Labor have, at least, been equally as guilty in these things as John L. Lewis. I think it would be exceedingly stimulating and beneficial to the American Federation of Labor if we could some time have a secret ballot on questions such as this one. I cannot for the life of me understand how we heads of National and International Unions can be so thoroughly disgusted and dissatisfied. I am basing that on expressions I hear daily and have been hearing, and yet we sit silently in this convention and we do not raise our voices in protest against such things.

In my opinion, in self-respect we should resolve to do one of two things: Make up our minds it is the right and proper thing we should have, or stop griping about it.

In conclusion, President Green has been stating, repeating, iterating and reiterating since 1935—I think that was the year John L. Lewis left the American Federation of Labor—come back to your father's house; the latch string is on the outside. Like many other delegates, whether we are rightly informed or not, we have been led

to believe that John L. Lewis was in a reasonable state of mind and he offered a pretty fair basis of returning to the American Federation of Labor, and the door was slammed in his face and he was refused admittance. I wonder sometimes how free we are ourselves of animosity, unfounded animosity? I wonder sometimes if we are not just a little bit too selfish, looking out for our own personal and individual prestige and standing within the movement to the detriment of the fundamental aims and purposes of this great organization of the American Federation of Labor. It has been great, and I hope to God it will remain great in the future and become even greater, and that can only be through unity within the ranks of labor.

As one who disagreed with John L. Lewis when he was a delegate to this convention, undoubtedly I will disagree with him if he comes back in the future, and I hope and pray that a way will be found to bring John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers back to the American Federation of Labor, and there will be a place and a home equally warm and inviting and beneficial for the Progressive Miners as well, because never forget, the American Federation of Labor, like all other labor organizations, was brought into being for one purpose, and that for the betterment of mankind, that men might live in decency and in dignity, and especially that they might be able to enjoy some of the comforts of life and educate their children.

That is the one objective we must never forget. Come what may to us individually, we must keep that in mind. In my judgment that will only come about through unity within the house of labor.

That is why I would like to see John L. Lewis back into membership in the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE WASHBURN, United Automobile Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the United Automobile Workers within the American Federation of Labor are somewhat in the same position as the Progressive Mine Workers. I think, therefore, that we can realize something of the way they feel. But in the interests of a complete unity within the ranks of labor, if there come an opportunity to bring the United Automobile Workers CIO into the American Federation of Labor, I for one would not stand in the way of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor making provisions to take them in.

In the interests of complete unity in the ranks of labor I think the American Federation of Labor missed the best boat they ever had when they refused to take in John L. Lewis just recently.

In the interests of getting affiliates of the CIO back into the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor could not have done anything better than to take back the United Mine Workers, whether we like John L. Lewis or whether we don't like him—and I don't, for certain reasons, because as a member and Executive Board member of the UAW prior to our reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor, John L. Lewis was the one solely responsible for the split in that organization, because he attempted to control the operations of that Union. And for that I don't like him.

Nevertheless, I say the American Federation of Labor missed the boat when they refused to lean over backwards, further backwards than they did, because John L. Lewis is a certain god to the rank and file members of the CIO. I will say that many thousands of CIO rank and file members think John L. Lewis is their champion, even though he is not in the CIO today.

If you can't get the CIO as a whole to come back into the American Federation of Labor, then I say lean over backwards and get the United Mine Workers of America back, because that will do more than anything else to convince the rank and file members of the CIO that the American Federation of Labor is the place for them.

I know how these Progressive Miners feel on this situation, but I say that in the interests of complete unity within the ranks of labor they should not stand in the way, if the American Federation of Labor can find some basis for getting the Mine Workers to reaffiliate with the Federation, because, as I said before, if the American Federation of Labor has the opportunity and the chance to bring in the United Automobile Workers CIO, we will not stand in the way, we will find some way to reach an agreement and have some basis where we can come back in and be one United Automobile Workers Union within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair will interrupt the discussion in the proceedings for the moment in order to carry out our special order of business. His Grace, the Archbishop, is here and in conformity with the special order of business, will address the convention now.

I know that all assembled here this morning have been anticipating the pleasure of listening to our distinguished speaker. Four years ago the Most Reverend Joseph Francis Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, addressed our convention. His message was received with evidences of pleasure, appreciation and satisfaction. We could not think of coming to New Orleans without enjoying the pleasure of listening to an address from such a distinguished churchman and resident of this great city of New Orleans. So now I have the honor and the pleasure of presenting to you the Most Reverend Joseph Francis Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, who will address you.

MOST REVEREND JOSEPH FRANCIS RUMMEL (Archbishop of New Orleans)

Mr. President, distinguished delegates and guests of the American Federation of Labor: Before entering upon my topic, which is entitled "Social Justice" I would like to express to your distinguished President and to all of you, my sentiments of appreciation of this opportunity to spend an hour in your midst and endeavor to give to you a few thoughts that I hope might be constructive and helpful in your present tasks and also in your future responsibilities.

I think I need not emphasize the fact that I regard your organization with very high respect and look forward to the part that you are going to play continually with a great deal of confidence. It is my firm conviction that for the welfare of our country there is no more constructive movement in the circle of our working people than that which you represent and are sponsoring so effectively and so industriously, so it is for me a pleasure as well as a privilege to address a word to you this morning.

Social Justice

This global war, in which our country has been so intensely engaged for practically three full years, is far from being over. Great indeed have been our strides towards ultimate success and victory, but it would be foolhardy to forecast with any attempt at precision the final termination, whether in Europe or in the Far East. All indications point to the fact that in continental Europe and in the mainland and islands be-

yond the Pacific, the fighting has become more stubborn and the resistance more determined. The Nazis have evidently resolved to hold tightly the line of the Po in Italy, the Siegfried Line and the defenses of the Rhine in Western Germany, as well as the lines along which the Russians are continuing their assaults against their one-time companions in arms. The progress which our valiant American forces, jointly with the armies of our Allies, have made since the invasions of Southern and Western Europe have indeed been steady but slow, practically every foot of ground having to be won through hard fighting and at the cost of incalculable sacrifice.

No less difficult has been the reconquest of the islands in the Pacific, between Pearl Harbor and the Philippines, marked by many battles through the jungles and the atolls, and by the heroic conduct of our American land and sea forces. And yet, the principal islands of the Philippines, the so-called Japanese mainland, not to speak of the rich Chinese Coast, Manchuria and Korea, are still securely in the hands of our wily enemies. It is evidently to be expected that the closer the battle lines come to the home lands of the powers that have defied our strength and our prowess, the harder becomes the fight and the more determined their endeavor to frustrate our aims or at least to make our victory as costly as possible.

War Efforts Must Continue

Under these circumstances, we on the home front can conceive the situation in no other light than that our responsibility number one is the continuation of our maximum efforts to sustain the men on our fighting fronts. Production and more production of munitions, weapons, food, clothing, medicine, the means of transportation, is undeniably imperative. It were idle day-dreaming and wishful thinking of the most puerile variety to assume that an armistice or the dawn of peace is at hand, and that we have but to wait for the whistles and horns to shriek out the signals for general exaltation and rejoicing.

On the contrary, we must match the determination of our enemies and their stiffened resistance by an intensification of our efforts and by the rededication of our spirit of sacrifice, lest through indifference, oversecurity and sheer stupidity, we deprive ourselves and the generations to come after us of the fruits of all the efforts put forth so generously during the last three years. It is no common experience on the gridiron that a football game is lost in the last fifteen seconds; let it not be said that, because of our lack of understanding and vision, the completeness of the victory in this great global war, which seems now so securely within our grasp, shall have been diminished or its brilliancy dimmed.

Labor's Splendid Contribution

Magnanimous has been the work of the multiple forces which constitute our home front. American genius has demonstrated its marvelous resourcefulness in devising and producing the means necessary to enlist, equip, train and transport to the corners

of the earth our splendid fighting forces within a period of time that makes the result seem almost miraculous. Under a program of coordination that has probably never been equalled in a democracy, our civilian population has been marshalled into action to an extent that a decade ago might have been considered utopian. To the credit of our American workers, spurred on by the example of the leaders in industry and by the enlightened program of their own organizations, let it be said that never in the history of our beloved country has there been achieved a more glorious record of industry under the impulse of patriotism. Prominently in this record will stand the accomplishment of the American Federation of Labor and of its affiliated organizations in their many fields of cooperation with the national war effort. By your industry and toil you have merited the gratitude of your own fellow countrymen as well as of our allies, who share with us the benefits through the lend-lease program, that enables them to join in actual combat our fighting forces for the common security and welfare.

Beyond The Horizon

Nevertheless it would be an egregious error not to look beyond the immediate horizon in the effort to penetrate the smoke of battle and to visualize the kind of a world that lies beyond. It must be remembered that this so-called new world will be largely of our own planning and making, a world of which we will in a measure be the creators. During the last World War there was not lacking a sense of understanding of the kind of a peace that was to be desired; still it is questionable whether even our leaders were as conscious as they might have been of their responsibility for the structure of that peace. Certainly there was not manifest in the public mind at large the awareness which we are today experiencing with regard to the principles that should dominate the future peace.

Universally it is admitted that the peace which we desire must be characterized by justice. Justice is indeed a very generic term, signifying a disposition to do right and to act fairly by our fellowmen, a disposition that prompts us to give everyone his due. The virtue of justice must regulate the lives of individuals, but it must be found also in the various elements of human society and among the nations of the world. It is not the purpose of this address to discuss the comprehensive implications and ramifications of this important virtue as applied to a desirable program of peace and world reconstruction. Rather is it our intention to specialize upon the kind of justice in which you as an organization are particularly interested, namely social justice, which means the application of this fundamental virtue to the principles and conditions that regulate our economic and social life. Social justice, indeed, strikes at the very root of human happiness, contentment and security; it regulates human life and human relations, actually from the cradle to the grave, and leaves not untouched or unaffected a single human individual; either by sharing in its blessings or by being deprived of its benefits, all members of the human family come under its influence.

Freedom From Want

It is the function of social justice to see that Freedom from Want is realized in its fullest and most complete sense. This does not mean merely keeping the wolf from the door or enabling people to be just one step ahead of exhaustion or even death from starvation or the privation of the ordinary necessities of life. Freedom from Want must mean a decent and enjoyable existence and the possibility of acquiring those things that make for security and contentment.

Basically, Freedom from Want means respect for the dignity of labor, which must be regarded not as a commodity to be bought and sold to the highest bidder or at the cheapest price, but as the recognized means whereby every human being can procure for himself and herself the necessities and conveniences of a worthy existence.

Freedom from Want means the right of human beings to ban themselves together as employers or employed in an united effort to procure rights and advantages, which might be unattainable through individual effort. These principles, because they are the principles of a virtue which has universal application, must be accepted universally. Weakness anywhere endangers the whole.

Underlying these principles are the dignity, the value and the importance of the individual human being, regardless of race, creed, color or sex. There must be varying degrees of quality, education, culture and skill, but all without exception are God's creatures, endowed with the same nature, destined for the same eternal end, enjoying the same right to security and happiness in time as well as in eternity. It were a grave mistake to fight for political freedom and yet tolerate economic tyranny or endure social slavery. Grave would be the error to die for the principle of free government and democracy, and yet subscribe in theory or in fact to the subjection of any class or group of human beings to duress or to the anxieties of penury and want. The toleration of such a discrimination would create an element of weakness within any nation, and would certainly militate towards the frustration of the very ideals for which the present global war is being waged. This sentiment is expressed in the recent pronouncement of the Catholic Bishops of our country, issued in Washington under date of November 17, 1944: "No nation may view with unconcern conditions that permit millions of workers in any country to be without the opportunity to secure from their labor adequate family support."

Spectre of Unemployment

Never again must the spectre of unemployment be permitted to stalk over the length and breadth of the land or, for that matter, over any part of the universe. Unemployment means hardship and misery; it means poverty and sickness; it means anxiety, grief and despair; it means the crushing of legitimate ambition and the extinction of the light of hope in human souls; it means desolation, emptiness and the pallor of death over home and family life; it means the disintegration of human society and the demoralization of a nation. The prevention

of unemployment cannot be accomplished by a single individual or an individual group. This many-fanged dragon can be slain only by the concentrated efforts of all elements that are responsible for the preservation of a sane human society and a dignified human existence. Labor and management, science and government have a common stake in the prevention of unemployment; these four forces, operating under a common spiritual impulse for the welfare of humanity in general and of the nation in particular, must work in unison and with intelligent determination for the prevention of the experiences through which our nation and the greater part of the world passed during the third decade of the present century.

This coalition of forces implies a common responsibility and closer cooperation than has been realized in the past. These forces must be teamed up to coordinate their efforts and to fight the common enemy, not each other. They must move forward, not along parallel lines, like the tracks of a railroad that are never intended to meet, but along converging lines under a common generous impulse towards a common end. Too often in the past have these forces been divided by selfish rivalries and by sinister tactics on the part of individual members to outtrick or outplay their imaginary competitors. Is it utopian or suggestive of the millennium to visualize a post-war world in which labor and management, science and government, acting under the highest spiritual impulses, will cooperate and collaborate for the genuine common good in the spirit of social justice? Or is such collaboration only feasible under the threats, dangers and exigencies of war? Can we not in peace-time accomplish even a finer program of collaboration than has been effected under the impact of a common enemy that threatened the freedom and the very existence of our country? Is this not a goal worth striving for and planning for even before the guns of our enemies are silenced and the palm of victory is securely within our clasp?

Wage Standards

Intimately associated with the principle of social justice is the standard of compensation that should be applied to various types of work, energy and skill. Undeniable is the difficulty of the problem arising from the varieties of occupation, the process of training necessary on the part of workers, the amount of capital and genius required to counterbalance physical effort and the changing values of products. Under all circumstances, the principle should be maintained that wages must be adequate, not merely for the bare existence of an individual, but for family needs, comprehensively interpreted on the basis of average comfort, health, recreation, education, culture and security. This security should visualize the immediate present, and also the contingencies of the future, including unemployment, ill health and old age. Provision can be made through insurance programs, but the wage scale should enable the worker to make at least a basic provision for these future contingencies, for it is a well-understood fact that no form of insurance actually

is adequate to take care of the entire need of any emergency.

Social justice, then, goes far beyond the immediate wage problem. Organized labor and management must today collaborate with government and other agencies in working out constructively all problems of human welfare. Indeed social justice seems only to be coming of age in our time and generation. Social security measures must parallel economic measures and include the protection of family rights, children's rights, the individual's rights to self-respect and decency in nutrition, housing, recreation and cultural pursuits. All these and kindred problems which make for human welfare cannot be isolated, one from the other, without endangering the structure of society.

Organized labor may not be in a position to deal specifically with this multiplicity of problems and duties arising from a broad concept of social justice, but certainly it must recognize its duty to study, safeguard and promote everything that promotes the welfare of the worker and his family. The same principle of the need of organization and collaboration obtains in these amplifications of social justice, that underlies the procurement of a decent living wage and safe working conditions.

Methods of Procedure

It seems almost unnecessary to point out the methods whereby social justice in the post-war world can best be achieved. The experiences of the past furnish very valuable contributions towards this end. Nevertheless we will venture to single out a few points that might be helpful. First of all, I would like to call attention to the fact that your organization has vested you with a tremendous responsibility. I wonder if you are conscious of the fact that as delegates you represent well over six millions of working men and working women. This in turn means probably two to three times this number of individuals, for most of your members are heads of families. In reality you represent more than fifteen per cent of the population of our country. How important then is it not that you should have a clear perspective of your aims and their needs!

Unity is of the very essence of your organization, unity within your ranks and unity with kindred organizations, that share your responsibilities and common aims. The good of all workers, of all elements in the human family, of all constituents of our great nation should be your aspiration. None can stand alone; all need each other; rival camps no less than rival aims tend to retard results, mar accomplishment and even nullify ultimate results.

The present war seems to teach a convincing lesson of collaboration. As we have found it useful, necessary and advantageous to pool manpower and resources in order to achieve a common purpose for the welfare of humanity the world over, so it seems logical and almost dictated by human reason that there should be a pooling of human interest in social justice. Methods and conditions may differ according to national tradi-

tions and various stages of culture, but certainly the principles of social justice are the same in every country, under every climate and wherever human beings are striving towards their common destiny of well-being and happiness. It may not be possible to achieve perfect unity, but certainly there should be such an exchange of thoughts and policies that will help to create universal standards in conformity with basic principles. In this connection I would like to quote a paragraph from the preamble of the International Labor Charter adopted by the International Labor Organization after World War I, and I might say the same Charter still holds good.

"... Whereas conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperiled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required: as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week; the regulation of the labor supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young people and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education and other measures;

"Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

"The HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following:

"A permanent organization is hereby established for the promotion of the objects set forth in the Preamble."

Honor and Integrity

Honor in negotiation and dealings, coupled with the constant appeal to reason instead of might, should characterize the promotion of social justice. We are fighting this war to destroy the false principle that might makes right. This false principle should disappear forever in all human relations, whether it be of individuals, of groups, of classes, of races, of creeds or of nations. Justice is a virtue so potent that only in extreme emergencies should it require recourse to physical force to assist in the achievement of its legitimate aims.

Integrity in leadership is a delicate subject to introduce. One of the ancient poets stated that, so potent is human nature that even if it were driven out with a pitchfork, it would nevertheless return. Human nature, therefore, being what it is, it would be virtually a miracle if in human organizations there were no evidences of weakness or even

wickedness. The misfortune is that individual cases are too often exaggerated and generalized, with the result that friends are embarrassed and enemies are furnished with welcome ammunition. It is a part of genuine leadership to be conscious of responsibility and to strive at all times to present a line of conduct, policy and principle that cannot be challenged either by the organization from within or by unfriendly forces from without. Your particular organization can look back with satisfaction upon a continuous service, constructive, progressive and beneficial, over a period of sixty-four years. Let it not be said that through carelessness or malice any of your leaders has marred, impeded or nullified your noble objectives by imprudence, irresponsibility or unfairness in methods.

In conclusion, shall we say that there lies before you a glorious future? I will venture to disappoint you by answering no, but I will supplement that answer by saying that there lies before you a tremendous responsibility, the responsibility of realizing social justice among the working elements of this great nation of ours. When I speak of our working elements, I do not confine myself exclusively to your real and active membership. I visualize that you have it in your power to set up ideals and adopt standards which will materially influence the sixty and more millions of Americans, who are obliged to earn their bread in the sweat of their brows. They will benefit by your efforts, if your organization will serve as the leaven whereby all workers will achieve higher standards of living and the opportunity to attain and enjoy the peace, the security, and the contentment which constitute the blessings of a truly happy and free nation under God. This is the goal that I venture to propose to you and in the realization of which I hope you will find full satisfaction and compensation for the sacrifices that are inevitably associated with your labors.

May God's blessings prevail over your deliberations here and accompany you back home and in the carrying out of the resolutions and programs that I am sure will emanate from this important convention. God bless you.

(Applause.)

PRESIDENT GREEN: I extend to His Grace, the Archbishop, your deep appreciation of his visit and of the most inspiring and scholarly address which he delivered. He has made a genuine contribution to the sum total of educational values which have been created here at this convention.

We welcome with a feeling of pleasure and satisfaction his analysis of social justice. I followed him closely, as no doubt all of you did, and I was happy to find that he expressed over and over again the feelings of the membership of the American Federation of Labor and set forth clearly their hopes and their aspirations regarding the realization of social justice.

His analysis of the world situation was indeed most impressive. As the Philadelphia charter of the I. L. O. stated that poverty anywhere is a menace to prosperity everywhere, so the perpetuation of low standards of living, with corresponding low spiritual conditions, is a hindrance to the development of moral economic and spiritual values throughout the world.

We cannot, in a world that is geared as we find the world to be, maintain low standards in one nation and higher standards in others. Either the low standards will pull down the higher standards or those who are supporting the high standards must lift the lower ones to an approximation of the standards set in highly civilized nations.

Now I must stop, because the Archbishop has inspired me so that I will go on commenting and transgress upon your time. I was inspired to make these comments in response to the magnificent address delivered by His Grace, the Archbishop, this morning.

In your name and in our behalf I extend to him our sincere thanks for his visit and for the address he delivered.

We will now resume consideration of the regular order of business.

Peace Negotiations With CIO-United Mine Workers Reaffiliation

(Discussion resumed.)

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Delegate Randolph, of the International Typographical Union.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, International Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman, as a member of the committee, I desire to say a few words in support of its report. Before doing so, however, I want to say that the delegation from the International Typographical Union appreciate very much the cordial welcome extended to us on our re-entry to this convention.

We appreciate the recognition given by the Chair in the appointment of the delegates to the several committees, and, since it has been some time since I attended a convention, I note that there is some new liberality with regard to what was once regarded a very exclusive committee; that is, the Resolutions Committee. I enjoyed being with them and I learned that they were all very agreeable people. In fact, if I had known they were going to be so agreeable we might have brought two or three more resolutions along. The facility, the speed, the neatness and dispatch with

which the officers of that committee kicked around 200 pages of an Executive Council's report is something to behold—lots of work, and I believe they sincerely approached it with the desire to be of service to this convention.

Of course we all have ideas about the labor movement, and I presume that over the years it has been recognized that printers always have peculiar ideas, at least, different than most other delegates. We still do, and while we are back in the Federation, I doubt if there is any difference between printers of today and printers of 10 years ago. They still do the same things, still argue the same way and still stand on the same principles—at least, that is what we call them.

I was intensely interested in the comments of the delegate from the Progressive Miners, and having been in attendance at A. F. of L. conventions since about 1928, I could not help but think how he had centered his thought on what the constitution of the A. F. of L. provides. In my young days I used to give some attention to that, and as the years developed and things occurred, I thought, "Well, now, they can't do that." But they did. Where there has been a will there has always been a way to do most anything in the American Federation of Labor, no matter what the Constitution may say at a given time. It is just about as elastic as the Constitution of the United States. And so, over the years, the A. F. of L. has done things, and because it has done these things, regardless of what appeared to be technical restraints I have hopes that other things will be done that need to be done, regardless of how we may think of it at a given time.

I would rather look ahead, first, as to what our objectives are. I would rather look into the post-war period, especially with reference to that period immediately subsequent to the first World War. I recall that from a membership in the A. F. of L. of approximately 2,000,000 we grew to 5,000,000 and when the melting process took place, we melted back to about two and a quarter million. You have a chart in the Executive Council's report illustrating that fact.

In years intervening we have had some unpleasantness and some of the organizations, by some mysterious means, legal, illegal, or just a happenstance, became disassociated, suspended, expelled, seceded, or what-have-you, in the number of some 1,000,000 members. That million is alleged

to have grown to 6,000,000 and it is called the CIO. In spite of the loss of a million members in 1936, the A. F. of L. shows a growth of an additional 5,000,000 or, as your President has stated, 7,000,000 today. So from the nucleus of 3,000,000 in 1933 there are now 13,000,000 men organized in the two houses of labor.

It is interesting to note in passing that of those who somehow or other found themselves out of the American Federation of Labor in 1936, a substantial portion is out of the CIO. The International Ladies' Garment Workers are back in the American Federation of Labor and the Miners are not in the CIO nor as yet here, but they formed a majority of those who went out in 1936. Still we have another great group in the Railroad Brotherhoods who, so far as I know, have never been in the American Federation of Labor.

Now the question we have to answer as regards the future is: Is it worth while to try to maintain the union status of approximately 10,000,000 members of organized labor who have had a short experience in our movement, and will that experience as members of organized labor, under whatever banner they may fly, be such an experience as will keep them sold on the philosophy of organized labor? So long as we maintain an attitude of exclusiveness we will lose. We might even reach that exalted position alleged to have been reached by the Cabots and the Lodges of Boston, where the Lodges spoke only to the Cabots and the Cabots spoke only to God.

If it is possible for the President of the United States to make a journey to Teheran and talk with Premiers Churchill and Stalin, two Premiers who represent different philosophies of government and trade than we do here, and come back with a united front for a specific purpose, namely, the winning of the war, it should be possible for the representatives of labor to make short journeys here in the United States and arrive at a concerted action or plan for concerted action, even if that plan is for limited objectives.

I think I would have had to fight with the committee if they had mentioned in their report anything about a house of labor. We have several houses of labor and several shacks and tents besides.

If it is impossible, and it seems to have been, for the American Federation of Labor

to absorb the miners, including District 50 and the Chemical Workers, how much tougher would it be for us to absorb the CIO with one thousand such situations; and if technically, the Progressive Miners have jurisdiction over all miners, imagine their difficulty in digesting John L. Lewis, and if the Miners joined the Progressive Miners in order to get into the American Federation of Labor, what influence would 35,000 miners have with the other 600,000 if they did have the free election as proposed by the delegate from the Progressive Miners? So it would only be a gesture to accomplish a result.

I think most of us realize there is no possibility that the CIO will dissolve and join the American Federation of Labor. We have what we must recognize is an accomplished fact. Recognizing these facts we should be able to talk with them to arrive at a definite understanding as to objectives and as to procedure to attain those objectives. We should be able to cooperate in the larger view on labor questions rather than fight on the smaller ones.

I wonder how many have given thought to the question of where are these 5,000,000 new members in the American Federation of Labor, and were they organized on conventional craft union lines? You all know they were not. If you were to pick out the very few Unions in the American Federation of Labor that have stuck with their craft theories, perhaps you would find the Photo-Engravers, Stereotypers and Printers the only ones left. The seven million members are somewhere, and they are in plant wide organizations and some time back I had the surprise of my life when I heard there were a few printers and pressmen in the Teamsters' Union. I have been examining that phenomenon ever since. Being a printer all my life, I just can't imagine how any printer or pressman could be happy in a Teamsters' Union, but it does not disturb us. We know there are perhaps one million other situations of the same kind and maybe their meagre experience in the Teamsters' Union will fit them for membership in the Typographical Union. At least we are not disturbed and I believe that our history of tolerance in the printing industry entitles me to say that. In fact beginning in 1892 and ending in 1906, the Pressmen seceded and formed an International Union; the

Photo-Engravers, Stereotypers, Electrotypers and Bindery Workers formed four International unions. We did not fuss and go to the American Federation of Labor and demand action. We said God bless you, and in 1911 formed the Allied Printing Trades organization to further all of our efforts.

If that principle had been followed, there would have been no division in the labor movement in 1936. I was not able to be in Tampa at the time to raise my voice against such a split. I happened to be in Geneva, Switzerland, at an I.L.O. conference, but heard about it and did raise my voice, but it didn't reach the convention. My wife wondered that I used such language.

Out of that experience, throughout all of the short tempers and throughout all the differences of opinion and this turmoil and trouble, the fact remains that there are 13,000,000 men and women that have absorbed the labor philosophy and our problem today is to see that is maintained; and it will not be maintained by an attitude of isolationism, by an attitude that we know better than they, by an attitude that we are wiser and stronger than they, and that they will have to eventually submit to our wills.

If we are all of these good things, we can demonstrate it by associating with them, at least in an attempt to agree upon fundamentals and fundamental procedures and by our excellence give an example of the way they should conduct themselves.

I cannot forget the fact that most of the leaders in that movement were products of the American Federation of Labor of years ago, and they are no different now than they were then, and if we were to fight it out today, on the same basis that we fought it out in 1936, there would be another three or four million members of the American Federation of Labor disassociated or suspended at this time. Because of the jurisdictions of the various unions, these things are so elastic that no one is wise enough or competent enough to try to settle the thing even among unions in the American Federation of Labor today.

We have to recognize what the facts are and if it is worth while to maintain 13,000,000 in the labor movement instead of melting down to 3,000,000, then we will

forget some of our technical details and proceed to accomplish it.

I thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: It seems quite fitting and appropriate that the Chair should refer to the committee's report and discuss for just a few moments the recommendation of the committee.

I interpret the report of the committee as an evidence of a deep-seated desire on the part of the members of the Resolutions Committee who, I understand, unanimously concurred in this report to promote solidarity and unity among the working men and women of our beloved country.

Evidently, they have not forgotten the fundamental principles upon which the American Federation of Labor securely rests. It was announced in the beginning when the foundation of our movement was laid and the super-structure of the American Federation of Labor erected thereon, that our chief objective, our controlling purpose, was to unite the workers of the United States and Canada into a solidified organization. May I quote the preamble of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor at this moment, because I think we can all profit by having our memories refreshed.

"WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the tolling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system."

There is the original declaration of the American Federation of Labor enunciating a fundamental principle—a principle that we have recognized from the beginning. The committee today, in its report, has followed that principle very religiously and applied it as enunciated in this preamble.

I have endeavored most consistently to make vital and real this principle. When those who were influenced by personal am-

bition or perhaps by unworthy motives to lead dissatisfied workers out of the American Federation of Labor into a dual movement, I felt very badly and I regreted very much the step that was taken. I endeavored with all the power at my command to prevent it and maintain unity and solidarity in our ranks, but to no avail. It was another evidence of the imperfections of man. An instance where the faults of men influence their better judgment. Ever since 1935 when the split began, I have appealed with all of the power at my command, to those who withdrew from the American Federation of Labor to come back and unite with us, for in my thinking I could see that the interests of the common worker—the man who worked in the ditch and the man who exercised his skill and genius—all of the laborers and workers of all kinds would suffer through a division in the ranks of labor, and we who lead or serve as spokesmen for labor were not measuring up to our responsibilities and our duties if we failed to be influenced by the interest and the well-being and the welfare of the masses of the people.

I now declare that no greater injury was done the great mass of the workers of the country than when the split occurred within the ranks of labor. When we pass through this emergency, when we march over the bridge during the post-war period and face again the realities of a normal life, if we are then divided, wasting our energy fighting each other rather than be united in the defense of our common interest, it is not the leaders who will pay the full price, but the laborers and workers of America who will pay.

I have a high regard for the representatives of the Progressive Miners and for those who make up that splendid organization. They turned to us, when the United Mine Workers withdrew and led in the formation of the rival, dual movement. We welcomed them in as we have welcomed other organizations who have come to us and sought admission into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. We want to protect and guard their rights carefully in every step that we may take. I know that it is the desire and the purpose of the Executive Council, of the leaders of the American labor movement, of all concerned, to guard and protect the rights of this splendid organization.

But surely we are resourceful enough to find a way by which we can solidify the ranks of

labor and at the same time protect the rights of the membership within the American Federation of Labor.

I just cannot understand, my friends, the attitude of some of the leaders of the dual, rebel movement classified as the CIO. It is difficult to analyze their attitude or to understand it. Surely they must possess an understanding of the real effect that must inevitably follow a continued division within the ranks of labor.

Paraphrasing the declaration of the I. L. O. charter at Philadelphia, division within the ranks of labor anywhere threatens unity everywhere. You come from the different communities throughout the land, from the industrial centers, from villages and towns and communities where men work for wages, and you know the bitterness that has been developed among those who have been friends and neighbors. We establish a Union in a plant, organize it, build it up, service it, help it to secure higher wages, and when we are doing that the representatives of the dual movement send their spokesmen there to raid that Union, to create discontent, to break down morale, and in many instances resort to bribery in order to win the leaders of that movement away from the American Federation of Labor.

Reports of that kind come into my office, reports come to the officers of National and International Unions. You not only must fight to organize the unorganized, but you must be on the alert to save and to protect those you have organized into your Unions.

Is that the condition under which we must operate? Shall that continue? Well, my friends, I am one of those who believe it is our bounden duty to serve in every way possible to bring about an end to such an unsatisfactory and disastrous condition among the working people of our country here in the United States.

You will recall that in my opening address to this convention I made an appeal for unity, for solidarity. It came from the heart; it was sincere, and I think I voiced the sentiments of the majority of the millions of members affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. And behold, when that statement was publicized in the public press the leader of the CIO, it was reported in the public press, referred to it as "babbling" on the part of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. Well, I am not sorry when I am accused of babbling, because I have listened to the musical sound of a babbling brook with a great deal of pleas-

ure and satisfaction. But I never was pleased when I listened to barking that possessed a savage sound. I can't understand why such a response would be made to a sincere appeal for unity and solidarity.

But now we are considering another phase of it, and I am coming to that right now. A great organization with a record has indicated its desire repeatedly to come back to the American Federation of Labor, and I am looking high and lofty over the heads of individuals, and there I see the 600,000 stalwart men who risk their lives every day in the coal mines, men who do not know the meaning of the word fear, the word danger is not found in their vocabulary—eager and willing to come back to the American Federation of Labor. Only a few weeks ago the lives of almost one hundred of them were snuffed out in a mine near Bellaire, Ohio, and shocking as it was, their bodies remained buried in that living tomb for weeks before their loved ones ever recovered them. It is the kind of men who made that sacrifice and who died in the twinkling of an eye who now have indicated a willingness to come back to us.

Shall we allow our feelings and our hatred for some individuals to interfere with their coming back to us if arrangements can be made? Please remember that the man who now indicates a willingness to come back home to the American Federation of Labor is the same man who led the movement in 1935. There must have been some thinking since then. It requires some courage on the part of any man to admit he was wrong, to retrace his steps, and that is the way I interpret the action of the leader of the United Mine Workers of America, virtually saying, "I was wrong; I led a movement that resulted in the establishment of division within the ranks of labor; I want to repair, so far as I can, the damage which was done. Here is my hand; I extend it to you; I will come back with you if we can only adjust the difficulties that stand in the way."

We stand where we did. We have not moved. The leader of that movement has changed his attitude and now wishes to come back home. If there is any man in this movement who should nurse bitterness against that individual it is the President of the American Federation of Labor, for not one of you was ever the object of such denunciation as I have been. I have been the victim of an attempt to impose

humiliation upon me. But, thank God, I am able to rise above that and look beyond the sins and imperfections of individuals, to praise their virtues rather than recall their faults. I am willing to forget it all, lay it aside, forget it so far as I can, and bring them back into the American Federation of Labor on a fair and just basis, in a way that will protect the rights of other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

I have talked to you in this sincere way. I am willing to serve so long as you honor me with this position. Whenever it becomes necessary for me even to leave in order to establish unity within the ranks of labor, I am willing to go. What greater sacrifice could be made?

I am in accord with the committee's report and I hope it will be adopted most enthusiastically by this convention.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

Free Speech

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates A. Phillip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, An international president of one of the international unions, affiliated with the A. F. of L., was denied the privilege to exercise the right of free speech and free assembly by the city officials of Memphis, Tenn., and President William Green of the A. F. of L. forthwith, upon being informed of this outrageous act, ordered George Googe, Southern Organizer for the A. F. of L. to arrange a meeting in Memphis so that the international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters may exercise his right of free speech even in the face of opposition of some of the local A. F. of L. unions and Negro leaders, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans, La., November 1944, go on record as commending the statesmanlike and courageous and sound action of President Green as a fundamental contribution to the preservation of democracy and civil rights in America for all workers, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Auxiliary Union Discrimination

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates A. Phillip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Auxiliary unions deny workers, on account of race and color, the right in the form of a voice and vote, to participate in the making of the laws, constitution, general rules and policies that govern the national and international union, since they cannot attend and share on a basis of equality with other workers in the deliberations of the national conventions, and

WHEREAS, the auxiliary unions even deny the workers, on account of race and color, a voice and vote in the selection and designation of representatives who negotiate agreements concerning rates of pay and rules governing working conditions that vitally affect their work and life, therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, Louisiana, November, 1944, go on record as condemning the auxiliary unions and call upon all international and national unions that have such devices to abolish said auxiliary unions on the grounds that they are undemocratic, unfair and against sound trade union principles, and constitute taxation without representation, which the A. F. of L. cannot consistently countenance and tolerate as it fights for the rights of the wage earners from business and government.

Your committee is not aware of any changes during the past year which should alter the positive declaration of last year's convention. We therefore recommend re-affirmation of the declaration of the Boston Convention, 1943.

Committee Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention, I want to discuss this report briefly. In the last convention in Boston the question of Auxiliary Unions was raised. It was raised because of the Negro workers that were in the shipyards and other industries who were denied the rights that were enjoyed by white workers in those same yards. We realized that those Negro workers would never be able to correct the conditions from which they suffered unless they were full-fledged members of the organization that controlled the yards.

Now the Boltermakers control the shipping industry on the Coast, and the Negro workers have been consigned to an auxiliary union by that organization. What is an auxiliary union? An auxiliary union sustains the same relation

to a National or International Union that a subject colony sustains to an Empire. The natives of a subject colony have no rights that the citizens of the Empire or the rulers of the Empire respect. In other words, the natives of a colony haven't the right to vote, they don't have the right to participate in the government that controls their right. They have no voice in the determination of the laws. They are subjects, and therefore they are oppressed and exploited.

This same condition obtains in the auxiliary unions. Here you are witnessing a form of trade union imperialism, whereby workers, because of race and color, sustain the status of subjects and they are oppressed and exploited because of that fact. Now the members of an auxiliary union do not have the right to vote in the national conventions. They do not have the right to express an opinion with respect to the leaders who make contracts concerning rates of pay and rules governing working conditions that affect their very lives. They have nothing to say about the government of the organization to which they pay dues. In other words, the members of an auxiliary union have only the right to pay dues to the national organization. That obtains with respect to the Boltermakers and the other National and International organizations that maintain auxiliary union.

The delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters contend that this is a form of dual membership in the American Federation of Labor. You have first class trade union membership in the American Federation of Labor which applies to white workers in the National and International Unions that have auxiliary unions, and then you have second class trade union membership. The second class trade union membership have absolutely no voice whatsoever in the affairs of the organization.

Now this Federation cannot maintain a dual form of membership. Either the second class membership will eventually prevail and become normal or the first class membership will become normal and prevail in the organization. It is a species of dangerous discrimination, it is unethical and opposed to democracy. We have just heard upon this floor the statement that poverty anywhere endangers prosperity everywhere. President Green suggested another statement equally as important, namely, that division anywhere endangers unity in the labor movement anywhere. And I want to suggest another statement, namely, that racial dis-

crimination anywhere not only endangers democracy everywhere, but aids and fosters Fascism everywhere, and when this Federation of Labor puts its stamp of approval upon second class trade union membership, typified by the auxiliary union, it is aiding and fostering the spread of trade union fascism in America. The American Federation of Labor has got to make up its mind, it has got to decide whether it is going to pursue the part of trade union democracy, or whether it is going to descend into the swamp of trade union Fascism. No one can contend that the auxiliary form of Union practiced by some of these National and International Unions is not opposed to the principal of equality, and equality is the foundation and the heart and the center of democracy. Where there is no equality there is no democracy, and certainly there is none with the auxiliary form of unions.

Now I understand that the Boilermakers feel that they have made some concessions to the Negro workers by giving them some insurance benefits. These Negro workers are not alone concerned about insurance benefits. No one wants to be a well fed slave. Suppose you give them some insurance benefits, what does it matter? What they want is a right to a voice in the affairs of the organization on a basis of equality with every other member, and that they don't have.

This auxiliary form of union issues from a feudalistic form of social injustice which is indicative of intellectual sophistry, spiritual bankruptcy, and moral hypocrisy. Everybody knows that it is unfair and unjust. It is being said upon the floor of this convention that many of the laws and regulations adopted here are adopted upon a basis of might and not right. In other words, the reason why we have this auxiliary form of organization is because certain powerful International Unions want it. Now no ethical considerations, no moral convictions can justify such an organization, and it is pure hypocritical rationalization to attempt to defend and support and excuse the existence of an auxiliary form of organization.

The American Federation of Labor had just as well recognize that fact now. We have talked about unity. We want to take in the CIO, take back the United Mine Workers, and surely they should come back. I certainly want to see the United Mine Workers come back because the United Mine Workers and John L. Lewis, also, are free from racial discrimination, and for that

reason our people believe in the United Mine Workers and John L. Lewis no matter what other people may say about him; but there can be no genuine, sound, trade union health no matter what you do by way of expansion, until your principles are sound. The American Federation of Labor today is about to make a serious decision on the question of either supporting democracy, as such, or embracing this dangerous poison—the auxiliary form of organization, which will enter the blood stream of this organization and destroy democracy and bring about racial discrimination. Racial discrimination and democracy cannot live in the same house together. Discrimination based on religion, nationality or race cannot live in the same country together. Therefore, some choice must be made and the choice is not made solely in the interest of the Negro workers, but from the point of view of the growing power and strength of the labor movement, because unless that is done, no one can predict the future of the labor movement of America. Just as Fascism has spread in Europe, when the war is over, it will certainly begin to spread here at home, and unless the labor movement is truly a bastion of democracy, it cannot prevent Fascism from spreading in this country.

When you read the Constitution of the Federation it sounds fine, but what do you think the Negro thinks of that preamble when he goes to a shipyard or plant—a Negro electrician or Negro boilermaker—and asks for a job and they tell him, "You can't get a job here until you get a union card;" and then when he goes to the union, they tell him, "You can't get a union card here until you get a job. Moreover, we are only taking sober and industrious white men." What do you think the Negro thinks of this preamble? Therefore it doesn't mean anything unless it is clothed with light and reality, and they only get light and reality when practiced. We listen to a lot of glittering promises in these conventions from year to year, but when it comes to practice, we fall far short of a standard.

Now, my fellow unionists, I tell you the question of race, of color, is a growing, absorbing issue of the world today. The American Federation of Labor and no other organization is going to win its place in history as long as it maintains two types of membership. That is what they are doing here in the South. They have down

here two forms of citizenship, one white—the white has all of the rights, all of the privileges, all of immunities. The Negro is disfranchised by the white families by the poll tax. Right here in New Orleans where this convention is sitting, Negro citizens are denied the right to vote by all kinds of devices, subterfuges and tricks, and because of this dual citizenship of the South, the South is bankrupt. Its spiritual ideals, intellectual practices and immoral stamina and it is only when the Southern worker is relieved from this dual citizenship that the South will begin to prosper, grow, and develop.

This same is true with respect to this American Federation of Labor on dual membership. Now there are a lot of unions in this body that do not have dual memberships. Splendid organizations, like the Hotel Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Longshoremen. I know of an instance where an agreement committee of the Longshoremen Association went to negotiate with the shipping interests in the South in a certain city, and the boss of the shipping interests stated, "We will not deal with you as long as you have these Negroes on the committee," and the Negro who was head of the committee said, "All right, when you are ready to deal with this committee, we will let the men go back on the ships." That caused him to change his mind, and what can be done by the Longshoremen can be done by every other organization in the American Federation of Labor.

This talk about the workers not being willing to be in the same organization with Negroes is tommy-rot. There are Negroes and white workers together in a large number of organizations of the American Federation of Labor and there is no use permitting the Boilermakers getting away with this hypocrisy that they are trying to inflict on this American Federation of Labor. The Boilermakers and Electrical Workers should be made to toe the line or be put out of the American Federation of Labor.

Now you cannot have any compromise on the situation and I warn this American Federation of Labor that this dual union membership in the American Federation of Labor is just as unsound, just as undemocratic, just as dangerous, President Green, and the members of the Resolutions Committee, as the dual union organizations in the country as a whole. You cannot condemn the

existence of the CIO and yet permit and countenance approval of the existence of a dual union in the American Federation of Labor. Your position is inconsistent, it is unsound, illogical. As a matter of fact, it is a joke to the people of the world.

Now you know we are talking about going to Tokyo and Berlin. Our country is talking about going to Berlin, 3,000 miles across the sea, to tell Hitler and the German people and give them a lesson in simple democracy. We are going to tell them what kind of government to establish over there. I cannot imagine President Roosevelt talking to the leaders of Nazi Germany or whatever type of government they have over there, telling them you must respect the rights of the Jews, you must establish a democratic government over here just as we have in other democratic nations.

I can hear Hitler or whoever may be talking to President Roosevelt and I can hear him say, "What about democracy in your own country? You tell us to treat the Jews right, what about the Negroes in New Orleans and Washington, D. C., and in Georgia. You say we must permit the people to vote over here as a simple matter of justice, what about the Negro voting in the South? You say we must have law and order over here, that Jews must not be liquidated and purged. What about mob rule and lynching all over the South?"

I regard President Roosevelt as the greatest living statesman today. Nevertheless President Roosevelt has no answer to that question. He is helpless. The United States of America is not fit morally and spiritually to lead the crusade of democracy unless it sees that democracy exists at home.

Then we are going over to Tokyo, six thousand miles away, to tell Hirohito to abolish his form of government and establish the form that we represent, and of course you no doubt will be less considerate of the Japs than of the Germans, not because the Japs are any worse, but because the Japs are not liked. I can hear President Roosevelt talking to the leaders of Japan about what they should do and then the Japanese replying, "Well, Mr. Roosevelt, what about conditions in your own home with respect to democracy and justice and freedom for the colored people under your flag?"

There is no answer, brother delegates. There is no way to straighten this question

out except to stick to our rights. Most of the issues settled in this convention are with respect to weak groups and are not settled on the basis of right but on the basis of might, and if you adopt the report of this committee, it is because lots of delegates in this convention are scared to oppose the report of the committee, and lots of representatives in this convention are afraid they will be the victims of the wrath of the high command of the American Federation of Labor. You will not vote according to your convictions, but because you are scared, and as long as you are scared you will never be able to build a strong and powerful democratic group that will gain the respect of mankind.

I consider the dual form of organization

as a menace to organized labor, a danger to democracy and a threat over trade unionism in this country.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The hour of adjournment has arrived. Do you want to continue to discuss this subject until it is settled, or do you want to recess until this afternoon?

DELEGATE BROWN, Machinists: I move we suspend the rules and stay in session until we complete this report.

The motion was seconded, but was defeated when put to a vote.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We stand in recess until 2:30 this afternoon.

At 12:45 P. M., the convention recessed to 2:30 o'clock, P. M.

SIXTH DAY — TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

November 28, 1944

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:40 o'clock.

COMMUNICATIONS

PRESIDENT GREEN: Before proceeding with the regular order of business I will read this word of greeting!

"The Ex-Patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colorado, extends greetings, best wishes and appreciation to President William Green, Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, all Vice-Presidents, International Officers and delegates assembled at convention of American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, Louisiana, November, 1944. R. Schwartz, National Supervisor."

PRESIDENT GREEN: We will now resume consideration of the report of the Committee on Resolutions that was pending when we took the noon recess. The Chair recognizes President MacGowan, of the Boilermakers International Union.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

(Discussion on Resolution No. 23)

DELEGATE MacGOWAN, Boilermakers: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention, I started attending conventions of

the American Federation of Labor in the year 1913, and while I have missed a few I have made most of them since that time, and never in all those years have I listened to a more offensive address to a convention of the American Federation of Labor than I listened to by Delegate Randolph this morning. I was amazed and dumbfounded to learn—and I thought I knew something about the delegates to these conventions—that we are afraid to vote our convictions on any subject, and therefore we must be regarded as cowards and incapable of expressing our own thoughts and minds on any subject. I was also amazed to learn that an organization that was diligently striving to do some practical things for the wage earners, regardless of the color of their skin, such an organization as I have the honor to represent, is an organization that is spiritually bankrupt.

I said on the floor of the Boston convention last year that in my opinion the utterances made at that time by Delegate Randolph rendered a great disservice to the cause of the advancement of the Negro worker. If the temperate statements by comparison uttered by Delegate Randolph in Boston were a disservice to his people, I wonder what he thinks the arrogant and insolent statements that he made this

morning resulted in? Some of us are getting just a bit tired of being kicked around by professional agitators when we are striving to do a job, and by some of the utterances made by Delegate Randolph I wonder if he is in the right organization? I wonder if he is in sympathy with the American Federation of Labor or its aims and objects? Certainly he gave no evidence of having any understanding of a great, serious and touchy problem, a problem that is as full of dynamite as any other question in human relations.

Some of us have been attempting to meet this problem in a realistic way, in a practical way, in a humane way, and in a tolerant way, and statements made on the floor this morning do more to set back for a quarter of a century, perhaps, the things we have been striving to bring about in breaking down racial prejudice.

We have just gone through an International convention a few months ago where we had an able committee consisting of men from all parts of the country, who spent almost day and night for two weeks laboring with this problem. You cannot change men's minds and beliefs by executive orders or by summary legislation. Those things must come step by step, steadily forward.

In that convention of ours we had a very decided group that were so irritated by the allegations and accusations levelled against us that they wanted to put the word "white" back in the constitution after we fought for years to take it out and did succeed in taking it out in the 1937 convention of our organization.

This committee, I repeat, met with Mr. Mountain Ross, Chairman of the F. E. P. C., Mr. Joseph Keenan of the War Production Board, with President Green, and with a number of others and out of it came not all that the Negro delegates and Negro members of the organization would like to have but a certain definite step forward, and I think I can say with truth that the step would have been far longer and far more effective if our people had not been thus irritated by unfair and unfounded accusations.

I want to read to you—and I don't do this in any attempt to justify our position, because as a sovereign International Union we control the destinies of our own affairs—but so that some of the misstatements made on the floor this morning may be corrected for the record and so that the press of this country will not be carrying flamboyant headlines as to the

unpatriotic and unworthy position of our International Union. I am quoting from the committee's report to our convention, which, by the way, was adopted by unanimous vote, an achievement if you please that speaks well for the members of the committee and the success which they met in reconciling conflicting viewpoints:

"WHEREAS, The International Union takes pride in the fact that it has not only greatly assisted the war effort by utilizing all available manpower, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin in conformity with President Roosevelt's executive order; and we take justifiable pride in the fact that we have without the slightest degree of discrimination aided, assisted and protected the Negro worker by insisting that he have the same work opportunities, the same security of employment, the same general protection in our collective bargaining agreement and have handled his grievances and safeguarded his rights as zealously as those of any other member, and

"WHEREAS, It is our considered opinion that if the Negro workers had not been molested by outside agitators a complete spirit of co-operation would have existed between the International Brotherhood, its subordinates, and its leaders, and out of our cordial relationship, the whites and Negroes could have mutually solved any problem that might have arisen on the economic field in true democratic trade union fashion, but the professional agitators were not content to confine the issues to the economic field, but they have seized upon it and used it as a sounding board to foment the issues of social equality, which is in no sense an issue for which the trade union workers should become involved as we are organized for the primary purpose of improving the economic standards of wage earners, and for that purpose alone, and those who inject controversial issues are injuring the Negro worker and retarding his advancement."

The committee then went ahead and made a series of recommendations. Delegate Randolph very flippantly referred to a change in the insurance standards. Well, perhaps it is unimportant to him but it was very important to our Negro membership, so important that the F. E. P. C. made quite an issue out of it. However, Delegate Randolph, either out of abundance of ignorance or deliberately or otherwise avoided telling this convention that we raised the auxiliary locals to full stature insofar as delegates to our district Metal Trades and International conventions is concerned.

They are seated now as delegates to these various bodies so that when he says they have no voice in fixing the policy or shaping their economic standards, he is not speaking from the record.

Now, Mr. Chairman and delegates, I have personally tried to meet every objection made by the F. E. P. C. and met with them in Wash-

ington last May and had a session that lasted all afternoon. I explained in detail the steps taken by our convention. The committee requested that I reduce it to writing. I did so and in a letter dated May 23, I answered every objection contained in the bill of complaints that was filed with the F. E. P. C.

And I concluded with this statement—and I am quoting:

"I have therefore set forth in detail and answered the allegations upon which your complaint was founded and which is contained in your directives. I might add this further thought as the official position of our International Brotherhood. First, there has not been and there will not be any discrimination in the hiring of men because of race, creed, color or national origin.

"Second, there has not been and there will not be any discrimination over the length or tenure of employment of any worker, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

"There has not been and there will not be any discrimination against any worker enjoying full benefits of our collective bargaining agreement—this includes wages, seniority, training, upgrading, vacations with pay, the handling of grievances and all other matters embraced within a collective bargaining agreement, applies with the same force and effect to all workers regardless of race, creed, color or national origin."

Last year Delegate Randolph in his allegations stated that the auxiliary members were denied promotion to mechanical status. According to our records picked at random from some of our auxiliary Locals, we find that one Local has 1,091 mechanics and 1,382 helpers; that another Local has 1,151 mechanics and 817 helpers; that another Local has 655 mechanics and 1,282 helpers; another Local has 224 mechanics and 332 helpers. The ratio of Negro workers runs higher of the total membership than the ratio in the so-called white Locals. That argument was not used, but just in case somebody might be curious about it, that's the record.

The interesting part of the record is that a greater percentage of Negro women have been upgraded to mechanics' rates than that of white women.

Now I could make extensive reply to the things that were said here this morning. I don't want to follow my emotions, I prefer to follow my judgment, but I submit in

all candor to the delegates to this convention that the inflammatory utterances listened to this morning, placing us in the same category as the Japanese and the Nazis are not helping the trade union movement, and they are certainly not helping the Negro worker.

Perhaps our International Union has not done all of the things that some people think it might have done, but I repeat again, you can't change human nature over night. It takes time and education and the development of tolerance and forbearance to work out these problems and an International Union that is diligently and faithfully and honestly trying to do these things just doesn't like to have somebody stand on the floor of this convention who doesn't know the score and insult our entire membership.

We have no problems without auxiliary membership. I held a conference in Chicago a month or six weeks ago when 225 of our officers and business agents and field representatives were present, and all of the auxiliary locals that could afford to do so sent delegates to that conference. They were well received. They discussed the issues on the floor of the meeting. We have no problem. We will work out these problems, we will settle them within our own International Union as fast as it is possible to do so, if the agitators will leave us alone.

DELEGATE LORING, Tennessee State Federation of Labor:

Mr. Chairman, I have been coming to these conventions not as long as some of the previous speakers, but ever since 1938. This racial question has come before these conventions every time. The delegates talk about it in private meetings. They say, "When is Randolph going to come here, when is he going to get started?" and this convention stands for it.

We don't have any race problem, only the race problem that is brought up by Delegate Randolph. He goes up and down the length and breadth of this country preaching social equality. I have no complaint with unions from a national, international or local, who take Negroes in as members, but I do object to the Pullman Car Porters or anybody else telling Local Union 17 of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters that we have to take anybody. We are the sole judge

of who shall become our members. We do not mention Negroes in our International constitution. We do not have any provision barring Negroes or any other people. If they are qualified to join, with the will and consent of the local they put in their application.

I think it is high time that people should stop this professional agitation. I was reared here in the South. I have carried picket lines for Negro workers, I have carried placards on my back when they were on strike, and I expect that is more than Delegate Randolph ever did. I think it is high time we should stop this professional agitation in the labor movement. White people are not raising the race question. It is the Negroes themselves, and I am in full accord with the committee's report.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any further remarks?

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Delegate Randolph, opportunity must be accorded to any other delegate who wishes to speak before I can recognize you the second time.

DELEGATE ZIMMERMAN, Athens, Sayre, Pa., and Waverly, New York, Central Bodies. Mr. President: I rise to discuss this report of the committee. I want to discuss it not merely as a plea for justice to our Negro members and to the Negro workers generally, but as a plea to the paving of the way to further progress and expansion of the work of the American Federation of Labor.

Millions of men and women are now engaged in a very bitter and bloody fight in all the world and more millions are busily engaged on the production fronts at home exerting Herculean efforts—for what? For the one central idea of expanding and extending the spiritual values that come to those who have an abiding faith in democracy and to implement that by extending and expanding the practical benefits enjoyed by the citizens of these countries that have democracy, to the citizens of those countries who still do not have it.

And if we set ourselves the task of teaching this spirit of democracy universally, I know of no better way in which that can be done than to take the first step of practicing it ourselves.

In this vital struggle the world looks upon the United States as the torch bearer,

as the carrier of the beacon light in this fight to spread democracy universally, and within our own country we have every right to be proud of the fact that American labor is looked upon as the torch bearer for the expansion and extension of democracy within our own borders. Let us be darn sure we live up to that destiny.

We have heard this morning that in these so-called auxiliary Locals that exist in some of our National and International Unions, members of the Negro race are disfranchised, denied the right to participate in the life of the organization to which they have been haltingly and half-way admitted as members of an auxiliary Local. The right to vote is something that labor knows more about than any other groups within our society. Can any of us forget that it was not so long ago, historically speaking, when all labor in the United States was denied the right to vote? Can any of us forget that the powers that be in this nation sought to retain control over this country by retaining the right to vote in the hands of those who own property? It was the labor movement, even in those very early stages, that battled, bled, fought and sacrificed and finally won the right of universal suffrage. After having won that historical, signal victory how can we reconcile with our own consciences the fact that the evil which we succeeded in eliminating from our national life still remains in certain portions of our own ranks. Can we reconcile that with our own consciences? I say we cannot, and as long as those auxiliary Locals exist and unions have first and second class memberships within any portion of the American Federation of Labor, just that long must we bear that upon our consciences.

It has been contended that the American Federation of Labor cannot eliminate that evil because it must respect the autonomy of its National and International Unions. No one will even dare suggest that any abridgment of autonomy be indulged in, but there are two points in that connection which must be met if we are to think clearly on the subject.

First, autonomy of National and International Unions will be cherished and safeguarded by each of these Unions, but we must remember when certain of these International or National Unions engage in practices, indulge in practices that are denials of the fundamental principles that

bring us together for collective action here, it not only weakens the strength of the organization but it throws a black mark on the very principle which unites us here.

But furthermore, even if we have to say that the American Federation of Labor cannot order any of its Unions to eliminate such nefarious practices because of the limitation of National and International authority within the organization, and because of that it is claimed that we must limit our action to mere declaratory statements and declaratory judgment, why could not this declaratory statement and this declaratory judgment, instead of being vacillating, be forthright and sincere and say we cannot compel you to do this, but we, the officers of the American Federation of Labor, we, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, we, the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor are unalterably opposed to the practice of any kind of discrimination within any section of the labor movement, against any portion of our membership. Why is it we cannot use that much foresight? If you say that you have taken the first real step towards the elimination of these evils without infringing on the autonomy of your Unions, you will be voicing the opinion of the general membership of the American Federation of Labor and the opinion of the general public behind the idea of equality for which we have bled and fought so long and will continue to fight.

Why not a declaratory statement? I have sat at this convention and did not believe my ears. I heard on the floor of this convention the very talk that I have been hearing and that you have been hearing from employers all over the country whenever any labor organizers or representatives of labor have attempted to organize unorganized workers—the charge of professional agitator. Every one of us here is proud to be professional agitators and organizers of the unorganized workers.

How many times have I been charged and how many times have you been charged with coming to otherwise peaceful areas to organize those who were unorganized and charged with raising discontent among them? Even if our jobs as labor organizers are not to arouse discontent, it is to call attention of the discontented to their inherent rights and bring to them the breath of light which will solve their discontent. How

many times have you been charged with being professional agitators to disrupt otherwise peaceful communities?

Let's not kid ourselves and each other and use any demagoguery. We have heard that they have improved many things, and please understand I am not discussing this from the point of this or that Union. I do not know wherein it exists or who has eliminated it, but I am not pointing to any particular Unions but all those Unions where such differences, such as discrimination, do exist. If we do not take steps to eliminate them we weaken our own influence, we weaken our own methods, our own chances of playing a tremendous role in the rebuilding of the world along democratic lines.

This convention has the eyes of the world upon it, not just the eyes of the working people in the United States. This convention has the eyes of the world upon it, I repeat. Why? Because this is the core of the practice of democracy in the United States, and those people who are now laboring and suffering under the heel of the despot and dictator are looking to us to show the light. How better can we show them light than doing so here, and saying that not only do we believe in the concepts of democracy but look in every corner of the American Federation of Labor and you will see it in practice. However, great as the American Federation of Labor is, we cannot say that in all of its affiliates do we see fair practice of democracy.

We have been told that progress has been made. We have been told they have been given certain rights.

There was one statement in the speech of Delegate Randolph which struck me very forcibly—more than all of the rest, and that is his statement that nobody wants to be a well-fed slave. No, it was not flippantly that we referred to the fact that Negro members do get certain benefits, such as insurance benefits in the organization. It is not flippant. We think they should get it, but we think also that you deprive them of the great pleasure of receiving these things when you deprive them of the right to participate with the other members of their organization in determining conditions under which workers of the industry should work. When you create first and second class citizenship you are undermining the very principles of freedom. Let us remember that it is important.

It has also been contended that while the officers and members of certain Unions in which these practices exist are themselves in favor of equality and opposed to discrimination; they maintain their hands are tied and large portions of their membership would revolt if Negro and white workers were brought together, and they explain because of that they adopted as a temporary expedient, the organization of the so-called auxiliary Union in the hope that gradually they will eliminate the barriers and the two will come together.

Now while the auxiliary Unions might have been originally established as a temporary expedient, as one step in bridging the gulf, they have now become accepted institutions, and whatever changes have been made, they have not even begun to correct the basic fundamental evil.

Now we have living examples of great international Unions, in some of which it has never been practiced and others where it has been eliminated—the Longshoremen, Ladies' Garment Workers, of which I have the honor of being an officer, and others have broken down this barrier and they have found that the Negro workers and white workers belonging to their organization, live together, fight together, work together and by doing so take away from the employer one of his most cherished weapons, divide and rule.

Let us remember we are here not only representing great democratic organizations, but we are paving the way, preparing our program and our policy to play a decisive and influential role in the formation and organization of the post-war world to come.

Let us take steps to create that influence by eliminating from our own ranks practices of denial.

DELEGATE TUVIM, International Ladies' Garment Workers: I believe the report of the Resolutions Committee is one that even Brother Randolph will not be able to vote against, and it is for that reason that I rise. We, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, have more or less eliminated the question of race, creed or color, but we have done it through the process of education, we have done it through the process of having Negro workers meet with white workers; we have done it through the organization work of our Union, through our educational program, through the mingling of worker with worker. And behind all this mingling and cooperative work there

is one fundamental: That worker, whether black or white, has a right to be represented by an organization of his own choosing.

Now we have had certain situations below the Mason-Dixon Line, and we found the solution for these questions. Only the other day one of our representatives in New Orleans told me of a certain happening in the city of New Orleans. She was about to begin organization work and she met a few white workers of that shop. She met a few Negro workers in the same shop, and she forewarned the white workers that the employer would use the racial and color line when and if these people would be ready to join the Union. And when these workers signed their cards and the employer found that there was going to be a meeting, he had some of his stool pigeons spread the word that the white workers would never meet with the colored workers, and then had a colored worker say to the colored workers that the white workers would never accept. Well, the employer found that that was wrong. His word did not prevail, and there is a strong organization, a strong union shop.

I believe it is the method, I believe it is the approach. I value these discussions here, though they may be brought up by Brother Randolph or so-called professional agitators. I believe that the American Federation of Labor has gone a long and far way. When you look back over the records of many years ago, when you pick up the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor on the question of race, creed and color, you find that every convention of the Federation has gone forward. You hear reports from various international organizations of the work done by those organizations.

And let me tell the brother from Tennessee that it is only through conventions such as this that the workers, the delegates and officers learn what is going on among the working people and sometimes go back with these messages, and these messages redound to the benefit of the organized working people.

It has been said here that only some people bring up the question of color. Why not? Why not? When you go out on strike, whether it be the South, the North, the East or the West and the employers use colored people as strike breakers and scabs, you don't raise the question of color then, you say that they are colored, and you call them in a different way and speak to them in a different light. It is the very same people that you try to condemn in certain parts of the South that you look to

during a time of strife and trouble, and if you do look to them during such times you should give them the opportunity to belong to an organization. It is not just merely giving them the opportunity, it is their right.

Now I say to you, Mr. Chairman, that as I read the report of the Resolutions Committee of the 1943 convention and as I heard today, the committee brings in a recommendation to re-affirm the action of the 1943 convention, and no one here can vote against it.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any further remarks?

DELEGATE RYAN, Longshoremen: I would like first, if it is a fair request, to get the name of the speaker who spoke before Brother Tuvim and what Central Body he represents. He had the temerity to mention our organization.

PRESIDENT GREEN: He is from Sayre, Pennsylvania.

DELEGATE ZIMMERMAN: Israel Zimmerman, representing the Central Body of Athens, Sayre, Pennsylvania, and Waverly, New York.

DELEGATE RYAN: I knew it wasn't from Philadelphia, because Paul Baker who used to be an I. W. W. at one time and now is General Vice President of our Atlantic Coast District, so I knew it wasn't from that Central Body.

I resent very much, Mr. Chairman and delegates, that the Longshoremen are precipitated into this dispute by the statement of Mr. Zimmerman. I don't know where he was when I came into the organization in 1912, but I do know that it was in 1912 that I had the honor to become a member of the International Longshoremen's Association in New York. It was my privilege to attend the Atlantic Coast District Convention in 1915 in Hoboken, and then I had the pleasure to be sent from that convention to the American Federation of Labor Convention that was being held in the city of San Francisco. At least I was sent to the annual convention of our International Union in 1915 at the same time that the A. F. of L. was holding its convention in San Francisco, and I had the privilege to go over with the rest of our delegates. We adjourned on our first day to go over and attend the opening session of the American Federation of Labor.

I do know at that time in 1912, and especially in 1915 when I was able to meet him in person, that Tom Woodland, from the city of New Orleans, a colored Long-

shoreman, was the Third Vice President of the International Longshoremen's Association. So we did not have to wait until now. Mr. Zimmerman says that now the Longshoremen and these other organizations have realized the fact that the colored worker is entitled to the same rights as the white man.

I will say further that our organization was chartered on the Great Lakes somewhere back in 1892 or 1893. They formed an organization there, not so much among what we call real Longshoremen—I mean fellows that load and unload ships—but some tug foremen, grain handlers and ore handlers who realized that to get anywhere they had to get together. They got into the American Federation of Labor and secured a charter giving them jurisdiction over longshore work.

President Keefe was Commissioner of Immigration in the early part of this century and he was a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

These men who organized up on the Great Lakes, through the per capita tax paid into the treasury, sent organizers down through the Pacific Coast, the Atlantic Coast and the South. I can understand why craftsmen, as they are called, may have had some difficulty in organizing colored workers at that time. They received their charters from the American Federation of Labor, because there may have been none of that race who were called craftsmen in the particular city in which they were organizing, although we believe that longshore work is a highly specialized craft as far as loading ships is concerned, because if cargoes are not properly loaded, especially in war-time, there may be shifting of cargoes. While we will not admit that longshoremen are not a highly specialized craft, still I was able to go from a street car conductor, where I worked seven days a week and twelve hours a day and where I rose to be an inspector, I went from that down to the waterfront to make a living. I started in as a longshoreman carrying potatoes. That doesn't require much skill, but I must have possessed some skill, and maybe that is the reason I am President of our organization today.

When I went to work on the waterfront in New York, of course the Italians predominated. The colored men were predominating in the South, so when our organizers

came down here, they appointed the men who were on the pier and they organized everybody, the same as the other crafts do. In no place was there any organization except what you would call benevolent associations and things of that kind.

And so it is no great credit to us that we have solved this wonderful problem which nobody can solve, except as it was said here by education and clear reasoning and not by inflammatory statements.

The Local I belong to was chartered in 1908. They elected presidents and secretaries, and in 1916 we were able to put out a business agent. We organized everybody in our vicinity. On the Cunard docks and in Brooklyn the men were mostly Italians, and as they elected officers, they elected whatever officers were on that pier regardless of whether they were Italians, Italian-Americans, Irishmen or Irish-Americans, Polish or Polish-Americans, or colored men. We could not call the colored men Africans, we could only call them colored Americans, and they naturally were elected by their membership to office.

So when I became President of the Atlantic Coast District in 1918, I found there were three colored vice presidents in the South and three white vice presidents, and the same situation exists today. At that time Norfolk was not organized, and it was during the war when they wanted organization. The Port of Norfolk or Hampton Roads, as it was called, was organized into our International Union. The Longshoremen were mostly colored and checkers were white but even then, with all due respect to Mr. Zimmerman, who says we now see the light, even then George Milner was elected as Second Vice President of our International organization for life because he has served twenty-five years as a president representing our Atlantic Coast District. Even then his coal handlers in Norfolk were working under the A. F. of L. charter and we had to make requests on the A. F. of L. to vacate that charter and allow us to issue a charter to these colored coal handlers working out of Norfolk.

I want to say and say very emphatically, there was no outside influence, whether it was the Society for the Advancement of Colored People or any other political or professional group or anybody else that taught us how to elect anybody as an officer of our organization. We took them as the

members of the organization, the men have the faith, and that is how they were placed in the positions they now hold.

I slid in with Milner as President for life in 1943—maybe through sympathy with me because of this battle on the waterfront, with disruption from the colored men, if you please. I am sixty years old, believe it or not, girls, and Milner is older than I am and he has to be on the waterfront every day. He has been flooded with requests—I don't know whether they are professional people who are interested in the advancement of colored people or not—asking Milner to take membership on committees and take part in their activities and he does not have time to do so.

Now it seems to me they are taking credit for educating us in what we did as a matter of course. I didn't mean to get into it, but I do say this: The election is over but the PAC is going on—I don't know what they call it—"Pack" or whatever it is. In Baltimore we have a strong Polish-American Local. We have a strong colored Local and we have our checkers and affiliated Locals and colored men in those affiliated Locals as well as white, and nobody raises a question. But recently under this PAC that was started by the dual organization, we understood we were supposed not to raid each other's organization during the war. They have never stopped raiding and at the present time I have a telegram from our New York representative telling me that they have organized 2,000 men in Jersey in the dual organization on the Pacific Coast. They work on the Italians this month and if they fall down then they work on the Irishmen next month. I called President Green's attention to it and he said they would not go through with their agreement to lay off and stop raiding, that we would have to fight the kind of a fight they are fighting.

They came into New Orleans under the guise of the PAC and they approached men who had been expelled from our organization for using the funds illegally. They asked these men if they would act as organizers for the Political Action Committee. The men in New Orleans were willing, but they were discredited and could not get any place and when they can't deliver they won't give them a job.

But four colored men went up to Local 858, our colored Local in Baltimore where

we are 1000 per cent organized in the port and under the guise of organizing for the Political Action Committee, they asked the colored men to join with them in this PAC. They also told them of the great conditions they could secure by joining with the Pacific Coast dual organization, and I am very, very proud of the colored membership in Baltimore. Everyone of them who were approached refused to be a part of such a thing, but in spite of that the four colored organizers for the PAC are still trying to dis-organize our colored membership in Baltimore.

I didn't mean to get into this but when they have the temerity to say that they taught us how to face the colored question, I want to tell them that we educated ourselves and have been doing it ever since the American Federation of Labor gave us a charter. The only thing that we have gained by those people trying to help us is disruption. As Brother MacGowan said, we are getting mighty tired of it and they had better stop.

So, Zimmerman, the next time you talk of that little place in Pennsylvania, which I don't think I heard the night the count was coming over, you may have some locals in that body that would take you to task, and I am telling you to mind your own business because we don't want to take up the time of this convention explaining our position.

DELEGATE ZIMMERMAN: I rise to a point of correction.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair cannot recognize you, Brother Zimmerman, until all who desire to speak and have not spoken are recognized. Are there any others who wish to speak? Under the rules if there are no others who desire to speak, the Chair will recognize those who have spoken. Now Brother Zimmerman, is it a question of personal privilege?

DELEGATE ZIMMERMAN: Yes, sir.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Very well, make it as quickly as you possibly can.

DELEGATE ZIMMERMAN: I should like to make one brief correction of a wrong impression which may have been left with other delegates since that was the impression left with Brother Ryan. I did not in my remarks include the Longshoremen's organization among those that had the practice they are talking about and eliminated it. As a matter of fact, what I did do was to

include the Longshoremen's organization with the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union among those who never had that practice and where the colored and white members live amicably together.

DELEGATE RYAN, Longshoremen: Mr. Chairman, it was not just an impression I got. If it was I wouldn't take up the time. He said very emphatically, and mentioned the Longshoremen and Ladies' Garment Workers and some others, who have now learned the fact that its right to treat the colored worker right. I will leave it to the record, so it is not just an impression. I knew what you were trying to tell us, and I told you.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman, I want to make a few remarks on some of the statements made by Delegate MacGowan. Delegate MacGowan, in a holier than thou attitude, attempted to justify and defend and whitewash the auxiliary unions by branding me as a professional agitator. I certainly am not going to attempt to deny that I am a professional agitator. I may or may not be, but ridiculing the author of a statement does not change the truth or falsity of that statement. Moreover, when one is unable to answer arguments, he usually takes refuge in denunciation. That has been the case here on this floor.

All of this talk about professional agitators with a view of intimidating anyone from exposing the discrimination in the trade unions will get nowhere. I don't care what you say about professional agitators. I will continue to denounce discrimination and condemn the auxiliary union on the floor of this convention as long as there is breath in my body and I am in this convention, and there is no delegate in this convention that can intimidate me, I don't care who you are. Therefore, I want it to be known that you must employ reason and facts and evidence and not attempt to use any cheap methods of demagogic tactics in attempting to intimidate me, because it will get nowhere. Now, Delegate MacGowan has not answered the charge that the auxiliary unions set up two forms of trade union membership, two classes of trade union membership; one first class and the other second class, and that they represent a lack of democracy, that they represent an injustice and oppression and exploitation of the Negro worker. Delegate MacGowan has not, in his verbose and evasive statement,

shown that the auxiliary union is not taxation without representation. The trade union movement cannot afford to support and approve taxation without representation in its membership. That exists in the auxiliary unions and all of the piety that was attempted to be manifested in the statement of Delegate MacGowan has not touched that issue.

Now on the matter of his organization. As he stated in the last convention they went as far as they could go in view of the agitation by so-called professional agitators. That is an admission that they did not abolish injustice to the Negro worker. He said they went as far as they could go in view of the agitation, the irritation of the membership. Now we contend that there is no justification for any form of discrimination against Negro workers. Negro workers have as much brain as white workers; as much character, as much ability. Why, then, are they the victims of discrimination?

Moreover, this auxiliary form of union defies the idea of the master race, of the superrace. This is the bone of contention in the labor movement. Employers will use this doctrine of division to exploit the workers and it is indefensible and President Green and the head of the Resolutions Committee, you cannot defend the auxiliary union. No one can. You cannot defend undemocratic practices, undemocratic institutions, and that is what auxiliary unions represent.

Delegate MacGowan attempted to show that the auxiliary union had suddenly become an angel of light and had given Negroes all the privileges enjoyed by the white delegates, that they can come into convention and express their voice and policies. If that is true that Negroes of the auxiliary unions have all of the rights and privileges enjoyed by other members, why have an auxiliary union? Doesn't it logically follow if you give them all of the rights that others enjoy there is no need for the auxiliary union, and secondly, you can see the contradiction and inconsistency in the statement, and then in order to draw a red herring across the whole subject, he raises the fiction of social equality and says anyone who tries to abolish the auxiliary unions is fighting for social equality; and if that is true, Mr. President, I will fight for social equality, because I will not stop fighting

for abolition of the auxiliary union, and Delegate MacGowan knows the two have no connection. But that was raised in order to raise confusion, and then finally he pointed out that the whole thing must be changed by time and education.

Well, now, if anyone thinks that Negroes are going to wait a thousand years in this country to get their rights, they have another thought coming. We are going to continue to fight with all of our might to change this despicable and contemptible situation. Where is anyone who can defend this position; no matter where he comes from, no matter how mad he gets. Get as mad as you want to. I don't care how mad you get, I will continue to tell the truth.

It was stated the auxiliary unions are satisfied; that the Negro members of the auxiliaries are satisfied. They are compelled to manifest this attitude of satisfaction. When slavery existed they said the slaves were satisfied, but they were not, and there were insurrections all over the South against slavery, and at every opportunity the slaves fled from this hell pot of oppression, and the fact that some of the delegates and members of auxiliary unions do not show any opposition is no indication they are not opposed to it and don't like it, because you have your heel on their necks.

There was a time when the yellow dog contract and the company union prevailed in this country. Could we say the workers of America were satisfied with the yellow dog contract merely because they did not abolish it then? No. But the yellow dog contract and company union continued because there was nothing they could do to abolish them at that time, but they continued to fight until finally the yellow dog contract was abolished. And let me tell you the auxiliaries will have to be abolished and discrimination wiped out, or democracy in the trade union movement will die, and when democracy dies the one single framework within which the trade union movement can live will have been abolished. Therefore, not only in the interests of the Negro worker, but in the interests of democracy in the trade union movement as such, the delegates from the Sleeping Car Porters will continue to raise their voice to show you that you are your own grave diggers and you are sowing the seeds of destruction by approving the poisonous, sinister and destructive

forces of racial discrimination and Nazi theorism.

And let me say to you, brothers and sisters, the Pullman Car Porters are against it and will fight against it although as aforesaid, because of the fact a large number of the delegates are afraid to express their true convictions, they will, of course, support the report of the committee.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary Frey of the committee.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY: It is well that the convention should recall your committee's report, which is a re-affirmation of the action of the Boston Convention last year. For your information I will read that portion of the committee's report which relates to the general point of opposition that has been manifested in opposition to the committee's report. This is the statement of the committee:

The founders of the American Federation of Labor since their inception, were opposed to any prejudices, traditions, social or religious demarcations which could be applied to interfere with, or prevent thorough-going organization of all wage earners. They made one of the corner-stones of the great trade union structure they were determined to erect—the principle that the right to work, or membership in a trade union should not be limited, or restricted in any manner, because of creed, color or race.

Perhaps last year your committee failed to use language which completely expressed its own opinion. The committee had listened for many years to charges against the American Federation of Labor for failure to do its duty in behalf of the colored people.

Unfortunately in those previous years when the policy of our Federation was being given blanket condemnation, when some leaders of the colored race felt that we were not giving them all of the recognition they were entitled to, there was not one word of appreciation for what the American Federation had already done to establish the Negro's industrial equality. It was somewhat similar in the past to what it has been today. No voice of appreciation, no indication that progress had been made in solving the difficult questions, but merely blanket and uncalled for condemnation. Perhaps no delegate has had more experience than the speaker in conventions with the problem of organizing Negro mechanics. I wish that I could take off fourteen years and be as young as my friend, Joe Ryan.

But I came into the deep South 44 years ago with a conviction of the Negro workers' industrial equality with any other citizen. I organized Negro Unions in my own trade, and the Molders had as much craft pride as any other trade in the American Federation of Labor. I have lived with the problem. I have known the leaders of the colored race and I have cooperated with them wherever I could, and the expression of your committee at last year's convention embodied not only the belief of the other members of the committee, but my own deep conviction. We do not believe it was helpful to have the American Federation of Labor or some of its International Unions charged year after year with violating the basic policy and principles of the American Federation of Labor. We wanted to bring them to an end and usher in a happier period when the members of the colored race would take the floor and express appreciation for what the American Federation of Labor had done for the colored race.

So the Committee on Resolutions last year did something it had never done before in its effort to have this question disposed of. After it prepared its report the Secretary of the Committee was authorized to meet with Delegates Randolph and Webster and tell them we would like them to examine the committee's report because we have done the best we could to lay down the principles so clearly and definitely there could be no question in the future. They wanted an opportunity to examine that by themselves. I have had every confidence in their honor and integrity as I have now, so I let them have a copy of the committee's report to work over and examine so they could later on let us know wherein it failed to cover the basic principles involved in the colored workers and their industrial equality.

Unfortunately, the two delegates were unable to see things as our committee did, and those of you who were present in Boston last year will remember the criticism which was made of the committee's report by Delegate Randolph and the extent to which he went in practically charging the American Federation of Labor with complete failure to do its duty to the colored worker.

Now my work as President of the Metal Trades Department has brought me actively in contact with the Negro problem so far

as the shipyards are concerned. In the beginning the Negro workers were not in the shipyards, particularly on the Pacific Coast. As a result of the policy of the Boilermakers Union there were three to four thousand working in the Port of San Francisco alone. Their number increased rapidly in all of the shipyards. They were given the same trade union protection in grievances and in their wage rates as anyone else. We had a racial problem in some sections of the Pacific Coast, but it is found in other sections of our country, and I was convinced from my experience with the problem that race prejudices are not overcome by edicts, flats or demands. I did not prevail on the Molders Union 44 years ago by demanding that Negroes be accepted into membership or that something dire would happen to them; I accomplished my motive by talking with them to adopt a definite policy. There has been recently in our country the feeling as to what federal agencies might compel labor to do. I am not among those who believe Americans can be compelled, except in war emergencies, to do things that run strongly against the grain.

This question will be just as live an issue when the war is over as was presented to you today. As a trade union member and as an active one, perhaps, for a great many years, I want to say this problem of the Negro worker shaped into proper channels will benefit him. I was an acquaintance of Booker T. Washington, I was an acquaintance of Mr. White, Secretary of the Committee for the Advancement of the Colored Race, I was an acquaintance of many of the Negro leaders. I want to say to Delegate Randolph that nothing has disappointed me more, nothing has hurt me more after a lifetime of effort in behalf of industrial equality for Negroes, than to listen to the condemnation and the manner in which he phrased those attacks, because I am convinced and I feel you are also convinced that the method arouses opposition to the very condition he wants to see brought about, whether boilermakers, mechanics or any other organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. If they are to be attacked on the floor of the convention and the record of that attack gets into the hands of the membership, it makes it that much more difficult for those national officers to sit with their members

and discuss a question that must be settled on its merits. Prejudice will influence them.

In my opinion the attacks made today were unjustified and many were unfounded. In fact, a few years ago there were no Negro members of the Boilermakers' Union, and today the Unions composed of Negro members have sent delegates to the International Convention with a voice and vote on the floor, and that is certainly evidence that in recent times remarkable progress has been made.

I hope that the committee's report will be adopted by a unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT GREEN: There are one or two things I should like to clear up for the sake of the record.

First, the charge has been made that the American Federation of Labor is responsible for the organization of auxiliary units. That charge is untrue. The American Federation of Labor is not an organization; it is a federation of organizations and each organization constituting a federated part of the federation is clothed with autonomous authority to formulate, shape, and administer its own affairs. That autonomous authority is vested in the Sleeping Car Porters, of which Delegate Randolph is President, and that organization formulates its own constitution, shapes its own policies, defines the qualifications for membership, into its Union, just the same as any other autonomous organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Secondly, the American Federation of Labor practices what it preaches. The conventions of the American Federation of Labor formulate the policies we must follow. It made this declaration through the committee last year, and I am not sure whether you read this or not Brother Frey:

"The founders of the American Federation of Labor since its inception, were opposed to any prejudices, traditions, social or religious demarcations which could be applied to interfere with, or prevent thorough-going organization of all wage earners. They made one of the corner-stones of the great trade union structure they were determined to erect—the principle that the right to work, or membership in a trade union should not be limited, or restricted in any manner, because of creed, color or race."

What organization in America has made a more specific, definite declaration in opposition to race discrimination?

"National origin, race or color must in no manner or form restrict any American from a free opportunity to prepare himself to become a skilled mechanic, a craftsman, and take his place as such in any employment requiring the skill which he has acquired. The doors of our trade union movement must be open. This country must not maintain an industrial standard which discriminates against a wage earner because of his color."

"Substantial progress has been made in eliminating prejudices, but there still remains an obligation upon the American Federation of Labor to carry on and expand the good work it has already done, so that the principle of industrial equality of all men will be established beyond question in every section of our country."

What delegate is there in attendance at this convention who is opposed to race discrimination of any kind that will vote against that declaration? How can he conscientiously say, "I am opposed to race discrimination" and vote against that?

Now I am sure that our friends, the representatives of the colored workers, must use that quotation and that declaration many times in many places they are called upon to define the right of colored workers or any other person who is denied the right to work because of color or nationality.

The moral effect of that is of immeasurable value when quoted publicly as the doctrine of 7,000,000 stalwart members of the American Federation of Labor. Now I would like to see a delegate in this convention vote against that today.

Third, in line with that declaration the American Federation of Labor has practiced just what we have been preaching here. We organized federal labor unions, that is workers employed in different lines who do not clearly come under the jurisdiction of some national or international union already chartered—we organize them into Federal labor unions. The officers of the American Federation of Labor administer the affairs of those federal labor unions just as the national unions administer the affairs of their local organizations. We are the officers of these Federal labor unions. They are subject to the laws of the American Federation of Labor and its constitution. Now I challenge any man, friend or foe, I care not from whence he comes, to show a single instance where there has been any discrimination in the organization of Negro workers or those of any other race or calling into a Federal labor union chartered by

the American Federation of Labor; in fact we are spending thousands of dollars to bring them in. Our missionaries are going out appealing to them to come with us. Thousands of dollars that you men pay into the treasury of the American Federation of Labor are being used to organize these workers to bring them in. We plead with them to come, we ask them to please come with us; and in most instances we are confronted with the opposition of the leaders of Negro organizations who appeal to the Negro workers to refuse the appeal of the American Federation of Labor but to go along with the CIO. There is no discrimination here. I would not stand for it for a single minute. If any of our Federal labor unions would attempt to discriminate I would discipline them immediately.

I make this statement and I am submitting these facts in answer to the charge that the American Federation of Labor forms and supports the formation of auxiliary unions. It does not, it never has, it does not now.

Now, if Brother Randolph has any quarrel, it must be with other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, not with us. There are 101 International Unions and National Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, practically all of them admitting colored workers into membership. The civil service organizations which represent government workers accept them into membership without discrimination. The Hodcarriers and Common Laborers Union accepts them into membership without discrimination, and they have sent colored delegates to this convention and other conventions. Just think of it. If of the 101 Unions all of them have measured up to the standards set except two or three, should the American Federation of Labor be denounced because the membership of two or three Unions have not yet risen to the same heights as the other 98 or 99.

Progress has been made. I know in some of these Unions where white workers who have been members of the organization have complained because in moving from one city to another they cannot secure work until those living in that community are accorded opportunity to work. That is because they are dealing with a serious economic problem, and in time and through

experience they have learned how to deal with that problem.

If I had my way there would be no complaint on the floor of the convention, and that is the sentiment of all National and International Officers in attendance at this convention. But we know, dealing with practical questions in a world torn asunder by differences of opinion, that we cannot deal with questions when an irresistible force meets with an immovable object. We can only win through patience, through the exercise of good judgment and through relying upon the soundness of our position. Time heals; time changes; time brings results. I have seen it in my lifetime and you have seen it in yours. Time will bring you to a solution of the problem. The American Federation of Labor has led and is leading in the fight for the elimination of the poll tax in every city and State in this country. I have never failed to respond to a single request that has been made upon me from any source where it has been shown that men are discriminated against because of race, creed, color or nationality, and so long as my voice can be sounded and I can speak, I will follow that policy.

I am truly sorry this bitterness has developed in our open forum of debate in this convention, but I am sure we will be broad-minded and tolerant in disposing of it.

Let us have confidence in each other, faith in each other, and let us apply ourselves to the task in an intelligent way. Let us not make a record that our enemies can seize upon in order to defeat your purpose and mine and to injure the great American Federation of Labor.

Are there any further remarks? If not, the question now recurs upon the report of the committee. The report of the committee recommends that we re-affirm the declaration we made at the Boston convention and which I just read to you. All in favor of the adoption of the committee's report say "aye". All opposed say, "No".

The motion is unanimously carried.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

Federal Law Against Lynching

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates A. Phillip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Lynching and mob-law are a disgrace and menace to American democracy and Christianity, and since the lynching of American citizens, white and black for over fifty years shows that the States, individually, are incapable of abolishing this evil, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, Louisiana, November, 1944, go on record as condemning lynching and mob-law as a grave danger to our Constitutional government and an attack upon civilized society, and hence call upon the House and Senate of Congress to enact a federal law against lynching and mob-law.

Your committee recommends that the position previously taken by the convention of the American Federation of Labor to prevent lynching be reaffirmed.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

White Primaries

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates A. Phillip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court in a recent decision, has outlawed white primaries as being unconstitutional, based upon a case in the State of Texas, and citizens, without regard to race or color, are now voting in the primaries of the State of Texas, but since several other Southern States continue to defy the decision of the United States Supreme Court, by refusing Negroes the right to vote in the primaries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, La., November, 1944, go on record as commending, upholding and supporting the decision of the United States Supreme Court, outlawing white primaries, and call upon the United States Department of Justice to enforce it in the interest of the preservation of Constitutional government, democracy and justice.

Your committee is in full approval with the action of the United States Supreme Court in outlawing white primaries. Your committee however is without any evidence that the United States Department of Justice has failed or declined to enforce this decision of the Supreme Court. For this reason we recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council so that an investigation may be made and the facts ascertained.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Danger of Master Race Doctrine

Resolution No. 26—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Master Race Doctrine is responsible for the threat of Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's Fascism and Hirohito's Militarism to modern democracy, Christianity and free and voluntary trade unionism, the ruthless and inhuman persecution of the Jews, Catholics and Protestants of Germany and other lands and the Negro people in the United States of America, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans, La., November, 1944, go on record as condemning the Master Race Doctrine as mythical, unsound, unscientific and a menace to peace and the democratic way of life.

Your committee is in accord with the substance of the whereas which condemns the Master Race Doctrine as applied by Nazism, Fascism and Japanese militarism, and any other social or political doctrine based upon the principles that one race is superior to another. But your committee cannot give approval to the resolved for we hold, and the Federation always has maintained, that there is no Master Race, and that all races, white, black, red or yellow stand upon a basis of equality, and belief in the basic doctrine taught by the Carpenter of Nazareth, the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of Man.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: The committee brings in a resolution out of its regular order because the introducers must leave the city by this evening—Resolution No. 152.

DUAL UNIONS OF SEAMEN

Resolution No. 152—By Delegates Harry Lundeborg, John Hawk, Morris Weisberger, James Waugh, Seafarers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Seafarers' International Union of North America has been granted jurisdiction over Seamen and Fishermen in all waters of North America and Canada by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The Seafarers' International in its organizing activities admitted to its affiliation the Canadian Seamen's Union upon their request, and

WHEREAS, This union has refused to live up to the principles and policies of the Seafarers' International Union of North America, and as a result at Convention of the Seafarers' International Union it instructed the Executive Board of the Seafarers' International Union to revoke the charter of the Canadian Seamen's Union, and

WHEREAS, This Canadian Seamen's Union is at the present time engaged in dual organizing in Canada and its President, Mr. Pat Sullivan, in his capacity as the Secretary of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has been using his said office to foster this dual Seamen's movement in Canada, and particularly in British Columbia, where they have openly joined hands with the CIO dual organization, and are attempting to infringe on the jurisdiction of the British Columbia Seamen's Union, a bonafide labor organization, chartered and affiliated to the Seafarers' International Union of North America, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention hereby go on record requesting the officials of the American Federation of Labor to notify the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and its affiliates, including the Labor Councils of Canada to cease recognizing this dual Seamen's Union fostered by the Canadian Seamen's Union and to recognize only the Seafarers' International Union of North America, and its affiliates.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: The committee now wishes to report on Resolutions Nos. 33, 35 and 46 in connection with the Executive Council's report on the subject of the National War Labor Board, as follows:

NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD

(Page 232, Executive Council's Report)

The National War Labor Board functions as a voluntary creation of government, management and labor, consisting of representatives of those most vitally concerned in maintaining wage policies most conducive to the war effort and least conducive to the causing of inflation. Its purpose is to formulate and prescribe wage policies and wage rates consistent with that purpose. Labor voluntarily suspended the use of the greatest and most sacred of its rights—the right to strike—and to that Board the workers of this country entrusted the most

fundamental of their interests — the prescribing of wages and conditions of employment. This convention is deeply and legitimately concerned with that Board's activities—more so than those of any of the numerous other governmental agencies which deal with or affect labor.

Last year your committee had occasion to comment upon the fact that the democratically adjudicated wage policies of that Board, arrived at by representatives of all segments of the national life, had been superseded by government-fixed wage formulas which, by one-man edict, froze all wages at a prescribed and arbitrary level. This year your committee must bring to the attention of this convention an even more shocking spectacle of a refusal by a majority of that Board, consisting of its public and industry members, even to recommend specific action to those with power to alter or modify the existing situation, so that inequities and burdens irrefutably demonstrated to exist under the present wage freeze could at least in some measure be alleviated. But as pointed out by the Labor Members of the Board:

"Yet the same public members, who on the one hand plead lack of information, are ready to make pertinent recommendations on wage policies for the reconversion period. . . . The Board's inconsistency is astounding: For over two years now the Board has been handling cases and becoming fully informed of the effect of the Little Steel Formula and the relationship of wages to the cost of living. It has accumulated a mass of evidence on the subject. But the Board now says it is in no position to make any recommendations as a result of that experience and any changes in our economy which have taken place. The Board feels fully competent, however, to make recommendations on matters which have not yet occurred, matters on which it has no experience, heard no cases, and been in no position to make any more than a guess."

In the space of a little less than two years we have witnessed, first, the shackling, and then the abject surrender of a Board originally established by voluntary action of those segments of our national economy most vitally interested and affected as a body, to determine by democratic procedures the problems of wage adjust-

ments of workers in time of war. The events leading up to that surrender, which took place only last month, are as follows:

Early in this year the American Federation of Labor, through its labor representatives on the War Labor Board, petitioned that Board to make specific recommendations to the President to make modifications or alterations of the "Little Steel" formula so as to permit the Board to make wage adjustments more closely in line with increases in cost of living. The basis of that petition, as was the basis of a similar petition presented almost a year before, was that the cost of living had in fact increased to a considerable extent beyond that contemplated under the "Little Steel" formula, so that workers everywhere were suffering a considerable shrinkage in earnings as expressed in terms of purchasing power. In freezing wage levels, the government had promised to maintain the cost of living at a comparable level. This promise, in return for which the no-strike pledge had been given and under which it was agreed to submit all wage issues to the War Labor Board for final determination, was not maintained. Other segments of the national economy were allowed to benefit themselves at the primary expense of wage earners.

On March 15th the Board dismissed this petition without prejudice for reconsideration. A week later the petition was reinstated when the Board decided to accept jurisdiction over the demands of the United Steel Workers to grant workers in the steel industry an increase beyond the limits of the "Little Steel" formula. It is significant to note that the petition of the American Federation of Labor which was on behalf of all workers in all industries, regardless of affiliation or lack of affiliation, was considered only after the Board had decided to take jurisdiction over the Steel Workers' case involving but a comparatively small segment of the country's wage earners. Hearings were held on this petition during the summer. The Board convened in executive session on October 9th to determine whether to make recommendations to the President on the question of modifying the "Little Steel" formula. By this time it had before it the report of the special panel hearing which heard the A. F. of L. petition setting forth many facts indicating a considerable increase in the cost of living and numerous specific in-

stances of the inequitable and arbitrary working of the "Little Steel" formula. It also had before it the Meany-Thomas report indicating an increase in the cost of living of 45 per cent, the Department of Labor's report indicating an increase in the cost of living of 25 per cent, and the report of the special committee of technical experts appointed by Chairman Davis of the War Labor Board which found that the cost of living had increased 30 per cent or double that contemplated under the "Little Steel" formula.

With this mass of evidence before it indicating the great increases in the cost of living, indicating the inequities of the "Little Steel" formula, and indicating that modification of the "Little Steel" formula need not have any inflationary effects, the Board, with labor members dissenting, refused to make any recommendations whatsoever to the President and, instead, stated that it would present to the Economic Stabilization Director a report setting forth pertinent data regarding the relationship of wages to the cost of living. Thus, not only has the Board suffered its functions to be removed from it, but it has also surrendered even the right of protest. And this in the face of overwhelming evidence that its protest would be extremely well founded. Having at least the right to make recommendations, and knowing that these recommendations would bear great weight, it has nevertheless refused to exercise that right—a far cry from the original conception of a Board voluntarily created for the purpose of itself deciding and formulating the wage policies of a nation in time of war, and to which Board organized labor and the workers of this nation had surrendered and entrusted their greatest rights. The characterization of this action of the Board by its labor members as "an inexcusable dereliction of duty" could well be supplemented by terming it also an unwarranted breach of faith.

In comparison with the action of the public and industry members of the Board in refusing to make recommendations for modification of the "Little Steel" formula, the other criticisms to which the Board can rightfully be subjected fade into insignificance.

The injustices accomplished under the so-called wage bracket system, the interminable delays to which a participant in a dis-

pute case is subjected, the taking of jurisdiction in issues not involved in the war effort, all are deserving of more extended comment.

Thus—at the end of the third year of governmental regulation of labor—your Committee submits that the workers of this nation find themselves enmeshed in laws of Congress, executive orders of the President, edicts of the Director of Economic Stabilization, and the directives of the National War Labor Board. Yet, despite this ever-growing bureaucratic interest in the well-being of workers, the American Federation of Labor has been unable to obtain acknowledgment from the Federal Government of the simple fact that the pre-war standard of living for workers is rapidly deteriorating.

In view of the foregoing your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor immediately after the adjournment of this convention appoint a representative committee to call upon the President of the United States at the earliest possibility and place before him the request that he issue an executive order which will realistically adjust the "Little Steel" formula with the increased cost of living and permit employers and employees to effectuate the newly established policy by voluntary agreement without submission to the National War Labor Board.

The resolutions dealing with this subject matter are as follows:

Little Steel Formula

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The War Labor Board has frozen wages by means of the Little Steel Formula whereby a bargaining unit of labor is limited to an increase of 15 per cent in its average straight time rates over the rates prevailing January, 1941, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living has increased 40 per cent or more since January, 1941, and

WHEREAS, Employees are justly entitled to increased wages which the employers can and will absorb without passing the increase to the consumer, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instruct its officers to request the National War Labor Board (1) to abrogate the Little Steel Formula as a limit to wage increases thereby permitting wage in-

creases in keeping with the increased cost of living and (2) to promulgate an additional regulation making any increase in wages permissible when agreed upon between employer and employees and when assurances are furnished that such increase will not be passed along to the consumer.

Little Steel Formula

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor has performed one of the most outstanding miracles of production ever witnessed in industrial history in supplying our Armed Forces with the planes, guns, ammunition, foodstuffs and materials of war, and

WHEREAS, The no-strike policy of organized labor has been rigidly followed, with the exception of sporadic unauthorized cessations of work, and

WHEREAS, When Labor pledged that it would remain at work during World War II, it did so with the understanding that wages and the cost of living would be "stabilized," with the resulting rules of wage stabilization, and

WHEREAS, Wages have been frozen by the Wage Stabilization rules and the cost of living has risen so that the purchasing power of the worker has diminished, and

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Labor Statistics' latest available data indicates that the cost of living has increased 25.4 per cent over the January 1, 1941, level, and

WHEREAS, The Labor Members of the President's Committee on the Cost of Living have reported on January 25, 1944, that a realistic rise in the cost of living of 43.5 per cent has taken place over the base date of the Little Steel Formula, January 1, 1941, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as advocating an increase in the Little Steel Formula, or the liberalization of Wage Stabilization policies to permit the purchasing power of the workers to keep pace with the realistic increase in the cost of living, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor advocate automatic adjustments in wage rates of all workers, both organized and unorganized, without submission to the War Labor Board, and that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, Chairman of the War Labor Board, William Davis Director of Wage Stabilization, Judge Vinson, and to members of the Regional War Labor Board.

Little Steel Formula

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Robert C. Kirkpatrick, John

Simons, T. K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, John W. Austin, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union at its 1944 Convention made definite requests for a change in policy by the War Labor Board, and

WHEREAS, Those requests are fair and reasonable for such time as the War Labor Board may need to function, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That they are hereby endorsed by the American Federation of Labor as requests to the War Labor Board as follows:

1. That the War Labor Board revert to the principle it established when it announced that a 15 percent increase in the cost of living warranted a 15 percent increase in wages.

2. That after reverting to that principle it discard the obsolete "Little Steel Formula" and set a new ceiling as of a more accurate reflection of the increased cost of living and in no case less than an amount equal to the proved increase in living costs.

3. That it recognize as approved any wage scale up to the increase in the cost of living and in cases of employers not directly charging wages against war materials that increases negotiated up to 50 percent stand as approved.

4. That it reestablish the dignity of the Board so it can function as reason and facts indicate rather than act as automata at the voice of an alleged stabilizer dictating wages while at the same time unable to enforce or maintain ceiling prices on commodities; and at the same time knowingly ignore the plight of the working people who are kept from helping themselves.

5. That if members of the War Labor Board cannot act as above requested, they seriously consider resigning from the Board in protest against such an unfair and unreasonable method of distributing the burden of the war effort; that they admit failure to carry out the principle they originally announced and which the American people accepted.

In connection with consideration of the Executive Council's Report relative to the National War Labor Board, your Committee gave careful consideration to Resolutions Nos. 33, 35 and 46, all of them relative to the Little Steel Formula, and the necessity of its being guided by a policy which would be in keeping with the maintenance of a real wage in our country. Inasmuch as the Committee has recommended that the officers of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee for the purpose of laying before the President of the United States the inequities and the injustice contained in the War Labor Board's policy in connection with the Little Steel Formula, we recommend that these three resolutions

be referred to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to assist them in making an appropriate response to the President of the United States.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN: I move the adoption of the committee's report and the approval of the Report of the Executive Council on this question.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE JOHANSEN, Chicago Federation of Labor: I rise to support the report of the committee. I think it is an excellent statement and quite underestimates the complaints we have heard from one end of the country to the other about the conduct and the method of disposition made by the War Labor Board in various cases dealing with matters in which our men and women in our trade unions are vitally interested.

While we agree that the surrender of the strike weapon was serious and necessary in the war situation yet we also agree that it would help if the War Labor Board as such would see to it that the interests of labor were properly protected through that agency. I served as a member of a panel and sat in many cases and I found that the entire program was entirely too professional. It is plain to every working man everywhere, regardless of his education, that the wage question and the cost of living is quite out of line, and I am very glad to support the report of this committee. I think it is an intelligent report. It is a correct analysis and it gives a criticism that is entirely justified. I hope that after the convention adjourns the matter will be taken up by the Board with the President of the United States. I have found in every case, notwithstanding the fact that we were informed that no Unions should be denied union maintenance unless there was direct evidence that the Union as such is irresponsible, these professors and representatives of industry, have in every case in the panel I sat on, always opposed Union maintenance or recognition of the Union. They were all against the Union in every case, and I am glad the committee has analyzed the situation and brought such a report to this convention as you have heard.

I received a special delivery letter from the Chicago Federation of Labor asking me to submit a resolution, but when I looked over the record of the first day's proceed-

ings I saw that it was not necessary to ask for unanimous consent. I am certain that all of our people will be satisfied with this action. It is the right thing to do.

DELEGATE BROWN, Machinists: I am very pleased with the report made by the committee on this subject matter. It is very timely, and informative, and presents our position in a matter that will be understood. I believe the Machinists' Union has had more cases before the War Labor Board than any other A. F. of L. affiliate. We have suffered tremendously because of the attitude of the Board in their refusal to revamp the so-called Little Steel formula and keep abreast of what has been transpiring in the Office of Price Administration. There is no denying the fact that the Office of Price Administration has not been holding the line. The War Labor Board has been holding the line.

I had occasion to appear before the Board some months ago and call that to their attention. I was told that it was not their fault because some other government agency is not holding the line with respect to prices, and it is digging deeper holes into the pocketbooks of the workers. They said their only concern was that of holding the line so far as the War Labor Board is concerned.

I hope that this report will cause the government to recognize that there must be a revamping of the Little Steel formula, and that in the handling of these cases there must be no discrimination as between the two so-called labor movements. Up to the moment it at least appears that the War Labor Board is biased in favor of the dual movement. The reason therefor must be obvious to you all, and I hope and trust that in addition to adopting this report, every International Union will take it upon themselves to voice to the War Labor Board their separate opinions in respect to the manner in which they have, should I say, sabotaged the efforts of the organized labor movement to bring about proper wage increases and keep abreast with that which we are slipping from because OPA has not been holding the line.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany.

SECRETARY MEANY: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I am going to make a few comments on this report and I will try to make it brief. Matthew Woll and myself

have talked and written enough about this to fill several volumes, but I think there should be some comment on the present situation.

When we submitted a petition in February to the War Labor Board to modify the Little Steel formula to conform with the rise in the cost of living the CIO presented a number of cases involving the major unions in that organization. They decided not to join with us, but to conduct their own fight for a modification of the formula along the case line, as they put it—bringing up individual cases. The American Federation of Labor members requested that they join with us and try to modify this formula so that it would be beneficial to all the workers of America. They chose the other method. The Executive Council covered this situation in its report. A few days ago we submitted in mimeographed form a supplemental report in which we outlined the situation right up to the present moment, and at the conclusion of that report we noted that the Board was proceeding, while sort of marking time on the general report to the President, with the first of the cases which sought to break the formula for a group in one particular Union. That case happened to be the United Steelworkers' case.

Now a decision has been reached in that case, and I think that decision should be explained to the delegates present at this convention so there will be no misunderstanding.

Like the A. F. of L. in its effort, the CIO also failed to break the formula. However, in the Steel Case they did get a few crumbs from the Board by way of a few pennies increase here and there.

The general wage demand of the CIO for 17 per cent increase above the Little Steel formula in this case was denied. In addition, with labor dissenting, the Board denied the demand for a special fund which was included in this case for the benefit of Steelworkers in the armed forces.

The Board also denied the demand for a guaranteed annual wage, which was another issue in this case, but recommended to the President in a separate report that the President appoint a committee to comprehensively study this whole question of aensively study this whole question. This issue is to be studied apart from the Steel

Case, and any results that come from that study will, of course, be on a nation-wide basis embracing all workers.

The Board granted to the Steelworkers one week's vacation with pay to all employees, continuously employed for three years, and two weeks' vacation with pay to employees continuously employed for five years or more. This was consistent with the Board's policy on vacations, which has developed over the past year or two.

The Board directed the company and the Union to negotiate the terms of a severance pay agreement appropriate to each plant or company. If no agreement is reached by the parties within 60 days the Board indicated that it would write a severance pay policy or severance pay agreement and impose it upon the industry.

On this issue the American Federation of Labor members voted to refer this item to collective bargaining, but reserved the right, when this report comes back, to insist that anything on severance pay be made general policy applying to all workers in the nation.

On the question of sick leave the Board denied the demand, with the labor members dissenting, but said that it would approve any reasonable plan if the company and the Union agreed to it.

On the question of rotating shifts the Board directed that four cents an hour bonus be paid for all hours worked on the second shift and six cents in the form of a bonus for all hours worked on the third shift. This represents a definite departure from Board policy. The Board has in the past given shift bonuses on the principle that a man working permanently on the second shift should get more than a man working on the first shift, and similarly that a man working permanently on the third shift should also get more than the man working on the two previous shifts. This is the first time in any major case that the Board has applied this policy to the rotating shift principle. The Board has heretofore refused in any major case involving any number of employees to approve this principle, so this definitely establishes a new principle.

The A. F. of L. members, after voting for this principle in this particular case—and incidentally, this could not be established without an A. F. of L. vote—attempted to have the Board revive all the cases in which this was in issue and in which shift bonuses had been denied since December of last year, which is the retroactive date controlling this particular case.

On a ruling by the Chairman that this could not be considered, and on a test vote the A. F. of L. members lost. After the A. F. of L. had voted for this shift differential for the CIO workers in the CIO case, when that vote was taken not only did industry and the public members vote against making this general policy by reviving the other cases, but the CIO also voted against making it general policy.

The Board directed that certain holidays be paid for at the rate of time and one-half, with industry dissenting and labor and the public voting in favor.

The Board denied the demand for the elimination of geographical wage differentials.

The Board directed on wage rate inequities a maximum increase for any one company of a sum not to exceed five cents per hour. The directive order stated that the wage rate adjustment may be made solely for the purpose of eliminating intra-plant wage rate inequities and any general across-the-board increases would be disapproved. It was estimated by the Board's statisticians that this would result in about a two and a half cent an hour increase for the workers generally.

The Board directed the standard maintenance of membership provision and the checkoff, and a provision that the deduction of dues be not more than \$1.50 per month with an initiation fee of \$3.00. The A. F. of L. members, while voting for this, made an effort to delete that portion of the Board's directive order which placed a limitation of any kind—not that we had any dispute as to the merit or the amount involved, but we felt it was an unwarranted intrusion on the part of the Board into

the affairs of a labor union. The question of whether or not a labor union wants to charge \$1.00, \$1.50 or \$2.00 a month dues, we feel, is the business of the labor union and not the business of this government Board.

The Board denied the demand for a group insurance plan, but stated it would approve under the wage stabilization program a reasonable plan agreed to by the parties. This was the only issue involved where the A. F. of L. and the CIO did not vote together. The A. F. of L. members took the position that unemployment, illness and old age were not the responsibility of any employer or group of employers. We held that standard A. F. of L. policy, which is embodied in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill compels us to take the position that these problems are a community responsibility.

This sums up the Little Steel decision. I feel that it is important that the delegates of this convention may know just what happened, for the very simple reason that if this alleged wage freeze is to be held, that this may be the method of going in and seeing what can be done to do a little better for the members who are being held down on this wage question.

The question of severance pay is definitely new policy.

The question of bonuses for rotating shifts is also definitely new policy.

The question of intra-plant inequities is something that would apply, particularly in the steel industry and would also apply to a great many other industries. I feel the Machinists would be particularly interested in this.

The point is that to me it is impossible for this Board to decide a case in favor of well over a half million workers and embark on new ventures or into new fields and then say, "But, however, this is not new policy." The Board has followed a system known as developing policy case by case, but in this case, because of the fact that there are well over half a million workers involved. I feel anything they may do in the way of new departures definitely represents new policy.

Now I want to say just a few words about the general picture presented by the Little Steel formula at the present time.

When we went into this war I do not think anyone connected with the official family of the American Federation of Labor or any of its International Unions had any doubt but that we would have to make sacrifices. I think everyone was convinced before a shot was fired at Pearl Harbor that we would have to make sacrifices. A few days after Pearl Harbor we went on record agreeing to make sacrifices and we have made those sacrifices, and on this particular question we made a great sacrifice.

Going all the way back we find that we never did accept the principle of government wage control for we had an old tradition that we should be paid on the basis of the things we produced—that we should get a fair share of the value of the things we produced, and as our efficiency and production increased we would be paid in kind.

We sacrificed that and accepted the policy of government wage control on the 23rd of December, 1941, when we came to an agreement with employers and with the Government of the United States that we would not go on strike and that all questions on dispute of wages or any other matter would be settled in a democratic manner by the War Labor Board set up for that purpose.

We did not agree at that time that we would accept one man control in the person of the Director of Economic Stabilization. We agreed that the Board would conduct its business and reach its decisions in democratic fashion. We did not agree that the War Labor Board would be ruled out by Executive Order.

In July, 1942, despite the plea of the labor members, the War Labor Board set down this so-called formula. I talked to President Green about it at the time and he agreed with members of the War Labor Board representing the American Federation of Labor that this rigid principle applied on a nation-wide basis, could not work. Both the American Federation of Labor and CIO were outvoted by the industry and public members of the Board on this question.

After trying to make this formula work, we appealed to the War Labor Board early in 1943 for modification of the formula, at a time the Board had the formula in its possession and when it represented an action by the Board arrived at in democratic fashion, by majority vote. The Board turned down our petition in early 1943, and in April

of that year an Executive Order was issued that took away from it the right to change this formula.

I know we have to sacrifice, and no matter how this decision goes against us, no matter what the President's decision is in regard to changing the formula, we will go along, we will not rock the boat—the demands to win the war are greater than any demands we have for wages but we have the right to demand that the American worker gets justice and that the bargain made with the government be kept.

Something else we are facing today is not only a matter of simple justice, but the matter of having wages go up to where the War Labor Board promised they would go when they fixed this 15 per cent limitation—that is the implied promise that wages would compensate for any rise in the cost of living. Not only have we the right to demand justice for the people from our ranks who went into the armed forces, but justice on the grounds promised them by the War Labor Board and other government agencies that these boys would come back to a standard of living at least as good as when they left. We have the right to demand justice and all this talk of making the world over will go by the board unless we are able to maintain a standard of economy that will provide employment for all people able and willing to work.

This matter is closely related to the question of post-war employment. Without full post-war purchasing power in the form of wages, we cannot get full employment. Without post-war employment we will not have purchasing power to make and build those things we need. Yes, we have the machinery to build all of the automobiles, all of the radios, washing machines and all the houses that we could possibly use, but we will not make those things unless this purchasing power is available to buy them.

Our figures show that our export business cannot pull us out of this hole and the figures of the United States Department of Commerce and the figures of the Committee on Economic Development and all other reliable figures show that there is a tremendous lag between full employment and purchasing power furnished under

the present wage structure. That lag can only be made up by increasing the hourly wage rate.

The people in Washington know this. The theory with regard to wages seems to be to hold everything until Germany is defeated and then raise wages by government edict. But we cannot, and will not succeed if four to six millions are unemployed and 13 or 14 million more will be reduced to 40 hours a week through the elimination of overtime.

This convention in adopting this report will put itself on record as fighting for justice for those who are working for victory and the soldiers who went away with the promise their standards would be maintained. I think it is fine to hear someone promise 60 million post-war jobs when at the same time this question of post-war wages, involving, as it does, our purchasing power, is let go by the board, but anyone who tells the people there will be 60 million jobs, is telling the people of this country an untruth unless this wage problem is solved.

DELEGATE DUFFY: I feel I would be recreant in my duty to the members of my organization if I failed to rise at this time and enter a protest in their behalf.

I wonder if we thoroughly understand some of the practices of the War Labor Board? I would like to tell you what experience we recently had with one of the Regional Boards. In our industry we have maintained a national wage contract covering the industry since the year 1900 and in that contract it has been basic that when a new item comes into any plant, it is made by the skilled tradesmen at an hourly rate of pay for a period of six weeks as an experimental basis for determining what the rate shall be in order that they might maintain their established piece work earnings. We had a development of that kind recently, and after the expiration of the six weeks' experimental operation and the employer and our organization reached an agreement as to what the piecework rate should be in order that they might maintain their previously established piecework average hourly earnings, we submitted that to the Regional Board in Cleveland, and they in turn transferred it to stabilization, where the so-called industrial engineers hold sway, and they ruled in this fashion: That

these workers must produce 20 per cent more production or increase the production 20 per cent for the same daily wage and then they would arrive at a unit cost and put it on another three months' experimental basis, and if while working piecework, they showed more than 20 per cent increase in their wages, they would impose another reduction in the piecework rate. If that is not a stretched out plan, I know not what a stretched out plan could possibly impose upon our people. Our people are extremely dissatisfied with these practices.

Now as to the Little Steel formula itself. Our people feel that the government has not kept faith with them. At the beginning of this war, as Secretary Meany has so well and ably stated, our representatives were called in conference. The President in a very, very solemn tone, and his representatives, made known to our spokesmen this critical situation due to the threatening war at that time. He asked their complete co-operation and they gave it to him without a moment's hesitation and they did right-fully in my judgment. I understand (I was not there) they were given to understand that in consideration for surrendering the right to strike that our movement would in no manner, shape or form be impeded in our logical objectives.

What has happened? The Little Steel formula has enabled the employers through upgrading of their inferior product to be sold at ceiling prices and at tremendously increased values highly profitable to themselves. And the working people plead only for a square deal to meet the increase in the cost of living.

In answer they say that the take-home pay is more than sufficient to meet the increase in the cost of living. The take-home pay is what it is because our people were told that if they would strive diligently, if they would work overtime long hours, work to the point of fatigue and exhaustion in order to meet the demands of the war, they could expect this premium pay of time and a half or double time. They accepted that. They wholeheartedly and patriotically carried on in that direction and now it seems to me the government is unfair in taking advantage of these workers, because they are taking home more pay, only because they are taking it out of their hides and using up energy and working to

the point of fatigue and exhaustion, as I previously stated. It is not in accordance with the understanding that they had, if they would subject themselves to that suffering and privation, that this would be used against them when they asked for a square deal, when asking for a chance to come abreast of the cost of living.

We heard something this morning from the Archbishop on losing the game in the last 15 seconds. We also heard of the egotistical quarterback on the football team who calls the signals and works the backs, the halfbacks and fullbacks to the point of distraction and through excruciating pain and suffering carry the ball to the other end of the field within striking distance of the goal line. Then this quarterback calls his own signal and takes the ball over the line and gets the credit for the victory, and returns to the playing field amidst the plaudits and acclaim of the masses.

It seems to me the quarterback—the President of the United States on this team that we have heard so much of in winning this war—this team that has made possible the achievement of the arsenal of democracy, this great quarterback is not calling the signal of the working people.

They have a perfect right to ask that their wages be increased equivalent to the increase in the cost of living. The suffering and privation they have gone through in working overtime these long hours and thus are able to take home greater pay, is not a just answer to that plea for further increases on the basis of the increase in the cost of living.

The people of my organization are indig-
nantly disturbed and displeased because of this attitude, and I sincerely hope that out of the action of this convention will come a realization on the part of the great quarterback of this team—the President of the United States—to give labor its just dues by raising the Little Steel formula at least to the point of 30 per cent above January 1, 1941.

DELEGATE KNUESE, Molders: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: There is another thing that comes to my mind, the great progress we have made to do away with all inequalities in wages. How far has the government kept its word? I would like to speak on just one case, but there are many of them. I speak of one case because the time is getting short and men

on empty stomachs are not inclined to stay patient very long.

I cite the case of a shop in Milwaukee that had mechanics that will hit the score with any others in any other section. In April, 1942, they got in a dispute with this particular employer. We were at that time receiving the great pay of 85 cents an hour. We tried to get the scale up to \$1.15 and there the controversy arose. The company at the time made an offer of \$1.00 an hour which, of course, my organization turned down. Along in 1942, in the month of August, the case went before the Board as a dispute case. That case hung fire until the 10th of March in 1944. In April, 1942, the company had offered \$1.00 an hour while we asked for \$1.15. On March 10, 1944, the Board granted us \$1.00 an hour. So much for equalities and raising the low wage pay.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously approved.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to submit for information in the proceedings of today's session the report of the Special Committee on International Labor Relations. This will be referred to the Committee on International Labor Relations of the convention.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Your Special Committee on International Labor Relations points out that the Post-War Program of the American Federation of Labor presented to the Post-War Forum of the Federation held in New York City in April, 1944, pointed the way to the essentials for international peace.

Your committee realizes that we must win this war both through military victory and through the establishment of conditions and agencies to maintain the peace. While certain terms and conditions will be the result of military action, determination of permanent principles and agencies is the responsibility of civilian agencies—governmental and private. Proposals and action in this phase of winning the war are already urgent. Representatives of the United Nations met in Washington and drafted proposals for the establishment of a general international organization known as the Dumbarton Oaks; in the summer a United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods drafted articles for the establishment of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and De-

velopment; a conference worked out a proposal for the oil industry and international proposals for aviation have been drafted. Business men of many countries met in the United States in November, 1944. The free labor organizations of the world have an important responsibility both with respect to general plans and with respect to our distinctive field.

Dumbarton Oaks Proposals

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals declare that there should be established an international organization under the title of the United Nations, the purposes of which would be to maintain peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations, to assure international economic and social collaboration, and to afford an instrumentality for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends. Membership in the Organization would be open to all peace-loving states. The Organization would operate through a General Assembly, a Security Council, an International Court of Justice, an Economic and Social Council, and a Secretariat.

The General Assembly would be the large agency in the Organization. All members of the Organization would be represented with one vote each. The General Assembly would elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the administrative agency, and the members of the Economic and Social Council. It would approve the budgets of the Organization and make recommendations for the coordination of the policies of international economic, social and other specified agencies which will form a part of the Organization. The General Assembly would meet regularly once a year in such special sessions as occasion may require.

The General Assembly shall make recommendations for the coordination of the international agencies handling special economic, social and other problems.

The Security Council would consist of one representative of each of eleven members of the Organization. The United States, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, and China (and in due course, France) would have permanent seats. This Council would have the primary responsibility within the Organization for maintaining international peace and security, and all members of the Organization would be obligated to accept the decisions of the Security Council and to carry them out. The Council is to function continuously. It is to be assisted by a Military Staff Committee composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council.

No decision was reached as to whether, when the Security Council takes jurisdiction over a dispute involving one of the major powers, that major power would have the right to block the Council's action.

An International Court of Justice would either be the present Permanent Court of International Justice with modifications, or a new one.

The proposed Economic and Social Council would seek to create those conditions of well-being and stability which are basic to

peaceful and friendly relations among nations.

This Council would consist of representatives of eighteen members of the Organization elected by the General Assembly for terms of three years. Each such state would have one representative and would have one vote. Decisions would be by a simple majority vote.

The proposals suggest that the Economic and Social Council should set up an Economic Commission, a Social Commission, and such other commissions as may be required, consisting of experts. The permanent staff of the Council would constitute a part of the Secretariat of the Organization.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals were made public to permit full discussion by the peoples of the United States prior to the convening of a wider conference on this all important subject. It is vital that Labor's policy with respect to these proposals be formulated and that Labor have a responsible part in final determination of general policy. We therefore wish to submit to this convention the specific comments on these proposals and recommendations for action in our distinctive fields:

Comments On The General Organization

The historic records of all nations show that decisions upon war have been the responsibility of governments and that the common people who fought the wars and bore the consequences had no way to make effective their desire to eliminate war as an instrumentality of government or to express their moral revolt against killing fellow-men. In only one agency of the League of Nations did the citizens of the nations belonging to the League have representation—the I. L. O. The I. L. O. is the only agency of the League that has weathered the war and continued to function. This agency has had the continuous cooperation and support of large groups in its member nations—workers and employers. The principle upon which this successful agency was constituted, was not applied generally by the diplomats and government representatives who wrote the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Even Chapter IX, which arranges international Economics and Social Cooperation is couched in vague political terms that imply the designation of persons of political experience to this agency which must deal with industrial and labor matters requiring specialized experience and competence. We must democratize our international agency by providing for types of representation that will facilitate the support and cooperation of all the people.

B. In the second place provision for voting should facilitate action. The two-thirds rule for the Assembly is an improvement over the unanimity rule of the League, but the conference was unable to agree upon voting in the Security Council. Decision failed because the USSR insisted upon the principle of unanimity.

This decision becomes crucial when the Council decides policy with respect to the use of force against aggressor countries. A responsible aggressor nation with a rep-

representative on the Security Council could block action. The five most powerful countries with permanent seats in the Council could feel assured the military forces of the United Nations Organization would not be used against aggression by them.

One of the great achievements of democratic institutions is the substitution of the representative principle for personal government, and majority rule for individual decision and responsibility. By these principles agents are made responsible to the people who are sovereign. Thus states federalize and delegate specific power to the Federal Government, and the people themselves are no less sovereign. In order to preserve our local liberties, international organizations should be built upon principles that have made democracy possible for millions.

We raise the question whether decision upon the use of military force should not be delegated to an agency made up of truly representative national delegations, of persons designated for the responsibility and kept constantly advised on international developments.

Unless our plans to maintain peace have the confidence and cooperation of all peoples, we shall fail of our own goal. Our people can cooperate only through their representatives in all phases of the work of the organization.

D. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals make no mention of the International Labor Organization. It is essential that the I. L. O. become an integral part of any new plan to deal with social and economic matters, but it is equally essential to preserve the full vitality and autonomy which the I. L. O. has had under the League of Nations.

Slave Labor

Those parts of Europe in which bombardments, army movements and fighting have taken place, will need much reconstruction after the war. Agriculture, industry and trade must be revived. Such reconstruction should be achieved through organized cooperation of the democratic countries of the world in the spirit of mutual helpfulness. We cannot afford to carry over into the new world we hope to create a spirit of vengeance or the practices of domination and enslavement. We cannot either exact exorbitant reparations nor compel the labor force of the conquered nations to rebuild for the conquerors on a basis of forced labor.

We hope to organize the world upon the basis of full employment, the right of every individual to opportunity to earn his living, self-support without enslavement or exploitation of others, with equitable distribution of returns from joint work, so that all may share in the material comforts of civilization with a security that makes for more comfortable living, with opportunities for culture and a higher level of living.

We realize that full employment with high national income in any one country is interdependent on like conditions in other countries and high levels of profitable

foreign trade. Knowledge of these facts must guide our desire and efforts for security from the scourge of war—the greatest enemy of human happiness.

We must make our international economic and political settlements on a basis of justice and personal freedom. We recognize fully that economic and political freedom are inseparable and that we must move as rapidly as possible toward assuring both to all countries and to all peoples. Dependent and subject people must have the opportunity to achieve economic and political freedom.

The American Federation of Labor is unalterably opposed to the principle of forced labor and to any provision seeking to extend or perpetuate the institution of colonies or the condition of dependence upon the will of another country. Control over other men's lives and the exploitation of foreign peoples have long been the causes of wars and must be constantly diminished if we are to succeed in maintaining peace. We must make it plain that as we assure opportunity of freedom to all we will not permit any totalitarian or aggressor nation to trespass on our freedom or that of other peoples.

Repatriation of Conscribed Workers

For economic purposes the countries of Europe have need for cooperation and integration of resources and trade regulations. Under their "new economic order," the Nazi's undertook to organize the national and human resources of all conquered countries for their war purposes and the supremacy of their race in accord with their party ideals. At the beginning of the war the Nazi's established the principle of compulsory service for all citizens, the government determining those best fitted for military service and those best fitted for industrial work. In order to release the greatest possible number of German men for military service, workers of conquered countries were taken to work in German industries. The effect of military mobilization was equally felt in agriculture—Polish citizens were required to register for compulsory work in Germany. In addition, mass arrests and deportations of civilians increased the stream of workers moving into Germany, supplementing prisoners of war. Similar methods in Denmark, Holland and France, and other countries gave German industries the necessary manpower. Not only was compulsory work required within Germany, but the Nazi engineering and construction agency known as the Todt organization mobilized workers in their home countries for military and public service undertakings. The I. L. O. estimates that 8,600,000 foreign workers were in Germany in January 1944—an increase of two million over the previous year. Of this foreign work force, 6,400,000 were civilian workers and 2,200,000 prisoners of war. These workers were mainly from Poland, USSR, Denmark, Norway, Netherlands, Belgium, Yugoslavia, France, Greece, Italy and Roumania.

The result of this widespread use of compulsory labor has created a problem that is

more than the problem of displaced population—important as that is. The total number of displaced persons is approximately 30 millions. The rehabilitation of workers, separated from homes and families, and working under compulsion, involves relief and repatriation. There must also be restoration of self-dependence and self-respect. To this end the free trade unions of these countries should be restored under international free trade union auspices. Revival of free unions in Europe will provide a necessary foundation for other free institutions.

International Organization of Free Trade Unions

After the First World War, the International Secretariat of Trade Unions was reorganized under the name International Federation of Trade Unions with headquarters in Paris. With the fall of Free France, the organization took refuge in London and has been restricted in its activities. However, the Emergency International Trade Union Council and representatives of national labor refugee organizations have worked out a post-war program including reorganization of the International and Social and Economic Demands. The initial and basic proposal in this document is:

"The reconstruction of the Trade Union organizations and the restoration of Trade Union rights in all countries is one of the first steps towards human liberties and democratic institutions. This is one of the earliest and safest measures to be taken in all countries and the one that can make the greatest contribution towards the establishment and maintenance of public order.

"Provision must also be made in any emergency scheme of help for the earliest possible recognition of other workers' organizations whether economic, social or cultural such as consumers' and producers' cooperative societies, whether they be agricultural, industrial or commercial, Friendly Societies (Mutual Assistance), etc."

Along with all other members of the Governing Body of the I. L. O. our delegate voted last December at the meeting in London in favor of placing on the agenda of the Conference restoration of free trade unions in all occupied countries. When the recommendation came up for discussion, so much emotion and prejudice were expressed that dispassionate deliberation was impossible. Only the workers delegates from the Netherlands, Australia, and the United States, pleaded objective consideration of Labor's long-time interests and warned against enslaving an entire nation, for that practice would affect all workers.

Our delegation to the 1944 International Labor Conference supported the Resolution recommending that as soon as occupation of Axis territory seems imminent a United Nations Labor Commissioner be appointed to assume responsibility for the administration of social and labor laws; and that as soon as possible or feasible an advisory board of 20 citizens of the Axis territory, with competence in the field, be appointed to aid the

Commissioner; and that the Commissioner be authorized to appoint Deputy Commissioners for special territories and to consult both trade union organizations of the United Nations and international trade union organizations.

The I. L. O. further recommended that when the German Labor Front and other Nazi agencies were liquidated the United Nations Commissioner should arrange to have property and funds held in trust for reconstituted trade unions and other organizations which could render services of social value. The Commissioner to reconstitute the employment service and maintain payment of benefits under social insurance plans and payment of contributions. Collective bargaining between free organizations of employers and workers should be facilitated so as to provide the normal basis of employment as speedily as possible.

In addition to these specific recommendations to restore free trade unions and free institutions, the American Federation of Labor opposes without any reservations, all plans for forced labor as indemnity proposals to repay any country.

Relief and Reconstruction

The cooperative movement is a world-wide movement whose international policies are crystallized and activated by the International Cooperative Alliance. The movement has been, like the trade union movement, one of the strong pillars of democracy wherever it has become firmly established. Because of its vigorous life in Europe, it was marked, along with the trade union movement, for destruction by the Nazi Government of Germany. In Germany as in each conquered country Hitler's first step in control was the destruction of free trade unions. In Germany the strength of cooperatives and the loyalty of their members was such that, in spite of continual Nazi hostility, almost eight years were required to deal the movement a death blow, which was done by the decree of February 18, 1941. In countries occupied by the Nazis, there was no resistance to the dissolution of consumers cooperatives. The United Nations have at hand a ready instrument for the promotion of democracy in Europe. Cooperative societies have contributed to the raising of standards of living and cultural life.

In the reconstruction period which lies ahead for the peoples of Europe and Asia, the cooperative movement, along with the trade union movement, offers a promising preventative of the return of Fascism. The early revival of the movement, therefore, is a matter of special and urgent concern to Labor, and should be to every Government of the United Nations.

In this connection, the free trade unions of the United States through Labor's League for Human Rights is preparing to raise a million dollar fund to be used for the revival of free trade unionism in all countries that have been under the domination of Axis countries which destroyed free institutions. Such a fund will enable leaders who have gone into exile or underground to re-

turn to mobilize workers and to find jobs for all workers—first in rehabilitation of cities and industries and then in the operation of their new economies.

The free labor movement of the United States and the other United Nations would be in a position to assist the rehabilitated trade unions and to insist upon free and democratic institutions in all countries. Representatives of the German trade unions in Sweden, England, the United States and other free countries should be helped to return now to aid in revival of their unions. The United Nations armies and military government should liquidate all totalitarian parties and institutions.

Recommendations for A. F. of L. Action

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor make ready to fulfill its responsibility to the free trade union movement of the world. We in the United States owe much to the trade union movements of the Old World, which developed principles and institutions and trained many leaders who emigrated to our country and helped build unions in the Western Hemisphere.

As the trade unionists of the United States have been spared invasion and bombings in this titanic world conflict, we feel we have a special obligation to those who have endured these horrors. Accordingly we believe we should be prepared and lead in an international effort to restore free trade unions.

It is obvious that there must be unity of purpose and a program developed by the free trade unions of the world if we are to be effective in solving problems of an international character. Therefore the Committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor, an affiliated member of the International Federation of Trade Unions, call upon the International Federation of Trade Unions to convene a world trade union conference of the free trade unions of the world at the earliest possible time.

MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman;
WILLIAM GREEN,
GEORGE MEANY,
ELMER E. MILLIMAN,
WILLIAM J. MCSORLEY,
ROBERT J. WATT,
EDW. J. BROWN.

Special Committee on International Labor Relations.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for announcement of the receipt of a telegram.

SECRETARY MEANY: In response to action taken last week, requesting messages be sent to members of Congress regarding H. R. 4715, Brother Leo George, President of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks has received this telegram:

Postal Workers Increase— H. R. 4715

Leo George, President,
National Federation of Post Office Clerks,
Jung Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

House Post Office Committee unanimously reported H. R. 4715 and will request special rule to expedite passage.

WM. I. HORNER.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY: Resolutions 30, 37, 38, 40, 50 and 51 all relate to different phases of national Social Security and were considered jointly. The resolutions are as follows:

Social Security Act

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Social Security Act does not include all employees and does not include the self-employed, and

WHEREAS, The Act does not provide sickness and disability insurance, and

WHEREAS, The age limits provided in the Act are too high, and

WHEREAS, It is unfair to the employee to include time lost due to sickness, disability, or military service in computing the average earnings upon which benefits are based, and

WHEREAS, Minimum benefits are too low, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby records itself in favor of the following changes in the National Social Security Act:

1. The inclusion of the self-employed and of all employees not now covered by this act;

2. The inclusion of sickness and disability insurance in the Act;

3. The payment of full benefits to begin at age 60 for the worker and at age 55 for his wife;

4. The time lost due to sickness, disability, or military service to be eliminated in computing the average earnings upon which benefits are based; and

5. Minimum payments to be not less than \$20 per month.

6. The inclusion of all men and women in the armed forces and disabled veterans.

Social Security

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Scientific and technological developments have in this country established a solid basis enabling workers in all industries and trades as a part of their American standard of living the privilege of a regular annual vacation period with pay, and

WHEREAS, European labor in many countries much less generously endowed in richness and resources, has long since recognized and actually established such annual vacations with pay, and

WHEREAS, in many industries, in most public utilities and civil service institutions, either financed directly by taxation or indirectly by government contracts paid out of taxation, this principle of annual vacations with pay has been recognized, established and approved by public utilities, commissions and government agencies, and

WHEREAS, The democratic form of government based upon equal rights for everybody fails to hold true in this case where only a part of the working population actually enjoys the privilege of vacation with pay, while the balance suffer a discrimination of paying through taxation for this privilege without enjoying the benefits thereof, and

WHEREAS, An annual vacation period with pay for all workers should become a definite part of an expanded Social Security program, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be urged to draft and sponsor a bill as a part of an expanded Social Security program which will provide for a regular annual vacation with pay for all workers.

Lower Age for Retirement Benefits

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Social security and old age pension payments are so very low, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of dollars are being stored up in their funds, and

WHEREAS, When a man is of the required age and his wife is not, the man's payments are not enough for both, and

WHEREAS, Neither are enough for a decent standard of living, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor sponsor amendments to the Social Security Act which will provide for the lowering of the age of retirement benefits from 65 years to 60 years and raise the benefits to an amount commensurate with the American standard of living.

Social Security Act

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act, by its provisions, has excluded many of our members from its benefits because of their employment by Federal, State and City governments or subdivisions thereof such as counties, port and park districts and by hospitals, public schools and other public institutions, and

WHEREAS, Many of these members are now approaching the state in life when social security has a vital meaning for them and they, through no fault of their own, are at present denied even the meager benefits granted by the present Social Security Act, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-four annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as petitioning Congress immediately to take the necessary action to place these and similar employees under the provisions of the Social Security Act, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the provisions of the Act be made retroactive so that all workers may have the privilege of securing its benefits in the proportion which they may elect to pay of the wage deduction which would have been made had they originally been covered by the Act, and be it further

RESOLVED, That employees of Federal, State and City governments or subdivisions thereof such as counties, port and park districts and employees of hospitals, public schools and other public institutions who contribute to pension funds, the benefits of which are greater than those provided by the Social Security Act, be exempted from the provisions of the Act.

Benefits for Persons in Armed Services Under Social Security Laws

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Louis P. Marciano, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, To be currently insured, a worker must have earned wages in private industry, from which contributions have been made to the Social Security Fund, during the last few years prior to any application for benefits, and

WHEREAS, Workers who have entered the armed forces and have thus contributed their time, their efforts, and, in many cases, their lives, for the protection of their country, are not now being credited with wages earned or with contributions to the fund, and are thus losing all rights to protection

under the social security act by reason of their service to their country, and

WHEREAS, Also, benefits under the social security act are computed on the basis of average earnings per month, and the Act would require the inclusion in this computation of all time spent in service, without including any computation of earnings during such time, thereby drastically reducing the benefits which will eventually be payable to the men and women in the armed service, and

WHEREAS, It is utterly unfair to call upon men and women to serve their nation, and to risk and suffer even death as a result thereof, and at the same time to deprive them of the already meagre benefits provided for them by the Social Security Act, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor at convention assembled in New Orleans, La., that we call upon the United States Congress to amend the Social Security Laws so as to grant to all men and women in the armed services credit for wages earned at least equal to the wages earned by them prior to their entry into the armed forces, and not less than \$175 per calendar quarter.

Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Figures showing that to date over 4,000,000 men have been rejected from the armed services as unfit for military service, 8 of 10 of whom have at least one physical defect, indicate a lowering of the national health standards, and

WHEREAS, Further proof of the decline of our national health may be found in testimony given before a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor calling attention to the fact that there are 23,500,000 Americans with chronic diseases or physical impairments, thousands of which could be cured even if minimum standards of health were set up, and

WHEREAS, This condition was attributed mainly to the absence of adequate hospital and medical services a relationship was traced between low incomes and poor health, substantiating the belief that the average working man is financially unable to meet the added burden of sickness or hospitalization, and

WHEREAS, Dr. Parran, Surgeon-General of the U. S. Public Health Service, confirms the fact that a third of the American people are handicapped by ailments that might have been prevented in the first place and which could not be corrected by proper health policies, and calls for the encouragement of group medical practice and more rather than less "socialization" of medicine, and

WHEREAS, Although great strides have been made in this direction by group health mutuals, hospital service associations, and

similar organizations, their benefits are still too few and limited to too small a circle, and

WHEREAS, There is before the Senate Committees on Finance S. 1161 more commonly known as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, which sets up a system of Federal medical and hospitalization benefits which would encourage the raising of national health standards by not only providing for beneficiaries in case of illness or hospitalization but by indulging in preventive medicine to such an extent that many diseases and impairments might be eliminated, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring a Federal program looking toward the socialization of the medical and dental professions and that in order to accomplish this aim it does indorse the principles contained in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, S. 1161, and call for its immediate enactment into law, properly amended to make its benefits available to government workers as well as those in private industry.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY: Your committee recommends that these resolutions be referred to the permanent Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE GRAHAM, Montana State Federation of Labor: Mr. President and delegates, with the adoption of this report we give the special committee dealing with this thing carte blanche to do what they please, whether we care what they do or not. I think that is wrong.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill is dead and will die when this Congress adjourns, and there is no chance for it being passed at this session of Congress and something new will have to be brought out.

Now let me go back a little to look at things right. At the convention held in Vancouver in 1931 the question of unemployment compensation came up. We fought on it all day long and a resolution in favor of a national act was defeated. The members of the Executive Council opposed the resolution and of those who were on the Executive Council then, Dan Tobin and Brother Mahon supported the resolution; and at our convention in Cincinnati in 1932 the Executive Council presented a good report giving a fine history of unemployment compensation and recommended in favor of a National Unemployment Compensation Act.

At the end of 1935 the present Social Security Bill was passed. The convention

at Atlantic City took no action and the Executive Council was not very active on that Bill, and I plead to be excused because the fight was on with regard to a certain split in the organization. Now at no time, either at the Vancouver convention or the Cincinnati convention did they favor state unemployment compensation.

Why the Act was passed to make it a State affair, I do not know, but the statement had been made that they were afraid of the Supreme Court when they declared the national act unconstitutional.

I might state that after the convention of 1932 I went to Washington and talked the matter over with the late Senator from Montana, T. J. Walsh, and he said in his opinion that an old age pension or Federal unemployment compensation would require constitutional amendment. Perhaps I am going to take too long Mr. Chairman, as it is getting near the hour of adjournment, I am sorry this has come up, but I have got to speak.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Let me ask you a question. Are you under the impression that the Murray-Wagner-Dingell Bill provides for the payment of State unemployment compensation?

DELEGATE GRAHAM: No, I am not, but I want to state that the various States have enacted law as requested by the Federal Government, and now you are going to set up a dual law under a Federal Act. I believe 47 States already have a State Act. In that case you are going to have confusion.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Jimmie, are you in favor of continuing the old order of payment by the States of unemployment compensation?

DELEGATE GRAHAM: I am not, but a bungle was made by Congress and you are going to have confusion. The money that is paid for unemployment compensation at the present time belong to the States, and unless the States vote to turn the money over to the Federal Government and we have another Bill in like the Murray-Wagner-Dingell Bill, the Federal Government will have no money to pay unemployment compensation.

Furthermore, I am opposed to the unemployment insurance. Under the Workmen's Compensation Act, it is a criminal offense for an employer to tax a workman for in-

juries for compensation benefits. There is no difference in injuries when a man is at work and when he is out of work, when the boss hasn't got a job for him. The working man is not responsible for unemployment compensation; the employer is responsible.

They are putting in machinery to reduce the costs and the working man has to suffer. I say it is very unjust to make the working man pay the burden of unemployment.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill is a botched bill all the way through, and we are afraid that if it is put into operation the working man will be taxed to take care of the individual workers, especially in hospitalization. There is a phase in that bill that provides for permanent total disability. Therefore, when the insurance companies refuse to give any more hospitalization, it beats the worker out of it and then the injured man receives benefits from the money that is being paid in by the worker.

I want you to get this, Mr. Chairman and brothers, that this is an old, old plan. It came out of Germany during the Chancellorship of Prince Bismarck in the ages of the last century. It was adopted by Britain during the Chancellorship of Lloyd George in 1911, both Federal unemployment compensation and Federal insurance sick benefits and socialized medicine, and it has been a failure there. I was thinking of old age pensions. That was changed by Lloyd George in the year 1907. The unemployment compensation, even with the British Government contributing to the fund, went bankrupt, became insolvent right after in the year 1913, and the House of Commons had to vote something like nineteen million pounds to make the fund solvent, and within six months more six million pounds to keep the fund solvent. This went on up until 1931, when they cut the compensation benefits. It was a failure then, and you will remember, you spoke about the failure at the Vancouver convention, about the sailors of the home fleet of the British Navy going on strike in October, 1931, when they had their wages cut, along with unemployment compensation.

The thing was a failure. It has been a failure in the other countries on the basis of insurance for unemployment, and it is impossible for it to pay out in this country under the Act of 1935. The Act of 1935

is actuarially and economically unsound. In the debate at the convention in 1931 Delegate Woll called attention to the actuarial affairs of our proposed resolution.

If the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill became effective, the tax on the workers would be jumped to 9% within a few years and tax on the payroll of the employers would be 9%, making a total of 18%. This 9% that the employers would pay on their payroll would be added to the cost of production and would come back on the workers. Nothing is taken from the banks or from the insurance companies, it is all on the payroll of the business or the pay envelope of the worker. That is wrong, because we are bearing the burden of taking care of our unemployed when the whole economic system is to blame. Why put it on the worker? Under the Murray-Wagner-Dingell Bill it will take at least fifty years in this country before we have social security and surely then with the way we are producing now, we should not wait for fifty years when the bulk of us in this convention and even those of the younger generation will be gone before we can have it.

I am absolutely opposed to the proposition. It was said that I was in the convention at Boston when the thing was ratified. I was not, and that statement was given out by the press in Montana by the junior Senator from Montana, and I challenged his statement.

I don't want to take up the time of the delegates, it is past the hour of adjournment, but I have this much more to say. I am going to fight that thing as long as I live, even if it becomes law. It is a foreign idea. It came from the brain of the Bismarckites during the laws of repression in Germany. The last country to adopt this thing before the United States was Italy in April, 1927, and it is known as the Charter of Labor, and the I. L. O. office was the one that gave that information to the world. I have read the Italian Charter of Labor. I have read the Murray-Wagner-Dingell Bill very carefully and the language in both of them is pretty much alike. It looks to me like the authors of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill plagiarized the Italian Charter of Labor to get the stuff to put in our Bill.

The workers will get very little benefit from this thing. Their standard of living will be reduced. We will have to fight and

fight and the workers will curse the day that it was passed.

Now one thing came before the convention in Vancouver. There was a Royal Commission appointed by the King at that time, I believe King George V, to investigate unemployment compensation. The debate in the House of Commons was made in April, 1931, and there were quotations given at the convention in Vancouver in 1931. In that report it showed that when Philip Snowden, the Chancellor of the Labor Ministry in Britain had passed the Act in 1911, especially the tax on the employers' payroll, and after he got through Winston Churchill got up and made the statement that after thirty years of experience with unemployment compensation, he was of the opinion that the tax on the employers' payroll was not the proper way to raise money for unemployment compensation. That is the thing that appears in the debate on the report of the Royal Commission.

I am opposed to this measure. I am going to fight it as long as I live, and if it is passed in the United States Congress it will be repealed in time.

But before the Executive Council endorses that thing they had better see that Congress reaches some kind of agreement with the various States where they will transfer and get out of business on the unemployment compensation and allow the Federal Government to handle the whole thing. The Federal Government can pass it but Congress has no right to say to the legislatures of the various States you repeal that law. They have no right and it can't be done.

Now we should see that there is something done about all this trouble between the States and the Federal Government on unemployment compensation and we should get cooperation between the States before we make monkeys out of ourselves.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I merely want to make this statement. I cannot help but think that Delegate Graham is laboring under a wrong impression. This Bill was approved by the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously. I know the delegates in attendance at that convention would not approve a bill if it was as faulty as Delegate Graham has stated, nor would that great expert on social security lend his name to a bill if it was not sound. I refer to Senator Wagner of New York. He is sponsoring this measure and

his co-author with him. I gained the impression from my good friend, Brother Graham, that he favors a continuation of the old, obsolete plan of paying State unemployment compensation.

DELEGATE GRAHAM: No.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Well you said, Jimmie, that we could not pass the Federal statute without getting the consent of the States. What we are trying to do is create a uniform payment of unemployment compensation. Under the present set-up there are 48 different kinds, 48 States have their own plans and we want the unemployed person in the State of Georgia to get as much compensation as the unemployed person in the State of Montana. Now you have got to create the fund, because you can't get the money out of thin air. And so we have adopted this scientific method, after giving it careful consideration in order to create the fund, and we want to raise the amount of

unemployment compensation so that a man out of work will receive an unemployment payment that will enable him to maintain his standard of living, whether he is working or whether he is idle.

There are the provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill. I would like to go into it more, but time will not permit. The resolution itself does not commit the convention to it, but it refers the whole matter to the Social Security Committee, and that Social Security Committee is made up of men who understand this problem mighty well. They are not going to approve a measure that will not be to the best interests of the workers of this nation.

The motion to adopt the committee's report on the subject matter under discussion was carried.

At 5:45 o'clock, P. M., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, November 29.

SEVENTH DAY — WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

New Orleans, Louisiana, November 29, 1944

New Orleans, La.,
November 29, 1944.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:50 o'clock.

Rabbi Feibelman of Temple Sinai will pronounce the invocation this morning. He has come here for that express purpose and I present him to you now.

RABBI FEIBELMAN: Gentlemen, instead of giving the invocation I am going to read the prayer from our Sabbath ritual which is read in the synagogues on Friday evening.

PRAYER

(Rabbi Julian B. Feibelman,
Temple Sinai)

O Lord, though we are prone to seek favors for ourselves alone, yet when we come into Thy presence, we are lifted above petty thoughts of self. We become ashamed of our littleness and are made to feel that we can worship Thee in holiness only as we serve our brothers in love. How much we owe to the labors of our brothers! Day by day they dig far away from the sun that we may be warm, enlist in outposts of peril that we may be secure and brave the terrors of the unknown for truths that shed light on our way. Numberless gifts and blessings have been laid in our cradles as our birthright.

Let us then, O Lord, be just and great-hearted in our dealings with our fellowmen, sharing with them the fruit of our common labor, acknowledging before Thee that we are but stewards of whatever we possess. Help us to be among those who are willing to sacrifice that others may not hunger, who dare to be bearers of light in the dark loneliness of stricken lives, who struggle and even bleed for the triumph of righteousness among men. So may we be co-workers with Thee in the building of Thy kingdom which has been our vision and goal through the ages.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Some time ago a committee was appointed in conformity with the resolution adopted at a previous convention of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of making an investigation on the question of physical examinations. The committee has submitted a preliminary report. It is indeed interesting and I want you to be acquainted with it. I am submitting it for inclusion in the proceedings of today's convention, and I hope you will all read it and study it.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE
ON PHYSICAL EXAMINATIONSRoosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.,
November 27, 1944.Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your Committee on Physical Examinations presents the following preliminary report:

Your committee, appointed to report on the subject of pre-employment and post employment physical examinations, finds that the definite tendency is to establish the practice of pre-employment physical examinations, the interested groups advocating this industrial method being the employers, the liability insurance companies, and some medical associations.

The interest of these three groups are not identical; yet, it is they rather than labor who are apparently determined to force the subject into the field of legislation. A number of measures have already been introduced into State Legislatures, and will be introduced into the Congress of the United States, the purpose of which is to make workers' physical examinations compulsory.

Your committee is of the opinion that physical examinations by the worker's physician are not only advisable, but are necessary in the interest of each worker's physical well-being.

We therefore recommend that every worker should secure over-all physical examinations from time to time, so that incipient diseases may be checked before fatal results might ensue, but your committee is most definitely convinced that labor should emphatically declare against physical examinations, whether demanded by the employer or by the liability insurance carrier.

We therefore recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of State Federations of Labor, be requested to carefully examine all legislation, state and national, which may have for its purpose any form of compulsory physical examination. The worker must be protected from any knowledge on his employer's part of his physical condition. For this reason labor is justified in refusing a physical examination when the physician is employed by an individual employer, or a group of employers. No employer should be permitted to select the physician who makes physical examinations, or to have any access to the records of the physician's examination.

Your committee therefore recommends that labor should actively oppose any legislation setting up any system of physical examination where the employer employs a physician making the examination, or where the employer can have access to the physician's record of examination.

This is a preliminary report of your Committee on Physical Examination, and is intended solely as a guide in determining labor's position in connection with any legislation which may be introduced in State or Federal legislative bodies dealing with the subject.

Such examination as your committee has made indicates that its activities should be continued so that contact may be made with independent authorities in the field of workers' physical examinations, and so that data already collected relative to the subject can be more thoroughly studied so that your committee may, as soon as possible, submit to you an analysis of the technical and other information which may be required.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN P. FREY, Chairman,
Committee on Physical
Examinations.

PRESIDENT GREEN: May I ask Brother Daniel Tracy to come forward. I want him to speak to you for a brief time this morning.

I present to you our very dear friend, who always makes it a point to attend conventions of the American Federation of Labor even though he is required by the Government now to render service as Assistant Secretary of Labor. You know to whom I refer because he served for years as President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

I want to report to you that I know Assistant Secretary of Labor Tracy is meeting all our expectations. He is representing labor as I think it should be represented. He is rendering excellent service as Assistant Secretary of Labor. We are happy because he is there. We feel that the interests of the American Federation of Labor are being given special attention because Brother Daniel W. Tracy is Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Now I am pleased to present to you our friend, the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Brother Daniel W. Tracy.

MR. DANIEL W. TRACY

**(Assistant Secretary, United States
Department of Labor)**

Thank you, President Green, for your most kind and generous introduction.

It is a real privilege to me to have this opportunity to address this great annual convention of the American Federation of

Labor. Although I speak today as the Assistant Secretary of Labor, I feel an advantage over some of the distinguished guests who have spoken from this platform. For whatever I say is tempered by the fact that I have served as an officer of one of the organizations that are part of the A. F. of L. I have participated in and have known intimately of its work for many years and have an active personal knowledge of your ideals and your objectives. That experience and that contact with your membership over the years adds to the pleasure I have in being with you and having this opportunity to talk to you.

The message I have for you concerns the activities of the U. S. Department of Labor in its relationship to your work and to the interests of all working men and women. You know that the Department of Labor was created to further the interests of working people and to increase their opportunities for profitable employment. That is our function and we are working at it not only with a view to sustaining the war effort but also in planning to meet the conditions that will inevitably follow the winning of the war.

We in the Department of Labor believe that there are four major goals toward which we must work if we are to be of real service to American workers. To maintain and to improve what we know as the American standard of living we must, at the close of the war, return to the short workweek which will provide the leisure and the opportunities to which our workers are entitled. Second, there must be a return to the proven American system of free collective bargaining between workers and their employers, with greater voluntary use of arbitration in industrial disputes. Remember, I said voluntary use of arbitration. Third, we must see to it that there is a steady increase in the production and distribution of goods to assure a good and improving standard of living for all. And finally, we shall need an extended program of social security, planned for the post-war needs of our people.

Some of these points were referred to by the Secretary of Labor when she spoke to this convention on opening day. I shall not attempt to amplify them except to say that there can be little argument over their need and that we can expect little opposition to them. Everyone is aware, for example, that the short workweek is vitally necessary. You all know the long hours which men and women producing the goods of war are putting in today. We learned early in the war, as did our Allies, that there is a limit to the number of hours that a man can work and still produce efficiently, and that beyond those hours efficiency drops, material spoilage rises, absenteeism increases and the danger of accident and injury grows. We have all been working long hours, frequently at great personal sacrifice, and I am sure there will be no disagreement in the matter of shortening the workweek.

The process of free collective bargaining is a proven process. For the war period you members of the Federation have willingly sacrificed some of its advantages when to

do so meant speeding the war effort. Now you will return to it, and under it we shall have greater efficiency and greater industrial harmony than we have ever had before, for we know now that it has no substitute.

I think everyone is in agreement that increased production and distribution of goods will be a necessary part of the post-war period, just as there is general agreement on the need and the effectiveness of our Social Security program and the desirability of expanding its coverage and its benefits.

Now in all these matters the Department of Labor is prepared and has had long experience in serving the interests of the working man and the working woman. All of the research and fact-finding facilities of the Bureau and Divisions of the Department are at the service of labor and will be increasingly so after the period of the war. We shall continue to provide the facilities of the Bureau of Labor Statistics—the Government's principal fact-finding agency—so that we may have—and may pass along to you and your member organizations—all of the information that is necessary and useful to the labor movement and to the individual worker. The Division of Labor Standards will continue to operate in the field of safety and health and to service the State Departments of Labor and assist the States in formulating desirable legislation. The interests of women workers will continue to be served by the Women's Bureau, which also will continue to develop and disseminate information to the States, to labor organizations and to all who are concerned in the interests of working women. The Children's Bureau will continue its investigations into matters relating to child welfare and child health.

One very important function of the Division of Labor Standards which merits the support of organized labor—and which I hope it will get—is in the field of industrial safety. This constitutes one of the most vital of the war-time functions of the Department and one which is deserving of all the backing that you can give it. Through a national committee of volunteer workers, the Division is engaged in the all important task of preventing accidents on the job—not alone to save the lives of many thousands of vitally-needed men and women and to prevent permanent or temporary crippling to many hundreds of thousands more—but also to save for the war effort the millions of man-days of work that are being lost because people are being hurt on the job.

Experience has shown that most of these deaths and injuries can be prevented, and prevented very simply. The manpower conservation committee today is conducting inspections without cost in thousands of plants, making safety recommendations and helping management to set up safe-practice programs. In addition and in cooperation with the U. S. Office of Education, safety training courses—also free—are being given to workers, to foremen and to members of labor organizations. There is no question but that the primary responsibility of safety rests with management. But organized labor can help too. We are trying to reduce the number

of on-the-job accidents this year by 40 per cent and if we succeed we shall have prevented one million accidents. To do so we must have not only the active support of management but the help of labor as well. After all, the worker is the victim in every case and if we can, by teaching and example, prevent him from being hurt or killed we have made a great saving and a great contribution to the war production program. I would like to see labor organizations actively behind this industrial safety program, for I believe they have much to gain. I should like to see local unions delegate members to take the special safety training courses, to stimulate membership in shop and plant safety committees and to help us to teach their members that there is a safe way to do every job and to remember that the best workmen's compensation law on the books is a mighty poor substitute for the weekly pay envelope.

The Division of Labor Standards is backing up management and the unions with all the materials they need to do this safety job. The volunteer members of the National Committee for the Conservation of Manpower in War Industries—and it includes some 600 of the best-trained safety men in the country—are ready and willing to help workers to help themselves to safety. With the active backing of organized labor we can reach the goal that has been set—preventing a million accidents—this year. But it will take the support of all of us—and that includes every individual worker—to really do the job.

Now there is another matter which I know is of great interest to you . . . a field in which you and your members can work with great effectiveness. As a matter of fact, this is a field in which the working man has the principal stake. I'm talking now of the matter of State labor legislation and administration of State labor laws.

I said a short time ago that in the matter of collective bargaining, no one is better qualified than the worker's representatives and his employer to sit down and work out the terms and conditions of employment. This same principle—the same matter of being "on the spot"—and directly and personally concerned also exists in the area of State labor laws. It is hardly necessary for me to say that you workers who are "on the spot" have the greatest interest in legislative enactments in your State. If they're good, you gain; if they're bad, you suffer.

Many of our State legislatures will be meeting early in the coming year, and it is likely that many bills affecting labor will be introduced. Some will be good bills and some will be bad. Some of the latter will have powerful pressure behind them because you know as well as I that we still have with us the perennial labor haters and those who would sacrifice the rights of the many for private gain for the few. If I may offer a word of advice, it is that every responsible labor leader ought to consider it his duty to watch what goes into the legislative hopper in his State and to take whatever action he feels will be effective to

oppose the passage of the bad bills and to support the enactment of the good ones.

In connection with State labor legislation I would like to call your attention to the fact that the Secretary of Labor's annual conference on labor legislation is to take place in Washington, D. C., in mid-December. To that conference will come representatives of the States, of State labor departments and of organized labor. The conference will consider many important matters. It will be a forum for the exchange of information on State labor laws and their administration and it will consider and discuss needed laws or improvements in existing State laws affecting working people. I urge you to follow the proceedings and the recommendations of this conference. I need hardly remind you that some of the most effective and needed labor laws on the books today have come out of these conferences, which were begun in 1933. This year's conference will be an extremely important one and it will undoubtedly develop new ideas and new proposals that will be most important to labor. It will be well for all of us to watch that conference and to see to it that its recommendations are given consideration in all the States. In that way labor stands to gain tremendously.

In conclusion, as President Green stated, I served as President of one of the affiliated organizations of this great labor movement. For the past four years I have been directly associated with the United States Department of Labor at the government's request. Those four years of experience have been most broad and most wonderful to me. Its value cannot be estimated. I have learned during the past four years the influence that this Department can lend in behalf of the workers of this country.

The Department of Labor was created in 1913 by this very organization—the American Federation of Labor. It is your seat in government. It is your voice in the Cabinet of the President of the United States, and if this Department is not what you think it should be and is not doing what you think it should, then it is your responsibility to come to us and tell us, and advise with us on the matters you think should be submitted, and not throw bricks at your own Department from a distance.

I know what the Department of Labor has done for the workers and I know what it is capable of doing for the workers. It is up to the American Federation of Labor, as the sponsor of this Department of our government, and of all labor to encourage, to promote and to cooperate with the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Labor to make it what it should be in behalf of the workers of this country.

I thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank Brother Tracy in your name and in your behalf for the message which he brought to us this morning. I know you are all deeply appreciative of it and that you further appreciate his visit to the convention. Thank you, Dan, and good luck to you.

Special Order— Election of Officers

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes President Brown of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

DELEGATE BROWN, Electrical Workers: President Green, and delegates, as the convention is drawing to a close and tomorrow is Thursday, I would like to move that we make the nomination and election of officers a special order of business at 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We will now proceed with the regular order of business, and the Chair recognizes Secretary Frey, of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Committee Secretary John P. Frey continued the report of the committee as follows:

Jewelry Workers Charter Rights

Resolution No. 163—By Delegate Leon Williams, International Jewelry Workers Union.

WHEREAS, One, Walter W. Cenerazzo, in October, 1943, led a cessation movement against the "International Jewelry Workers Union" of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, By working in conjunction with certain companies formed an independent company union, under the name, "The American Watch Workers Union" and

WHEREAS, Walter W. Cenerazzo has attempted to raid and spread turmoil in local unions under the jurisdiction of the "International Jewelry Workers Union," and

WHEREAS, Said Walter W. Cenerazzo made application for a charter of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This application of the American Watch Workers Union is an application for a grant of the same jurisdiction as now held by the International Jewelry Workers Union, and

WHEREAS, To grant this application would constitute a clear trespass on the jurisdiction now held by the International Jewelry Workers Union charter, granted by the American Federation of Labor in 1916: Under that Charter the "International Jew-

elry Workers Union," assumed its rightful place with the family of Unions in the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, From that day to this, the International Jewelry Workers Union has loyally and faithfully carried out the mandates of the American Federation of Labor as provided by the Constitution of that body, and

WHEREAS, Section 5 of Article 4 of the American Federation of Labor Constitution provides, no organization or person that has seceded from the American Federation of Labor shall receive any recognition by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, It is provided in Section 11, Article 9 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor:

"No Charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant and the Charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions without the written consent of such Unions, and

WHEREAS, The International Jewelry Workers Union has not and will not consent in writing or otherwise to the granting of a Charter to the American Watch Makers Union, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans go on record against the granting of a Charter to the American Watch Workers Union.

Your committee is advised that the question raised in the resolution is now before the Executive Council for consideration and action. In view of this your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the request that the Council consider and act upon it at its meeting immediately after the close of this convention.

Committee Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE WILLIAMS, Jewelry Workers: As introducer of the resolution I rise in support of the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee. I want to call attention to the fact that this secessionist leader is raiding our jurisdiction now, and there is an election pending within the next two weeks. I therefore take this opportunity to make a special plea to President Green to present this matter before the Executive Council for decision immediately upon adjournment of the convention.

The motion to adopt the committee's recommendation was carried by unanimous vote.

Universal Transfer Within American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, American Labor is doing a major part in winning the present war for the universal establishment of the rights of mankind, and

WHEREAS, The workers organized under the banners of the American Federation of Labor and its member unions have ever been in the foreground in the fight to establish and maintain democracy at home, and

WHEREAS, We believe that all the organizations composing the American Federation of Labor have as their foundation the same underlying principles calculated to better the conditions of the workers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, hereby go on record as supporting the principle of the universal transfer and favors its establishment by and between all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee cannot recommend concurrence with the resolution because it involves a question over which the individual unions have sole jurisdiction. The question presented by the resolution is one which could only be adjusted in a practical and satisfactory manner by the voluntary action of the International Unions.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Public Members On Government Boards and Commissions

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is most desirable that labor, which has modified many meritorious rules and working conditions in an effort to expedite victory, should not be called upon to make unnecessary sacrifices which would prove a menace to the future of its members who are now serving with the armed forces as well as those now producing those things essential to victory, and

WHEREAS, The present make-up of boards and commissions dealing with industrial matters is such that quite generally they are composed of representatives of workers, management, and a third group named the public, which third group while probably well intentioned has been quite generally without experience in industrial

affairs, yet more closely associated with the employer group than with labor, thus making it extremely difficult and sometimes impossible to get justice from such boards, and

WHEREAS, These boards and commissions almost invariably exercise the functions of arbitration boards, in all set-ups of which it is conceded that the two parties of major interest should choose the third party which is assumed to be neutral, but which in the cases complained of are apparently not, although referred to as the public, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in session assembled in this 64th annual convention, that we record ourselves as unalterably convinced that the manner of naming third parties to such governmental boards, etc., accounts for much of the dissatisfaction among workers caused by unjust decisions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon all affiliated organizations and the officers of this Federation to use all the means at their command to rectify the conditions herein complained of, and to secure more just and equitable representation on these boards.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Compulsory Military Training

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Proposals made by the Army High Command seem to suggest the idea of permanent compulsory military service, for the American youth, through conscription, in addition to a smaller professional army, and

WHEREAS, Such permanent compulsory military service has long since been the established rule on the European continent, where Hitler and Mussolini attempted to invest it with a new found glory, while the United States remained singularly free of conscription during peace time, and

WHEREAS, Experience has shown that in all cases in Europe permanent compulsory military service imposed a severe burden upon the people, many of whom migrated to these shores because of it, normal popular education and popular well-being suffering because of it, and in most cases it led to varying degrees of militarism which is incompatible with democratic institutions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention go on record as opposed to permanent compulsory military service through conscription.

Because of the uncertainty of the future, your committee recommends that the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor should wait the results of the Peace Treaty and of the international commitments which may be included before making any positive declaration upon the subject of compulsory military training.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Trade Union Officers' Rights On Government Projects

Resolution No. 39—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, A considerable percentage of those who are employed under agreements made by the International Union of Operating Engineers which cover construction projects of the War Department, the Navy Department and the United States Maritime Commission are handicapped in their work by lack of representation, and

WHEREAS, In the interest of production and harmony of relationships it is essential that duly elected officers of the local union which represent those workers have admittance to the projects so that grievances may be adjusted and agreements checked and protected, and

WHEREAS, In many areas, officers in charge of construction whose personnel attitude is anti-union, arbitrarily bar those duly elected officers from the projects over which they have charge, thus denying representation to the workers causing agreements to be violated with impunity and bringing about widespread dissatisfaction, and

WHEREAS, That form of discrimination constitutes a direct violation of the agreements to which those agencies of the Government are parties, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as demanding that over all passes be granted which will admit specified duly elected officers of local unions to projects on any occasion in which they have legitimate business to transact, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of Labor and the Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Power and Flood Control Development of Missouri River

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Lands drained by the upper reaches of the Missouri River and its tributaries constitute an empire rich in undeveloped resources, and

WHEREAS, Its development has been retarded and impeded by lack of sufficient rainfall at the proper times to render its crop production safe and assured and said area has suffered from drought and because of its distance from market for its products, and

WHEREAS, This vast water resource which originates in the Rocky Mountains and traverses and supplies this area, properly controlled and utilized is the greatest potential factor in the full development and prosperity of this territory, and

WHEREAS, The detention of such waters during periods of flood and high water and the use of same for irrigation later in periods of lack of water supply will result in the creation of untold wealth in agriculture and industry and commerce dependent thereon, and

WHEREAS, The Missouri River in its present state is the cause of recurring floods which bring about great damage and loss of property, and

WHEREAS, A comprehensive plan for the retention, control and full use of such waters is fully recognized as the fundamental need, for the development of a public works program and that same will be of value to the entire United States, and will furnish employment to thousands of laborers, both skilled and unskilled over a long period of time in an enterprise of sound economic value, and this development has every desirable feature of a good public works program and will not interfere or conflict with any established business or enterprise, and

WHEREAS, Plans for such development program have been carefully studied, are well understood, and are now ready for a great program of construction, and

WHEREAS, In such program it should be fully recognized that the greatest possible development and use of said waters should be had in the higher or upper portions of said river and its tributaries, and

WHEREAS, The detention of such waters and their full use for irrigation and domestic purposes may be fully coordinated with a program of power development and use for mining and manufacture in said areas, and

WHEREAS, Such program should include a full development for rural electrification in said territory, and

WHEREAS, The adoption and construction of these works under such program is necessary for the control of floods in the entire lower Missouri River and the Mississippi River to its mouth, and

WHEREAS, An adequate post-war program should include the opportunity for

continuous employment by millions of men released from military service, and

WHEREAS, Upon lands to be reclaimed by irrigation and development in this area are locations suitable for many happy and prosperous new homes under right conditions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we do hereby recommend that immediate steps be taken by the United States Department of the Interior for the initiation and continuous construction of a comprehensive coordinated development program for the conservation and retention of waters by dams and in reservoirs in the upper portions of the Missouri River valley and its tributaries, so that these waters may be conserved during times of flood or periods of high water in river flow; and that same be fully utilized for irrigation during periods when such waters are so needed to grow and mature crops and to supply water for domestic use, mining, manufacture and power development and flood control and navigation, and this entire river system be controlled to permit its greatest possible use of the benefit for all the people, and be it further

RESOLVED, That Congress declare that the use of said waters in said area for irrigation and domestic use is prior and superior to any other uses, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in such program the wishes of the people of the several states, primarily interested, be duly considered and regarded, and that the distribution of such waters, and the use thereof, be governed to as great an extent as possible, by the wishes of the people of the states where said waters are to be used and by local agencies and be as free from Federal control and supervision as is consistent with the full development of said program.

Your committee, while in sympathy and accord with the purpose of the resolution, recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for thorough-going study and consideration.

Committee Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE GRAHAM, Montana State Federation of Labor: I would just like to have the record show that since the resolution was written the Army Engineers and the Engineers of the Interior Department have submitted a coordinated report, and that report practically covers what we advocate in this resolution. Furthermore, in the matter of irrigation the question has been before the court on an irrigation project on the upper waters of the Missouri River, and while the United States District Court ruled in favor of hydro-electric power, the Court of Appeals reversed the District Court and the power company did not appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

So when the Executive Council is studying this measure, I hope they will take these matters into consideration.

In the upper reaches of the Missouri River and its tributaries, it is over a mile above sea-level and lots of dams can be put in there to control the flood waters and impound them, so that the water can be used for commercial purposes as well as farming.

Water is a good servant and a bad master, and all we are asking is that when the period of unemployment comes on, these dams be built so as to make water the servant of all the people and not the cause of destruction.

The motion to adopt the committee's recommendation was carried by unanimous vote.

Trade Unionists On Government Labor Agencies

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Robert C. Kirkpatrick, John Simons, T. K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, John W. Austin, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The various Government agencies dealing with the problems of labor and labor relations are headed and staffed with executives who are not trained in the Labor Movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor make known by way of official communication to all such Government agencies and to the President of the United States, its opposition to the appointment in executive and/or administrative positions any person or persons who have not been trained in the Labor Movement and who are not themselves members of Organized Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Rights of A. F. of L. Affiliates

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Robert C. Kirkpatrick, John Simons, T. K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, John W. Austin, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union has reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor with all "rights heretofore possessed by the Inter-

national Typographical Union reaffirmed and reestablished as though no branch had taken place in the affiliation," and

WHEREAS, The same factors that caused the branch, and the agreement on the basis of reaffiliation (ratified by the 1943 convention of the American Federation of Labor and the membership of the International Typographical Union) may apply to other unions not now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the above mentioned basis of reaffiliation stand as the basis of reaffiliation of any other international union which may desire to take advantage thereof.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Prohibition

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cilento, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, The dry forces have continuously and unceasingly attempted to obtain some form of national legislation to prohibit the manufacture, sale and distribution of alcoholic beverages, and

WHEREAS, The dry forces up to this point have not succeeded in obtaining such legislation through the Congress of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The "drys" have been successfully utilizing the medium of local option election in the several States, and

WHEREAS, The "drys" have been overwhelmingly successful in their endeavors to dry up county after county in great numbers of States, and

WHEREAS, According to available statistics, almost one-third of all the nation's counties are dry, wherein twenty-five million people reside, and

WHEREAS, A successful culmination of such a campaign as is presently being conducted in the great distilling State of Kentucky, where 70 percent of that State is now dry, must inevitably result in causing complete prohibition, State by State, and

WHEREAS, The "drys" as a result of the success of their campaigns in local option elections, will be thereby enabled to ultimately accomplish their avowed objective, namely, the complete prohibition of the manufacture, sale and distribution of alcoholic beverages, nation-wide, without the necessity of securing an Act of Congress, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates in convention assembled, go on record opposing all such activities, and urge every member of this Federation to take immediate cognizance of this serious situation, and make every effort to assist and cooperate

to acquaint the general public with the activities of the "dry", and the evil conditions which must obtain if the dry forces succeed in bringing back national prohibition, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Federation, its affiliated unions and its members, take such action as is proper and necessary to combat these dry forces in all local option elections whenever and wherever possible, and that we continue to militantly oppose these forces of reaction, in order to protect and safeguard our industrial and economic future.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Day Radio Broadcasts

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor Day programs are held in hundreds of cities throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, Labor Day committees often encounter difficulty in securing suitable guest speakers for the occasion, and

WHEREAS, A nationally known labor leader speaking on a radio network could be tuned in by many assembled Labor Day groups all over the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20, 1944, go on record in favor of establishing a procedure of Labor Day radio broadcasts on a sectional or nation-wide basis at convenient hours of the day so that Labor Day assemblages throughout the country could tune in to listen to prominent speakers of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee is in accord with the purpose to secure the widest possible use of the radio in connection with its activities. Your committee calls attention to the widespread use which has already been made of the radio by the American Federation of Labor, and by the officers of the affiliated International Unions and the Departments of the A. F. of L. It believes that still further use should be made of the radio, not only on Labor Day, but throughout the year. With this comment your committee believes no further action on the resolution is necessary.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Broadcasts of Congressional Proceedings

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The affairs of Congress and of government in general are vital to every citizen, and

WHEREAS, No present method exists to provide full information to the average citizen about the real happenings in our Congress, and

WHEREAS, Radio is the simplest and most effective medium for communicating with every American in every part of the country, and

WHEREAS, New Zealand adopted a program of short-wave broadcasts of the proceedings of its parliament, and has successfully demonstrated that full knowledge by citizens of the affairs of government stimulates and strengthens the democratic system, and

WHEREAS, Our Congress could lease radio time from one or more networks, several important and powerful stations, or broadcast by short-wave all important debates, excepting such matters as might jeopardize national security during this war, and

WHEREAS, The best safeguard of democracy is a government of the people in every sense of the word. Through the broadcasting of the proceedings of Congress all of the millions of people in this country would be in a better position to understand the every day procedure that is followed by our elected representatives; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor investigate the system of broadcasting proceedings of the Parliament of New Zealand to its people. If deemed advisable for similar broadcasts of our Congress to the people of the United States, the American Federation of Labor propose and urge upon the United States Congress enactment of the necessary measures to establish a nation-wide broadcast of its proceedings.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for its careful consideration.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Rehabilitation of Disabled Veterans

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Federal Public Law 16 provides for the rehabilitation of service connected disabled veterans, and

WHEREAS, Under this law rehabilitation can be in the form of apprentice training for a maximum of four years (or 48 months) during which time the government pays the veteran a monthly subsistence allowance for the full term of training, and

WHEREAS, It is against the policy of the Veterans' Administration to place a veteran in training and in an apprenticeship which cannot be completed in four years' time, and

WHEREAS, The term of training in many trades is fixed by law and by agreement between employer and labor as more than 48 months, and

WHEREAS, the consequent result may be that either a veteran cannot be placed as an apprentice in these trades or attempts will be made to shorten the term to four years by allowing credit for one reason or another; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20, 1944, go on record as being opposed to attempts to shorten the apprenticeship term, except in cases where the practical experience and training is actually related to the trade for which time credit is allowed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to attempt to secure either a more liberal interpretation of Public Law 16 from the Administrator of the Veterans' Administration to permit disabled veterans to commence an apprenticeship in these trades or take immediate action to sponsor legislation which will amend the law as interpreted today.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Labor Unions in Metal Trades Councils

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, As now constituted under the American Federation of Labor Metal Trades Department by-laws, federal labor unions and local trade unions, even though engaged in metal trades work, cannot obtain full-fledged membership in the American Federation of Labor metal trades councils, and

WHEREAS, This means that while they may be permitted to affiliate with a local council they cannot vote nor hold office in the council, and are only permitted to pay per capita tax and give cooperation and

WHEREAS, This old rule of the Metal Trades Department not specifically adopted

to bar federal labor unions and local trade unions, nevertheless it affects them adversely and keeps out the potential backbone or nucleus for any metal trades council, and

WHEREAS, The skilled trades in the metal industry are more or less now organized in their own particular district councils, and

WHEREAS, A similar resolution had been introduced and adopted at the Sixty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Toronto in 1942 and referred to the Metal Trades Department without any known action having been taken on this resolution during the year, and

WHEREAS, Another similar resolution had been introduced and adopted at the 1943 convention in Boston and referred to the Executive Council without making known its action thereon; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New Orleans, Louisiana, goes on record urging the Metal Trades Department to amend its constitution and by-laws so as to permit full-fledged membership in metal trades councils to those federal labor unions and local trade unions engaged in the metal industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the international unions now affiliated or eligible to full-fledged membership in metal trades councils be requested to extend their aid and influence to the end that federal labor unions and local trade unions be granted full-fledged and bona fide membership in all metal trades councils, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Metal Trades Department and the Executive Council be called upon to immediately make known to the state federations of labor and city central bodies their action on this resolution.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers and Executive Council of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Prisoners of War

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, One of the Service Commands of the United States Army has issued a general order on the subject, "Use of Prisoners of War,"; and

WHEREAS, This general order provides that prisoners of war shall be used as follows:

**"REPAIRS AND UTILITIES OCCUPATIONS
PRISONERS OF WAR LABOR****"ADMINISTRATIVE:**

General Clerk
Draftsmen
Stock Clerk
Timekeeper

"FIRE PROTECTION:

Clearing of grass and weeds from around buildings; making forest fire-breaks; construction of access roadway, culverts, bridges, water suction points, etc., as aids in crash fire fighting; construction of training aids for fire fighters.

"HEATING SERVICE:

Coal handling—storage and delivery.

"JANITOR SERVICE:

("Includes care of administration building, office, classrooms, chapels, etc.)

"MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR:

Bricklayers
Carpentry
Electrical
Masonry
Painting
Plastering
Plumbing
Roofing
Dismantling and Salvage

"GROUND:

Cleaning of Swimming Pools
Clearing Underbrush
Drainage Ditches
Dust and Erosion Control
Mowing Grass
Road Shoulders
Tree Removal

Maintenance of grass runways, landing fields adjacent to paved runways, lawns, bridle paths, post cemeteries (including opening and closing of graves), embankments, parade grounds, parkways, retaining walls, rip-rap, sodding, planting, etc.

**"ROAD RUNWAYS AND PARKING
AREAS:****"SHOP HELPERS AND MAINTENANCE:**

Carpenter
Electrical
Plumbing
Sheet Metal

"MISCELLANEOUS:

Bulldozer Operator
Car Washing
Cleaning of Utility Plants
Garbage Collection
Lumber Sorting
Maintenance and Repair of Tools, Plants and Equipment
Quarrying
Sludge Removal
Tractor Operator
Training Aid
Truck Drive
Miscellaneous Maintenance

"Recreational facilities, flagpole, directional signs, rails, road traffic, signals, fences, guard towers, prisoner stockades, flood gates, greasing and washing racks, water storage facilities (elevated or underground), etc."; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this 64th annual convention of the American

Federation of Labor that such use of war prisoners, if not in violation of international treaties, is definitely an imposition upon the civilian taxpayers, both workers and employers of the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to lodge a vigorous protest with the Secretary of War, and if necessary with the President of the United States and Congress, against the practices contemplated by the above quoted general order, and insist that the same be withdrawn so that injury will not be imposed upon the civilian workers and employers of the United States.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposed Treaty With Mexico

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is pending before the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate a treaty between the United States and the Republic of Mexico, relating to the waters of the Rio Grande, the Colorado River and the Tijuana River; and

WHEREAS, Said treaty authorizes an international boundary and water commission, and the American section thereof, without adequate congressional controls, to plan and construct vast works on the main stream and on all tributaries of said rivers, and to control all labor on such construction work, and expressly permits the free passage of labor into the United States for use upon such works "without any immigration restrictions, passports or labor requirements," and further expressly permits the free passage into the United States of "materials, implements, equipment and repair parts" fabricated by foreign labor for the construction, operation and maintenance of such work; and

WHEREAS, Under the method of performing such work authorized and permitted by the said treaty, low-cost Mexican labor may be used upon any job done in the United States along the International border, to the exclusion of American labor; and

WHEREAS, The pending treaty guarantees a minimum of 1,500,000 acre feet of water per year to Mexico from the Colorado River, which guaranteed minimum exceeds by 750,000 acre feet per year the quantity of water which Mexico could use from the unregulated river, and such additional water is available for use solely by reason of the expenditure of American money and the use of American labor on American soil in the construction of the Boulder Project, and such guarantee of water to Mexico would deprive the southwestern part of the United

States of water required for its growth and expansion, both industrially and agriculturally, and would curtail the opportunities of American labor in such development; and

WHEREAS, The application of such water to agricultural use in Mexico, where cheap labor is available, would enable Mexican farmers to undersell American farmers engaged in American labor, and would tend to reduce American standards of living; and

WHEREAS, The United States has entered into solemn contracts for the use of all of the waters of the Colorado River stored by the Boulder Project, in consideration of which public and private organizations within the United States have agreed to repay to the United States the entire cost of such Boulder Project, and have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in the construction of works to utilize such water, and such contracts cannot be fully performed by the United States in the event of ratification of the pending treaty, and breach of such contracts on the part of the United States would be contrary to American principles and sound business practice and would deprive American agencies of water supplies upon which they have relied, and which have been made available at their expense; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor vigorously protest the ratification of this said treaty.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Maintaining Purchasing Power

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The maintenance of adequate purchasing power is one of the factors essential to post-war full equipment, the lowering of taxes, the paying off of the national debt, and the safeguarding of existing savings and other equities; and

WHEREAS, When the war ends, in whole or in part, hours of labor are due to ultimately revert to the forty-hour week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself in approval of a wage policy being established for increases in the hourly wage to make up for the loss in total earnings due to the shortening of the hours of labor, so that weekly earnings under current wage schedules will be maintained and where necessary improved.

Your committee recommends that the words "where necessary" in the last line of the resolved be stricken out, and with this amendment recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Job Evaluation System

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, ASF (Army Service Forces) of the War Department has established at the arsenals and certain other War Department industrial establishments, a job evaluation and wage system which, from the point of view of the shop crafts, is extremely unsatisfactory and unjust, and

WHEREAS, The job evaluation part of this system has the effect of breaking up the work of the skilled trades into specialized operations and violates long standing trade traditions, and

WHEREAS, A schedule of Wages has been established consisting of five rates of pay for each classification called grades, with these grades overlapping and arranged systematically from the bottom to the top, similar to the schedule of pay under the Classification Act of 1923 as amended, in accordance with the relative skill of the employees as determined by the management, and

WHEREAS, This system of analyzing jobs and setting wages has resulted in unfairness, favoritism, intense resentment on the part of the workmen, and is unsatisfactory to many of the managements of the arsenals, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself as unalterably opposed to this job evaluation and wage system, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor do everything in their power to have the system discontinued by the War Department.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor-Management Cooperation

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The satisfactory development of free enterprise in the industrial world depends upon the attitude of management and labor toward the problem and their willingness to cooperate, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor declare that the peace-time problem growing out of the reconversion period can only be successfully solved through the willingness and

wholesome cooperation between the trade union movement and the leaders in the industrial world, and that this convention call upon the leaders of industry to confer with the leaders of our American trade union movement so that the greatest possible degree of understanding and cooperation can be established.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution and furthermore recommends that industrialists and trade union officers and members continue their forward looking and excellent work in plant labor-management committees and that the Government assist these committees in dealing with production problems, care of tools, improving quality and other matters affecting war production and the reconversion program.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Maintenance of the American Merchant Marine

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Merchant Marine has always played a definite part in the nation's economic and industrial welfare, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor declare, without qualification, that it is the duty of the American workers and manufacturers, and American shippers, in protecting the future safety of our Republic, to build and maintain an American owned and operated Merchant Marine sufficient in size to insure that all foreign commerce, including our export and import, shall be carried under the flag of the United States, and that we further declare, should it become necessary, that our Merchant Marine must be maintained even if it becomes necessary to extend Federal financial assistance, so that all ships of the Merchant Marine shall be built in American shipyards under American standards, and be operated by American workmen.

Your committee recommends that the final resolved be amended to read:

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor declare, without qualification, that it is the duty of the American workers and manufacturers and American shippers in protecting the future safety of our Republic, to build and maintain an American Merchant Marine sufficient in size to meet all of the nation's needs and requirements, and that this Merchant Marine must be owned and maintained so that all ships of

the American Merchant Marine shall be built in American shipyards under American standards and be operated by American seamen.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Consolidation of Department of Labor

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor was created through the activities of the American Federation of Labor so that all labor in the United States would have a department to which labor could go for information and assistance, and

WHEREAS, Instead of being strengthened in the passage of time many of its bureaus were transferred to other Federal agencies, and

WHEREAS, During the reconversion period it is more than ever necessary that there should be but one department dealing with the direct interests of labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that it has become imperative that the various conflicting labor controls which are now vested in numerous Federal agencies in Washington be consolidated in the Department of Labor, so that all labor problems can come under one central Federal agency as was contemplated when the Department of Labor was established, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the President of the United States and the Congress to effectuate this consolidation at the earliest possible moment so that the existing confusion of authority and conflict of opinion between Federal agencies having to do with labor can be promptly eliminated.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

"No-Strike" Pledge

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We believe in the reaffirmation of wartime pledges, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that we hereby reaffirm our determination to fulfill our pledges to the Government and to the people of the United States, and

the members of our armed forces, that we will give every possible assistance in prosecuting the present war to a victorious conclusion. That we renew our "no strike" pledge, and reaffirm our determination to continue assisting in financing the war, and as soldiers in the army of production give full service in the production of the implements of war. But that we also insist upon the Government and upon industry, to respect our rights, preserve our agreements, and apply them in good faith, and that our "no-strike" pledge must not be used as a subterfuge to deprive us of long established rights and privileges.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We want the world to understand where we stand on this subject. All in favor of the committee's report, please rise to your feet. All opposed, likewise. The resolution is unanimously adopted by this convention.

The Chair wishes to announce that telegrams will go from this convention to both General Eisenhower and General MacArthur, advising them of the renewal of this no-strike pledge by this convention representing seven million members and workers of the American Federation of Labor.

Maintenance of a High Wage

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There must be a helpful balance between production and consumption if a sound national economic balance is to be maintained, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor declare its conviction that in order to avoid ultimate national insolvency or bankruptcy, that the total national income must be maintained at the highest possible level, so that necessary taxes may be raised to finance the Government's activities and largely retire its funded debt. The national income cannot be maintained or raised if there is a reduction in the total volume of wages; we therefore must insist on no reduction in wages in the post-war era, for wages constitute the livelihood of industry and commerce.

The convention has already acted upon Resolution No. 128 relating to the same subject. For this reason no further action on Resolution No. 135 is required.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Unemployment Compensation

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized labor has officially voiced its approval of the Kilgore-Truman-Murray Bill, S. 2061 which, if enacted, would have among other things extended reasonably satisfactory unemployment compensation federally administered to employees of private industry and the Federal Government, who will be separated from their jobs in private industry or the Federal service, as the case may be, following the cessation of hostilities in whole or in part, particularly during the reconversion period, and

WHEREAS, The second session of the 78th Congress saw fit to enact the so-called "States Rights" George Bill S. 2051, which leaves the responsibility of providing unemployment compensation to the several states, many of which are either unable or unwilling to provide adequate unemployment compensation, and eliminates Federal employees from even these uncertain and meager benefits, and

WHEREAS, The Kilgore-Truman-Murray Bill, S. 2061, is still on the Senate calendar and can be revived and enacted if Congress chooses to do so, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the objectives and the principles contained in the Kilgore-Truman-Murray Bill, S. 2061, and direct its officers and legislative committee to make every effort to secure the enactment of this legislation with such amendment as may seem necessary after mature deliberation, including an amendment which would assure the presence of representatives of organized labor on the administration authorities set up under the Bill. Should it prove impossible to secure the amendment which seems advisable and the enactment of the measure during the remaining days of the present Congress, then to renew the effort in the next session of Congress to have the measure enacted into law.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

(Page 155, Executive Council's Report)

Vigorous protest was lodged by the Executive Council in 1943 against the National Labor Relations Board for its attitude towards raiding of the American Federation of Labor unions by rival and dual unions. Your committee was of the opinion that as a result of that pro-

test the attitude of the Board would change. Unfortunately it has not changed, and, if anything, the opposition to the American Federation of Labor has become intensified. Decision after decision, which has no basis in fact or justification in law, has been rendered against the American Federation of Labor by the Board in cases involving the American Federation of Labor and rival unions.

It is unnecessary for your Committee to emphasize this conclusion by repeating the uncontradicted evidence contained in the Executive Council's report on pages 54 to 61 inclusive. Any fair minded person, examining the record of this Board, its members and personnel, as disclosed by the Executive Council's reports for the past several years, will be convinced that the Board functions more as an agency of a dual and rival organization than a quasi judicial body set up to administer a law calling for the highest judicial and administrative integrity. It is useless to complain to the Board. Officials of the American Federation of Labor and of International unions have had repeated conferences with the Board and have made personal appeal to its members to reverse its procedure and attitude and deal fairly and justly with our unions, but all to no avail. Raids upon Teamster Unions have been permitted and encouraged; the Brotherhood of Carpenters has been plunged into expensive litigation because of the refusal of the Board to follow the procedure laid down by the National Labor Relations Act.

The Board has permitted rival unions to flout agreements entered into with American Federation of Labor Unions to abstain from raiding, which agreements were procured through the efforts of the War Labor Board. Nevertheless the National Labor Relations Board has ignored the War Labor Board and these agreements, and has accepted jurisdiction of cases for the purpose of aiding the rival unions to raid the American Federation of Labor Unions, as is forcefully demonstrated in the International Harvester case reported on page 56 of the Executive Council's report.

Shabby and unjustified treatment was meted out to the United Garment Workers in the Cohn-Goldwater Company case. An agreement between this employer and the United Garment Workers was set aside for naught by the Board for the purpose of permitting the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to raid three plants of the Cohn-Goldwater Company which had contractual relationship with the United Garment Workers.

The Board still adheres to the antiquated and unjust doctrines established by the first Board administering the National Labor Relations Act. One doctrine highly prejudicial to the American Federation of Labor is the American Can Company doctrine by which it holds that a past history of bargaining on an industrial basis fixes the industrial unit for all time in the future so as to preclude forever the establishment of a craft unit. The American Federation of Labor, through its General Counsel, has repeatedly requested the abandonment of this unjust doctrine by the Board, but the Board has been deaf to these pleas.

Another vicious and unjust doctrine is the principle established in the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railway Company case, and recently re-emphasized in the Geneva Company case.

In the Tennessee case the Board held that an industrial type of unit only was appropriate in the basic steel industry. Thus in any case involving basic steel no craft organization will be permitted to vote on a craft basis. Because of the importance of the subject we quote from the Geneva Company decision:

"The various affiliates of the Council (Local Metal Trades Council), the I. B. E. W., the I. A. M., the Enginemen, the Trainmen, all seek separate craft units. Putting aside for the present the claims of the Enginemen and the Trainmen, it appears that the unit issue herein is the same as that which was resolved by the Board in Matter of Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railway Company by a finding that an industrial type unit was appropriate in the basic steel industry. The record in the instant case unquestionably confirms our conclusion in the above case. Accordingly, we find no merit in the contentions of the several American Federation of Labor affiliates that the separate craft units which they seek are appropriate for the purposes of collective bargaining at the Geneva plant."

This is perhaps the most far reaching and sinister doctrine of the many pronounced by the Board which have for their purpose the undermining of the American Federation of Labor by reforming and changing its structure. By the extension of this doctrine the Board can completely shut out from basic industries American Federation of Labor craft unions. It will be recalled that when the National Labor Relations Act was proposed and was being considered Senator Wagner appeared before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. It was then pointed out to him that the language in Section 9 dealing with the selection of appropriate units might be used to destroy existing unions by excluding other organizations from an appropriate

unit. Senator Wagner emphasized that Section 9 was not intended for that purpose and would not, under any circumstances, be used to reform or change the structure of trade unionism and would not deny to the American Federation of Labor unions at any time under any circumstances the right to vote as crafts if they so desired. He pointed to the provision in the National Labor Relations Act guaranteeing "freedom of choice" to all the workers and stated most emphatically that it guaranteed to craft workers the right to vote as crafts when they so desired. Yet under the Tennessee Railway Company case doctrine not only have Senator Wagner's statements been repudiated, but a fraud has been perpetrated upon the American Federation of Labor by the establishment of this doctrine.

Your committee recommends that the National Labor Relations Board be called upon to reverse these decisions by renouncing them in future cases, and that nothing be left undone to have Congress enact a law which will never again permit the present or any future Board to arrogate to itself the power to destroy a large portion of the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor.

We repeat that efforts to change the disposition of the Board to aid and assist rival unions is well nigh useless. The only solution in sight is to adopt the recommendations of the Executive Council to request Congress to amend the act in two vital respects—first, to provide, in the language of the New York Labor Relations Act, that no craft or class be denied the right to vote as a craft or class in the selection of a bargaining representative which will guarantee freedom of choice and the maintenance of craft union integrity contemplated by the act; second—to provide for direct court review in representation cases, which is now denied under the act. Much injustice is suffered by the American Federation of Labor through inability to obtain a review in the courts of the Board's decisions in representation cases.

Your committee calls to your attention the adoption of an amendment to the 1944 Appropriations Act denying to the Board the power to invalidate existing contracts by prohibiting it from expending funds for that purpose. The Metal Trades Department procured an amendment of that character to the 1943 Appropriations Bill. It feared that the Board would renew its attack upon existing agreements similar to the one the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company had with the Metal Trades Department if the prohibition of 1943 was dropped from

the 1944 Appropriations Bill, therefore the Metal Trades Department prepared an appropriate amendment to the 1944 Appropriations Bill which guarantees the integrity of past and continuing contracts between unions and employers. This amendment to the Appropriations Bill has been the most vital force in preventing to a large degree numerous raids by rival unions upon American Federation of Labor contracts. The Metal Trades Department is to be commended for its vigilance in protecting the American Federation of Labor past and existing contracts by procuring passage of this amendment to the Appropriation Bill.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this report.

Committee Chairman Woll moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE SCHOENBERG, Cement Workers: Mr. Chairman, I am in accord with the report of the Committee on Resolutions on this subject. May I say for your information that a hearing was begun yesterday in El Paso, Texas, which may be of tremendous interest to this convention. The hearing was ordered by the National Labor Relations Board in Washington.

There is a large cement plant in El Paso with which our International Union had contractual relationships for many years. The CIO sent an organizer to that city who had first contacted members of our organization, and as a result one of the members of our organization started to advocate a dual organization secession movement.

The International Constitution of our organization provides, as do most of the other constitutions, that where a member advocates a dual organization he may be expelled. The particular member had taken an obligation in our organization to live up to the law, and when he was expelled the company, in accordance with the agreement with the company maintaining a union shop clause, was required to discharge this worker.

Uncalled for and just accidentally, someone from the Regional Board in Fort Worth had deemed it necessary to go to El Paso to investigate the case. The representative of the Regional Board had made visits to the homes of some of our members. Finally the Regional Director, a Dr. Elliott, contaminated by the CIO, sent an attorney there to further investigate the case, and as a result he referred the matter to Washington. There we have had the support of Judge Padway's office, which had

stepped in in order to assist our organization. But the Board had decided that a hearing should be held. Mind you, here is a case where we have a satisfactory working relationship with the company, the union shop clause, the checkoff of union dues and everything else, and a member of the organization who had pledged himself to live up to and to protect the Constitution of the organization sets to work to organize a dual organization. The National Labor Relations Board comes to the conclusion that that man had been discharged by the company because of union activities, and now demands that the company return him to work.

There is a new one on the part of the National Labor Relations Board. If it were not for the war we would strike the plant, because our men will never work with that fellow who has advocated a dual organization within our organization. But the mandate of the National Labor Relations Board to the company is that they put this man, this advocate of a dual organization back into the union shop of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. President, I wanted you to know what the situation in El Paso is at this time as it affects our organization.

DELEGATE STEVENSON, Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America: On this report of the committee, I am in favor of the report, but I believe that it is wise to mention at this time some of the things that are happening in our organization with the National Labor Relations Board.

Many of the metal trades will recall that in Lima, Ohio, we had a metal trades agreement with all of the trades for a few years, and finally went into an election and on account of the promises made by the CIO to the workers, that election was lost. When it came time for renewal of the agreement, we were the only organization that remained intact in the Lima Locomotive shop. Our members stayed loyal in our organization.

We then petitioned the Board for a separate union election to be held in the foundry, on account of us being able to hold our membership. We secured the services of Judge Padway's office, and hearings were attended and many months were spent on the case. Finally the Board, as usual, in cases where elections have been held over the entire plant, they denied us. However, we have tried to tell the Board how some of these cases come about, particularly this year, since the Steel Workers' Union asked for a 17 cents an hour advance.

The CIO has gone around this country, particularly in our foundries where we have a large number of colored laborers, and they are in the majority and have told them all you have to do is sign a card and you are going to get 17 cents an hour advance, with the result that these laborers and semi-skilled workers have signed these cards and the Board has ordered an election.

I want to cite one case in Muncie, Indiana, where that condition prevailed and we lost the election. We had 71 members, molders and core-makers employed in that plant and who had a membership in our union all of the way from 10 to 42 years standing. I went to Washington and saw two of the members of this Board; one of them was sympathetic towards us, and I then spoke to Chairman Millis, I asked him if it was not possible that we could retain our right in the foundry and act for the mechanics there. He said, "No, you cannot do that," and I said, "all right, Mr. Millis, I am going to tell you that despite our pledge not to strike, if the CIO attempts to take up grievances for our molders and core-makers who have been in our organization for from 10 to 42 years, they are going to walk out of the shop." The result is that just a couple weeks before I came to New Orleans, I found the CIO with an attorney was insisting that they take up these matters. This is a malleable shop, which has some steel workers, someone else who doesn't know the foundry business, go in at set prices for our members, and that is something we will not stand for.

We had another case recently in Grand Rapids, Michigan, where Judge Padway's office was also looking after the case. Even though we had an agreement and the expiration date had not expired, they ordered an election in this plant, and again it was those that we have taken into our organization and built up wage rates—yes from 30 cents an hour—they voted against us because they were told they would get 17 cents per hour advance. And the Board, despite the fact that Judge Padway did protest the election, gave them the bargaining right, and just before I left, this company, knowing that we had the agreement there, even after this election, sent me a letter and asked me if we would abrogate that agreement which they considered in existence. I turned this letter over to Judge Padway and told him to notify the firm that our organization never abrogates agreements. We try to keep our agreements very religiously. However, on account of the methods used and the promises to these workers, who only a few years ago were never or-

ganized, it is high time in my opinion that the Board make an investigation before they ask for an election as to how these cards were secured.

Just before I left Cincinnati we had another case of a large aluminum foundry in Dayton, Ohio. I was away in Washington and I found that the automobile workers were giving out cards there. When I say the automobile workers, I mean the CIO group. I was requested by our representative—in fact the letter was there when I got back to the office—to see if I could get Mr. Thomas to withdraw his people. I hesitated to do that, but it was a request for my membership, some 1200 employed in that shop, and I sent the telegram to Mr. Thomas. He moved out and the steel workers moved in the next day.

These are the conditions that exist not alone as affecting my organization but practically everyone else, and today it is more important than ever, in my opinion, that some amendments be made to this Act other than the amendment just recently made that will respect the rights of our members—members such as I have referred to of 42 years standing, entitled to sick and death benefits, and then because somebody who doesn't understand science at all, on account of promises made, tells us that some other organization has got to represent our old time members.

As I stated, I am satisfied with the committee's report and I do hope that before another convention rolls around something will be done in regard to this National Labor Relations Act.

DELEGATE ZANDER, State, County and Municipal Employees: I want to make a few comments on this matter from a somewhat different point of view, and not at all in disagreement with the report of the committee, but rather in agreement with it. As a member of the Resolutions Committee I endorse the report and I want to support it.

However, I want to draw a parallel very briefly. I know the convention is not differing with the basic idea written into the law we are discussing this morning, and it is because of the basic idea and the problems we face in connection with the fact that we do not come under this law. I want to take you back to the kind of experience you used to have and which you have now. You remember that prior to the passage of the law you are now discussing a great many things were done which are now called unfair labor practices. You have met those issues through

the passage of an act by Congress, and we are getting on as best we can without any court of law or Board or body to which to turn.

You can recall from your own experiences of many years ago the installation of charters to groups of applicants out under the light of the moon because they did not dare meet in their meeting halls. You will recall organizing people in back rooms, in private basements and in other places of that kind because they did not dare meet in the open.

We are experiencing those things now. We have thought of asking to be covered by the Labor Relations law. President Green, at our request, sent a communication to State Federations of Labor about a year ago asking that Little Wagner Acts, State labor laws be amended to include the employees of State and Local governments. I don't know that we have changed our minds about that.

At the same time we hear this discussion as you have had here, and we begin to wonder whether we want to meet our problems by law or by going on as you did and tell the passers of the Labor Relations Act, "Well, perhaps there is in our field an opportunity for us in organized labor to work out our problems outside of statute, by practice, by use of the pressure and power of the organized labor movement, and forcing recalcitrant employers to come to terms with their organized workers."

We have the experience of people meeting in the evening and discussing organization and finding them turned out of their jobs the next morning, all of them locked out of employment. We have no place to which to go except to the labor movement. So we come to you, the State Federations of Labor, the Central Labor organizations to work out these things by the use of the power and pressure of the organized workers in these communities.

We have a municipal city attorney advising members of the City Council that it is illegal for that Council to deal with the employees of the community except one at a time. There isn't any basis for that kind of opinion in actual law, and still we are facing again, I say, the kind of days you were dealing with many years ago.

I draw this parallel, not to endorse in any way the kind of administration we are having of the National Labor Relations Act, but to carry your thinking back to the way it was before you had this Act, before you had the power of law, and to say to you that we in our field in state and local government must

turn to you, and we have turned to you and have had your full support and cooperation. We come to you to say that perhaps we could work out these problems of labor relationships at our level by amending, only so far as absolutely necessary, the State Labor Acts and then evolving some problem which may set a pattern for use elsewhere, set procedure which we can use, with your assistance, in solving the problems we are running into because of public officials, your employed public servants saying to us and to our Local Unions and to their employees, you may not organize, we will not deal with you as organized groups.

I say to you that the people we have elected to public office in this country take that attitude now. In that field we turn to you, in the light of your experience with the Labor Relations Act, in the light of your experience in trying to handle your problems through legislation, and say to you that we look forward to your continued support. In meeting our peculiar problems, which used to be your general problems, in dealing with these employees who are outside the coverage of this labor legislation.

Thank you very much, Mr. President. I did want to draw that parallel.

The motion to adopt the committee's recommendation was carried by unanimous vote.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

LEGAL ACTIVITIES

(Page 209, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council's report contains a comprehensive review of the legal activities in which the American Federation was engaged in the past year. It is pointed out that the creation of new government departments and bureaus, and the issuance of a large number of directives and orders affecting labor by such departments and bureaus require considerable legal attention. The war has accentuated this activity and has created an increase of the number of opinions and interpretations required of our legal department. These opinions are not only rendered directly to the officials of the American Federation of Labor, but to many of its affiliates, particularly federal labor unions. It is an important and highly necessary service and it is adequately performed.

The last revenue bill requires labor un-

ions to file annual financial returns with the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The law did not specify any particular form of return. An old form used in connection with other non-profit organizations who were required to file prior to the passage of the last Revenue Act was so complicated and detailed that it would have been difficult for the use of our unions. The Executive Council instructed our general counsel to meet with the officials of the Bureau of Internal Revenue for the purpose of adopting a simplified form of return. As a result of the meetings had with the officials of the Bureau of Internal Revenue a new Form 990 was adopted. Much of the confusion in the old Form 990 has been eliminated. Most of our unions have received this form, have executed the same, and filed it with the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Experience has shown that our unions had little difficulty in using this form and that there have been very few complaints from the Bureau of Internal Revenue. This is a source of gratification.

Your committee wishes to impress upon all unions and their officers that hereafter each union will be required to file this return on or before May 15th of each year where the union operates on a calendar year basis, and on or before the 15th day of the fifth month following the close of the fiscal year where the union operates on a fiscal year basis. It is pointed out that the Congressional Committee's report pertaining to this legislation states that the purpose of requiring unions, fraternal organizations and similar bodies to file financial returns is to obtain facts and knowledge respecting property holdings with a view to taxing certain union property. Therefore it becomes most important to follow future developments relating to this subject. The officers and Executive Council of the Federation will continue to do so so that the interests of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates will be protected against unjust and arbitrary legislation.

The general counsel of the Federation, among other things, rendered considerable general legal service, such as the analysis and rendition of opinions on proposed state legislation, appearance before Congressional Committees, presentation of cases before the National Labor Relations Board and other departments, some of which required considerable work and attention.

Western Union Case

Among these cases the most outstanding is the Western Union Company case before the National Labor Relations Board. Because of the merger of the Western Union Telegraph Company with the Postal Telegraph Company the American Federation of Labor asked that the entire telegraphic communication system be constituted a single unit for the purpose of collective bargaining. The CIO requested a sectional geographical unit. The Board denied the contentions of the American Federation of Labor. It set up seven units consisting of seven separate geographical areas. Chairman Millis and Board Member Houston voted for the sectional set-up, and Board Member Reilly voted against it. It is apparent that this decision creating seven geographical units instead of one was rendered for the purpose of aiding the CIO to win out in at least one unit, for the evidence clearly established that the overwhelming number of employees of the present Western Union system are members of the American Federation of Labor. The decision is contrary to all established previous precedents of the Board relating to the communications industry, and it is unquestionably a biased and prejudiced decision adverse to the interests of the American Federation of Labor. It deserves the condemnation of the American Federation of Labor, and your Committee recommends that the action of the Board be denounced as arbitrary and unjust.

Tampa Shipbuilding Company Case

The American Federation of Labor was involved in several court cases, outstanding among which is the Tampa Shipbuilding Company case and the state anti-labor legislation cases. Your Committee desires to deal here with the Florida Tampa Shipbuilding Company case only. This case was brought by the Attorney General of Florida to revoke the charter of the Tampa Shipbuilding Company because it had entered into a closed shop contract with affiliates of the Metal Trades Department. The Attorney General contended that the closed shop was illegal because it was contrary to the public policy of the State of Florida.

The Supreme Court of the State of Florida handed down its decision November 10th, 1943, and denied the contentions of the Attorney General but upheld the contentions of the American Federation of Labor. The court expressly held that agreements providing for the closed shop are not illegal, and that the principle of the closed shop is not contrary to the public policy of the State of Florida. The court stated the philosophy of the closed shop in two emphatic sentences.

"Management is free to hire only union men if it chooses. Likewise, labor is free to work only with union men if it chooses."

Constitutional Amendments— Florida, Arkansas and California

Although this decision by the Florida Supreme Court is most gratifying there is still further litigation in store for the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates because of the adoption on November 7th of this year of a constitutional amendment which seeks to invalidate the closed shop in the State of Florida. The American Christian Association, in conjunction with the Farm Bureau, fostered three anti-closed shop constitutional amendments in three states—California, Florida and Arkansas. All were submitted to a vote of the people of each state. The proposal was overwhelmingly defeated by the people of California. The proposal was adopted in Arkansas and Florida by a very close vote. Great credit and praise is due to the State Federation of Labor and their affiliates in California, Florida and Arkansas for the fine campaigns launched and carried on in an effort to defeat these amendments.

The Executive Council has asked for the opinion of its general counsel as to the legality of these laws. Our general counsel has advised that in his opinion the amendments adopted by the States of Florida and Arkansas are in conflict with the Constitution of the United States guaranteeing to workers through their organizations and their employers the constitutional right to enter into lawful contracts and which do not conflict with public policy. The Executive Council has directed the general counsel of the Federation to institute appropriate legal proceedings at the proper time to prevent enforcement of these

amendments and to test their validity; also to defend against any proceedings which may be brought in either of the states mentioned by the attorney generals or other officers who seek enforcement of the law.

Legal proceedings for testing the validity of the Arkansas law cannot be commenced until an "enabling act" is passed by the Legislature of that State. Until such an enabling act is passed the constitutional amendment is inoperative. The Legislature will not meet until January, 1945. At that time there will be introduced a bill which will specifically set forth the manner, method and procedure for the prohibition of closed shop contracts.

Your committee desires to emphasize the importance of this enabling legislation. For instance, it is possible for the legislation to include severe criminal penalties for violation of the law, as well as provide for civil proceedings to restrain enforcement of closed shop contracts, such as proceedings in equity for an injunction, etc. Violations of such injunctions in civil proceedings can lead to contempt citations and punishment therefor. Thus the enabling act can be used as a means of restoring the evil of government by injunction. Therefore it behooves organized labor in the State of Arkansas to scrutinize with great care the nature of the enabling act so that one may not be passed which will contain procedure and penalties of a harsh and drastic nature.

With respect to the Florida constitutional amendment, the laws of the State of Florida provide that the amendment shall become operative immediately upon certification of its adoption by the state authorities. Such certification has already been made, and thus the amendment is law. Since it provides for no criminal penalties the procedure is confined to civil proceedings. Such proceedings will take the form of petitions for injunction by the authorities of the state to restrain unions and employers from entering into closed shop agreements. If the injunction is violated citations and punishment for contempt may follow.

Your Committee deems a word of caution necessary and appropriate in connection with this phase of the report. It is imperative that an appropriate case with a proper state of facts be selected for the purpose of testing the validity of these laws. It may prove highly detrimental to

the interests of the Federation if an ill-considered case be presented to the courts. Therefore it is recommended that local unions refrain from taking independent action respecting such vital problems which may result in fixed precedents. It is further recommended that the institution of proceedings and litigation involving court tests of the validity of these laws be left to the American Federation of Labor through its general counsel who shall handle this litigation in conjunction with the State Federations of Labor.

Smith-Connally Act

The Executive Council report points out that there has been no criminal prosecution against labor unions or other officers in connection with the Smith-Connally Act. It emphasizes that that is due to the adherence on the part of the American Federation of Labor affiliates to the "no strike pledge" given by the Federation at the outset of the war. However, a few civil suits have been instituted, one against an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, which is now pending in the Federal Court at Baltimore. The employer in this suit seeks a substantial sum in damages on the contention that a strike of his employees was called without having served notice on the various agencies of the Government as required by the Act, and without having taken a vote and waiting the thirty-day cooling off period required by the Act. Although the facts and circumstances in this case indicate that the officers of the union did not call or authorize the strike, but that it was a wild cat strike and therefore the union is not liable in damages, nevertheless the question of the validity of the Act is involved. The case has not yet been tried and no decision on the validity of the act has been rendered. It is hoped that the court will sustain the contention of the unions that the act is unconstitutional.

Your Committee recommends that the new Congress be appealed to to repeal this obnoxious congressional act.

Political Contributions

The repugnant provision in the Smith-Connally Act prohibiting labor unions from

making political contributions came in for considerable discussion in the recent national campaign. There has been no claim of violation of this law on the part of our unions. Nevertheless the provision is arbitrary and unjust in that no similar prohibition is included against fraternal organizations, chambers of commerce, manufacturers associations or other non-profit organizations. This provision in the Smith-Connally Act is highly offensive, and your Committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor make every effort to have it repealed.

In this connection your Committee desires to bring to your attention a significant decision by the Alabama Supreme Court in connection with a similar provision which was included in the Alabama state anti-labor law enacted two years ago. The prohibition against making political contributions in the Alabama Act is likewise made applicable solely to labor unions. The Alabama Supreme Court, by a unanimous decision, held that the provision was invalid and unconstitutional since it was class legislation and discriminated against labor unions only. At the same time a Texas trial court, passing upon a similar provision in its anti-labor law, held the same to be valid. Since the case involving the validity of the Alabama law is now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States it is hoped that an authoritative decision will be rendered by that court and that the decision of the Alabama Supreme Court in this respect will be affirmed.

A more comprehensive and detailed review of the legal activities in which the American Federation of Labor was engaged in the past year will carry this report to great lengths. Your Committee deems such further detailed report unnecessary. It has knowledge of the various legal activities and the same have been handled with due dispatch and efficiency, and with considerable success to the Federation. The Committee expresses its appreciation and praise of the diligent and excellent legal service rendered the Federation by its general counsel, Judge Padway, and his associates.

VICE PRESIDENT WOLL: In order to avoid duplicate discussions, we will report also on Resolution No. 154 which is as follows:

WESTERN UNION CAMPAIGN

Resolution No. 154—By Delegates W. L. Allen, Hugh C. McKenny, G. R. Pawson, J. A. Payne, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, For the past five years the Commercial Telegraphers' Union has carried on an intensive organizing campaign among the 55,000 eligible employees of the Western Union Telegraph Company against the most bitter opposition from the American Communications Association, CIO, and

WHEREAS, By September 29, 1943, all of these workers employed in 4,000 telegraph offices scattered throughout the nation had participated in National Labor Relations Board elections in 195 separate bargaining units found to be appropriate by the Board pending nation-wide organization, and

WHEREAS, On September 29, 1943, the Commercial Telegraphers' Union filed a petition for certification with the NLRB asking one nation-wide bargaining unit for these workers, which petition by agreement between the CTU, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and four Federal labor unions in Western Union having a limited interest in Western Union was later amended designating the American Federation of Labor as the petitioner instead of the CTU, and

WHEREAS, On October 23, 1944, thirteen months later, after extended hearings and much unreasonable delay on the part of the NLRB, the Board, in a majority Decision (Millis and Houston) denied the petition for a nation-wide bargaining unit and directed that separate elections be held within 90 days for each of the company's six area "divisions" and for the "Home Office" employees in New York City, with Board Member Reilly dissenting vigorously, and

WHEREAS, The CTU, the IBEW and the four federal unions involved in the petition are united and cooperating wholeheartedly together to win these workers for the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in attendance at the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, representing 7,000,000 American wage earners, extend a most cordial invitation to all Western Union employees to join with them in the American Federation of Labor by voting for the American Federation of Labor in the forthcoming labor board elections; that by thus rejecting the Communist-controlled American Communications Association, CIO, the 55,000 Western Union employees involved in the elections will be in the best possible position to secure the utmost benefits in wage increases and improvements in working conditions through the consolidated strength of nation-wide collective bargaining, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and affiliated organizations endorse the joint organizing-election campaign of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, the IBEW, and the four directly chartered AFL federal unions in Western Union and pledge their continued support to the CTU and asso-

ciated AFL unions to whatever extent may be possible, financial and otherwise, in their joint efforts to win these workers for the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Is there any discussion? The Chair recognizes Brother Allen, President of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

DELEGATE ALLEN, Commercial Telegraphers' Union: Mr. President and Delegates, I wish to thank the Committee for their favorable report on this resolution. I hope the report will receive unanimous approval.

The elections which have been ordered by the National Labor Relations Board covering 55,000 Western Union employees, including former Postal Telegraph employees, are the culmination of more than five years of intensive organizing work by the Commercial Telegraphers' Union to organize these employees into the American Federation of Labor. The elections provide an opportunity to finish the job. We hope to finish the job successfully.

The Board denied a nation-wide bargaining unit despite the fact that the records of previous elections proved that our opponent, the American Communications Association—CIO, the Western Union Telegraph Company and the Board itself had consistently agreed with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union that the ultimate appropriate bargaining unit was a nation-wide unit.

When we filed the petition for certification with the NLRB on Sept. 29, 1943, the Commercial Telegraphers' Union had been certified for approximately 32,000 Western Union employees; the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers for approximately 600 plant employees on the Pacific Coast; four remaining A. F. of L. federal unions combined for approximately 12,000, and the opposition organization, the American Communications Association, CIO, for approximately 10,500. These figures explain why the American Communications Association, CIO, opposed the petition and has since resorted to every means, legal and otherwise, to prevent an election of any kind in Western Union.

In denying our petition for a nation-wide bargaining unit, the Board stated "Nothing in our finding of divisional units precludes later merging under appropriate circum-

stances." This apparently means that the Board may regard favorably a motion to consolidate all seven units into one nation-wide bargaining unit if we are successful in winning all seven elections. What it actually means is that the Board went out of its way to assist the Communist-controlled American Communications Association-CIO to retain a foothold in the communications industry.

In pursuing that course the Board resorted to every dilatory tactic in the book to prolong the case and issue a Decision. Moreover, the Decision of the Board indicates that the Board is not averse to promoting dual unionism and ignoring entirely the provision for exclusive representation under Section 9 (a) of the Labor Act, when it is politically expedient to do so. Board Member Reilly dissented vigorously from the Decision and argued that a nation-wide bargaining unit was not only appropriate but in accord with previous decisions of the Board. He is the only member of the Board who refuses to turn a somersault to please Sidney.

Due to the fact that we have been compelled to carry on a continuous intensive nation-wide campaign during the unusually long period of time that it has taken to prosecute this petition before the NLRB, our resources have been practically exhausted and very reluctantly I was compelled to appeal to other national and international unions for financial assistance to enable us to take advantage of the opportunity for which we have long struggled and which is now before us.

The dates for holding the elections have been tentatively set for December 14, 15, 18 and 19. In any case, the elections will be held within the next few weeks.

This is one of the most bitterly contested elections ever held under the direction of the National Labor Relations Board. It is in fact something more than a Labor Board election. It is, based on our knowledge of, and experiences with our opponent, a contest to determine whether the employees of vital communications in this country shall be represented by an American organization, dedicated to preserve and safeguard American communications for America, or whether they shall be represented by an organization whose leaders are well known for their subservience to a foreign totalitarian power.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

The CIO regards this election as so important that it has been made the Number 1 job of the CIO. The CIO and its affiliates, strongly supported by the Political Action Committee, are giving all-out support to the American Communications Association. I appeal to you to help us meet this challenge successfully.

In behalf of our organization I wish to take this opportunity to extend grateful thanks to President Green and other representatives of the American Federation of Labor for their generous assistance throughout our long, uphill struggle. I also wish to record our thanks to those national and international unions who have extended, or who may find it possible to extend financial assistance in response to my appeal of November 11. I assure them that this money will be used to the best possible advantage in our efforts to win all of these workers for the American Federation of Labor. I also wish to thank those organizations who have not found it possible to extend financial assistance but who are assisting us in other ways.

In previous elections a substantial majority of all eligible Western Union employees selected the American Federation of Labor as their exclusive bargaining agency. That choice was not due to any accident. These employees selected the American Federation of Labor because they found by experience that the American Federation of Labor is best qualified to represent them, has secured for them the greatest results in wage increases and other benefits, and is otherwise more acceptable.

I am confident that a still greater majority will vote for the American Federation of Labor in the forthcoming elections.

Adoption of this report and your continued support and encouragement during the balance of the election campaign will encourage these employees to vote and make it emphatic for the American Federation of Labor.

VICE PRESIDENT BROWN: We do not have a direct interest in this particular subject, but indirectly we do. It must be obvious to all how important it is for the workers in our telegraph system to be represented by an American Federation of Labor union. Many of us realize how active the dual movement is to control our communications systems and I must say we should appreciate and do everything we possibly can to

assist the CTU to win this coming representation contest so that the workers in the industry can be represented by an American Federation of Labor union.

I want to say to President Allen, while he has not yet received information relative to our constitution, in the last few days our organization has donated \$1000 to the CTU to help them in their representation contest.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Might I impose upon your time and patience to report in just a simple way upon the partial and biased attitude manifested by the majority of the members of the National Labor Relations Board in this particular case.

An application for the selection of a collective bargaining unit for Western Union employees upon a national basis was filed by the representatives of the Western Union American Federation of Labor organization, in December, 1943. Extensive hearings were held over a long period of time from December, 1943 until April, 1944. Then when the hearings were concluded in April, 1944, the Board put in the balance of the summer and part of the fall in giving consideration to the record that had been made and rendered a decision on October 23rd. I give you these dates in order to bring to your attention what seems to be the purposeful delay in the final decision of the Board.

These are exasperating experiences, trying experiences. Men wait and wait for decisions. Our opinions were developed, based upon the facts and it seemed that the Board was determined to give the other side an ample opportunity to carry on an organizing campaign and that delay in passing on the petition and in fixing a date for an election would certainly aid the other side.

Now the Western Union Company is a national corporation. It is not seven or eight regional corporations, it is a national corporation, a national employer employing telegraph operators on a national basis—one employer. At one time the Postal Telegraph Company functioned as a national telegraph organization. It was known as the Postal Telegraph Company. The CIO filed a petition with the Board for an election upon a national basis for Postal Telegraph employees, and the Board very promptly, comparatively promptly, rendered a decision granting the application of the CIO for an election among Postal employees upon a national basis. The CIO won the election and was classified as the collective bar-

gaining agent for Postal Telegraph employees upon a national basis.

Wasn't that a precedent? Wouldn't it be assumed that another employer employing telegraph operators on a national basis would be required to comply with the same decision? But no, when our people, the Western Union employees, applied for an election on a national basis with one employer who employed all the Western Union employees as well as the Postal Telegraph employees, the Board said no. By the way, may I say that the Postal Telegraph Company was merged with the Western Union Company so that there was only one telegraph company in the United States. The Postal Telegraph Company passed out, the merger took place, and instead of two national employers of telegraph employees, there is now only one. You would have thought that the same rule would apply in this case as applied in the Postal Telegraph Company case. But no, the Board after this long, long, exasperating delay, finally said yes, we will order an election, but we will set up seven Regions and hold elections in each Region—no election on a national basis with this one employer for you. We gave it to the CIO in the Postal case, but we won't give it to you in this case.

How could you interpret such a decision except as being arbitrary and biased? You may win the election on a national basis. The CIO has strenuously opposed this election on a national basis and appealed to the Board to deny the application of the Western Union employees, and the Board has responded to the appeal of the CIO. Why? Because apparently—I interpret their decision at least as meaning that "We want to give you, the CIO, the broadest opportunity to win where you can, to hold what you've got."

Now our Western Union employees have to enter into this election on a regional basis, in seven regions. That means that the CIO might win in some regions and the Western Union in others, but it seems as though the Board, in its bias, wanted to say to our opponents, "At least we will give you the best chance we can to hold what you've got."

Now I support the committee in protesting this evidence of partiality and bias in favor of our opponents in this particular case. Surely, if the Board saw fit to give the CIO a national election for Postal Telegraph employees, it ought to give our people a na-

tional election for Western Union employees on a national basis.

I wrote a sharp letter to Chairman Mills, and in closing I told him I would be happy. I would celebrate, when his term of office ended and he passed out of office. He came back and pointed out that in the Longshoremen's case, where the CIO had appealed for the establishment of one collective bargaining agency on the Pacific Coast, we had protested because American Federation of Labor Longshoremen were compelled to be governed by the vote of the CIO majority in that case. It is a wrong parallel, because in that case there were a large number of employers on the Pacific Coast, and we were asking that the employees of a single employer be given the right to bargain collectively with his employer.

In this case we are doing the same, the same principle is involved—one employer dealing with his employees either on a national or local basis, but in this case it happens to be on a national basis.

By order of the Congress of the United States the Postal Telegraph Company and the Western Union Company were merged. That meant one employer of all telegraph employees in the United States. Now we are asking that that one employer be required to deal with one organization for his employees in these United States.

How could you interpret the action of the Board? What is justifiable? The only interpretation we can place upon it is this, that "Because we believe you can win in New York City, we are going to give you, the CIO, the opportunity to win in New York City." Well, why didn't they say that to us when they granted the application of the Postal employees for an election on a national basis? Why didn't they say to us, "Perhaps you can win in Pittsburgh, and we will give you a chance to do it." But they said, "No, you take your medicine; it will be on a national basis in the Postal Telegraph case, for you, but it will be on a regional basis, in the Western Union case, for the CIO."

There is an example of the administration of this government agency—reprehensible and exasperating, arousing within us feelings of indignation. Because of the biased attitude of these people. I protest in your name and in your behalf against this biased decision of the National Labor Relations Board.

The minority opinion rendered by Board

Member Reilly sets forth the facts in a most convincing way. I wish that you might read it, and compare it with the majority opinion of this board.

Isn't it reasonable that one employer should deal with all his employees and that the employees of one employer should determine, by majority vote, what collective bargaining agent shall be selected? That is democracy in action. Splitting them up into seven regions—you vote in those seven different elections among the employees of one employer. Did you ever hear of such a decision on the part of a governmental agency?

But we will face the facts and the realities of this situation and we will launch this fight notwithstanding this exasperating decision, rendered by this board. Let every representative of labor respond, come to the assistance of the telegraph operators in this historic fight. It will attract national attention. The American Federation of Labor is putting such funds as it can into the fight. We are going to continue to do it. Brother Brown has just told you he is in. We are appealing to others to come in and help us, because even though they have decided against us, we are determined to win this fight, even though it is on a regional basis.

I am of the opinion that when the election is held and the votes are counted, we will find the Board will be tremendously disappointed because the American Federation of Labor is going to win in this fight.

I wanted to make this statement to you because I think it does clear up your minds. It brings home to you what we have to contend with, the difficulties we are compelled to meet when we are forced to abide by the decision of such a biased Board as this notorious, reprehensible National Labor Relations Board.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

Proposed Industrial Feeding

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The health and welfare of America's working people is a primary con-

cern of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The maintenance and improvement of health is dependent in a large measure on food eaten and workers generally are unaware of the importance of proper diet, and provision of complete nutritionally balanced meals while on the job has proved feasible for workers in manufacturing and other industries, and

WHEREAS, Proper eating tends to reduce industrial accident rates, and adequate industrial food services tend to improve labor-management relationship, and

WHEREAS, The increased consumption of food on the job will benefit the farmers of America during the post-war period when they will produce larger quantities of food than can readily be marketed in America, and

WHEREAS, Better health of workers, better labor-management relationships and expanded agricultural markets will contribute to a sound post-war economy and a healthy prosperous America, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in full support of a continuing Federal program to improve and expand industrial food services in order to provide adequate low cost meals for all workers in plants and industries where on-the-job feeding is necessary and feasible, and to inform workers and their families of the essentials and importance of good diet, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention approve the establishment of a National A. F. of L. Health Committee, or designate some existing body, to cooperate with Federal and other agencies on nutrition and other health programs and to direct appropriate activities within the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated unions be urged to encourage their locals to actively cooperate in the program directly, and on the job through the medium of labor-management and union food committees.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Unfair Labor Policy of Colonial Press, Clinton, Mass.

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Colonial Press, Clinton, Massachusetts, operates a non-union printing establishment. The management has steadfastly declined to accept the services of the Massachusetts State Conciliation Service and has openly defied orders of the National Labor Relations Board, and

WHEREAS, Recently, Marshall Field of Chicago, and Simon & Shuster of New York, both firms regarded as friendly and sympathetic to organized labor, are reported to have purchased a company known as Pocketbooks, Inc., said corporate body contracts its work out to the non-union Colonial Press, and

WHEREAS, Marshall Field of Chicago, and Simon & Shuster of New York, through the firm of Pocketbooks, Inc., are now beginning a vast expansion of the printing of pocket size books, known as "Pocketbooks," and

WHEREAS, The continued production of printed matter in the Colonial Press by Marshall Field and Simon & Shuster, or the Company controlled by these firms, namely, Pocketbooks, Inc., places these concerns in a most unfriendly position to organized labor, and

WHEREAS, We believe that the fair labor records of Marshall Field and Simon & Shuster warrant their being given an opportunity to have their work, or that of Pocketbooks, Inc., placed with a printing plant known to be fair to all printing trades unions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the America Federation of Labor notify Marshall Field, Simon & Shuster and Pocketbooks, Inc., that unless these firms, discontinue all business relationship with the Colonial Press within 90 days of the adjournment of the American Federation of Labor convention, provided that in the meantime the officers of the printing trades unions have not reported a satisfactory adjustment of the existing controversy to the officers of the Union Label Trades Department, that these firms be declared unfair and placed on the "We do not Patronize" list, be it further

RESOLVED, That if a satisfactory collective bargaining agreement is not made effective by the Colonial Press within 90 days after the adjournment of the American Federation of Labor convention, that the officials of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to notify all of the affiliated national and international unions, state federation of labor, city central bodies and local unions of the anti-union policy of the Colonial Press and likewise the firms supporting the Colonial Press—Marshall Field of Chicago, Simon & Shuster of New York and Pocketbooks, Inc.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government Interference With Collective Bargaining

Resolution No. 142—By Delegates F. J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union.

WHEREAS, Certain officers and officials of the Army, Navy and other Government agencies such as the Defense Plant Corporation, the Defense Homes Corporation, etc., interfered with and restricted or tried to restrict the collective bargaining between the I. F. T. E. A. & D. U. or its locals and the contractors or employers holding Government contracts or orders, and

WHEREAS, Evidence of this fact has been demonstrated in cases such as the Sunflow Ordnance job (Local 30, Kansas City); the Austin Co., Chicago Aircraft Assembly Plant construction (Local 90-A, Chicago, Ill.); Knoxville, Tenn., job of Stone & Webster (Local 53); Floyd Bennett Airport construction (Local 66, New York City); Camp Kilmer construction (Local 66-B, New Jersey); construction job at Pasco, Washington (Local 17); Farlington Housing Project (Local 28, Alexandria, Virginia); Nicaro Nickel Co. (Local 66, New York City), etc., and

WHEREAS, This official interference has resulted in prolonged negotiations, extended correspondence and endless conferences which have been discouraging to union members and creating a feeling of distrust for our Government officials, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council to take such legal, legislative or administrative action as they deem necessary to protect the rights of the membership of this and other International Unions in the matter of collective bargaining negotiations and the right of representation before Governmental agencies.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Post-War Plan for City, County And State Employees

Resolution No. 143—By Delegates Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, John P. Redmond, Vincent J. Kane, International Association of Fire Fighters; Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, H. Z. Collier, Elling Munkeby, Roderick MacDonald, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

WHEREAS, In anticipation of establishing greater equity in the conditions of employment of those engaged by city, county, state, provincial or other employee groups with those employed in U. S. Federal service, and

WHEREAS, The granting of adequate leaves of absence from work will tend to as-

sure employees of needed vacations, permitting time and means for extended travel which helps create a more homogeneous nation, and

WHEREAS, a 26-day vacation period would increase employment both directly and indirectly, and

WHEREAS, Steps should be taken now, and not after the war, to provide for the meeting of such a post-war problem as that presented by the necessity of spreading employment, and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Government has already granted to the majority of its employees leaves of absence totaling 26 days per year, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record as favoring and adopting as part of post-war planning the establishing of all employees, whether in federal, state, county, municipal, provincial or other governmental or private services, an annual leave with pay of not less than 26 working days, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all state federations and central labor councils be asked to inform each of their affiliates of this action with the recommendation that they present such leaves of absence provisions in negotiations of contracts and inclusion therein and work for the adoption of the 26-day vacation principle by municipal, county and state governments.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to interrupt the proceedings for just a moment to have read to you a very important message that has just been received.

Secretary Meany read the following telegram from General Dwight E. Eisenhower:

Message from General Dwight E. Eisenhower

November 29, 1944.

Following cablegram received by the War Department, Washington, D. C., and telephoned to New Orleans.

Mr. William Green:

General Somervell has informed me of the steps taken by your organization to increase the production of ammunition, tanks, trucks, cotton duck and other needed equipment. I am indeed grateful for this renewed expression of support to the fighting forces. All of us have complete confidence in American workers. We desire only that they understand the magnitude of the job still confronting the Allied Armies in Europe. My personal thanks to you and to your organization for your help.

(signed) DWIGHT E. EISENHOWER

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Secretary of the Committee will continue the report of the Resolutions Committee.

Committee Secretary Frey continued the report as follows:

Maintenance of High Wage

Resolution No. 144—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The Executive Order on wage stabilization reads in part as follows: "No increases in wages, rates granted as a result of voluntary agreement, collective bargaining, conciliation, arbitration, or otherwise, and no decreases in wage rates shall be authorized unless notice of such increases or decreases shall have been filed with the National War Labor Board and unless the National War Labor Board has approved such increases or decreases," and

WHEREAS, Labor cannot receive wage increases without the approval of the War Labor Board, and

WHEREAS, Employers have, in many instances, reduced wages without such War Labor Board approval, and

WHEREAS, Wage cutting is detrimental to the morale of the workers and interrupted war production as well as being detrimental to industrial peace when hostilities cease and war orders are cancelled, and

WHEREAS, The National War Labor Board has no established policy for controlling such wage stabilization violations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand that the National War Labor Board immediately adopt and publish a policy or regulation whereby employers cannot reduce wages or rates of pay unless such wage or rate reductions are mutually agreed upon by the union and the company through collective bargaining or by an order of the NWLB, after the facts have been established by the utilization of the same machinery and procedure that are now being used in dispute cases, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event that the National War Labor Board refuses to adopt such a policy the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall be authorized and instructed to refer the matter to the President of the United States.

As the convention has already acted upon this subject, no further action on the resolution is required.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MOBILIZATION FOR PEACE PRODUCTION

Resolution No. 147—By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The demobilization of the eleven millions of men and women in the armed forces will be exploited by open shop and reactionary interests in an attempt to destroy the trade unions and to drive down living standards as was done after World War I by utilizing a limited employment potentiality to incite the veteran against the war worker, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor declares that the tremendous productive resources of the United States which have been so amazingly mobilized for war production of destructive materials can and should be mobilized for peace production of consumers materials to provide employment for all at American standards, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council in conjunction with national and international unions, state and central bodies of the American Federation of Labor formulate plans to coordinate activities for such federal, state and municipal measures which would aid in the solution of this serious problem.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AFL PRESS SERVICE FOR THE ARMED FORCES

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The 63rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in session in Boston, Massachusetts, unanimously adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of an AFL Labor Press Service for the men and women in the armed forces in order to combat the vicious anti-labor propaganda to which our troops are being subjected, and

WHEREAS, The Resolutions Committee of the 63rd convention stated that "Your committee is favorably impressed by the purpose of this resolution, and believes that every step should be taken to carry its intent into operation . . . With this comment your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council," and

WHEREAS, During the past year not enough has been done to carry out this mandate of the Boston convention while vilification of labor's contribution to the war effort has reached a new high, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council at its next session form and empower a special committee to cooperate with all national and international unions, State and central bodies of the American Federation of Labor to deal with this serious problem.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AGAINST THE PERSECUTION OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN CITIZENS

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, In 1942 by Presidential Order No. 9066 all persons of Japanese origin resident on the West Coast of the United States were ordered evacuated inland in the interest of national security, and

WHEREAS, Of 126,947 persons of Japanese origin more than 85,000 are citizens of the United States by birth, and of these more than 8,000 Japanese-American youths are serving our country splendidly in every theater of war, and

WHEREAS, The strong tide of just hatred against Imperial Japanese barbarism and brutality has been turned without reason against loyal Japanese-American citizens, resulting in innumerable incidents of unjust persecution and discrimination, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 64th convention of the American Federation of Labor in session in New Orleans in re-affirmation of our great tradition of struggle against intolerance and oppression strongly condemn the unwarranted persecution and discrimination against American citizens of Japanese ancestry.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for thorough-going study, and such recommendations and action as seem most appropriate.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Prison Labor in Competition With Free Labor

Resolution No. 155—By Delegates Ray Nickelson, Sam J. Byers, George Turry, Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The War Department constructed a laundry at the Army Post at Fort Devens, Massachusetts, and is now operating the laundry with prisoners of war, and

WHEREAS, Prior to the action of the War Department, the Army Hospital at Fort Devens

was serviced out of Greater Boston by an employer in the industry who is bargaining collectively with the Laundry Workers' International Union. The employer, at the request of the Army, invested a substantial amount of money enlarging the plants in order to service the Army effectively. The Union went to great length to recruit workers to man the employer's plants in order that the management could fulfill the contract with the Army Hospital at Fort Devens, and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Laundry Workers' International Union have exerted every effort in trying to persuade the War Department to reverse the policy of competing with free labor by using the services of prisoners of war, without success. President Green and members of Congress have cooperated with the officers of the International Union by joining in conference with officials of the War Department, to no avail, and

WHEREAS, The use of prisoners of war by the War Department in no way will relieve the manpower situation as charged by the Commanding Officer in that corps area, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to register a vigorous protest with President Roosevelt as Commander in Chief of our armed forces against the continuation of such practice by the War Department, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council insist upon an administrative policy that will protect the Laundry Workers' International Union against similar unfair competition in any other corps area by the use of prisoners of war in competition with members of our Union.

Your committee is in accord with the purpose of the resolution, and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Commercial Rent Control

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The Congress has passed a bill extending Price and Rent Control until July 1, 1945, and the new Stabilization Act provides for the continuance of the Rent Control Program; also the regulation of rents, and

WHEREAS, In the City of New York, the OPA is doing its best to carry out the instructions of Congress, and has established rent control which has prevented the increase of rents, and

WHEREAS, In the City of New York, commercial rent situation has become a serious problem to employers who employ thousands of workers in their plants in Greater New York, as the increase in rents has amounted to ap-

proximately 275 per cent in many instances, and

WHEREAS, A large number of our employers in Greater New York claim that if this is allowed to continue they will be forced to move their plants to other cities or close down entirely, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, La., call upon Congress to include in the OPA Rent Regulations, Commercial Rent Control.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Free Trade Union Fund

Resolution No. 158—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Victory over Nazi Germany and Japan is rapidly approaching and all nations will soon be freed from their domination and enslavement, and

WHEREAS, Such liberation offers no automatic assurance that freedom and democracy will be restored or that the workers of each country will regain or be secure in their rights as free men and free workers, and

WHEREAS, The record of free, democratic trade union movements in all lands during the past decade and particularly during this war has demonstrated that they are the firmest pillars of peace and democracy and the most uncompromising foes of all forms of tyranny and aggression, and

WHEREAS, Only the earliest possible re-establishment of powerful free and democratic trade unions can protect the workers of each union, assure a constantly rising standard of living to them and reduce and possibly eliminate the unfair competition in international trade of under-paid, regimented and exploited labor abroad which might otherwise constitute a most serious menace to our wage and living standards in America, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor recognizes the moral right and obligation of our labor movement to assist our fellow workers in other countries, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the Free Trade Union Committee of the Labor League for Human Rights, official relief arm of the American Federation of Labor, and call upon all affiliated organizations and members to support the campaign for the Free Trade Union Fund of \$1,000,000.00 in January, 1945, in order to assure prompt practical assistance

to the workers of liberated countries in Europe and Asia as well as to the workers of Central and South America in their efforts to organize free democratic trade unions, and that this fund shall be administered under the supervision of a special committee appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor which will issue public reports on all receipts and expenditures of the Fund.

In recommending concurrence in this resolution your Committee wishes to emphasize the importance of re-establishing of free trade unions throughout the world, and in accomplishing this it is imperative that we have the utmost cooperation not only of the trade unions but of the individual members of the organizations as represented by the American Federation of Labor throughout the land. To assure this support and cooperation, your Committee recommends that all national and international unions, as well as state federations of labor and city central bodies call upon their respective members to give their utmost support and cooperation in this campaign to promote free trade unionism throughout the world. It also recommends that the national and international unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor urge its organizers and representatives to cooperate in carrying this campaign to a successful conclusion, and that the American Federation of Labor likewise call upon its organizers and representatives to cooperate in a similar way.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Press

Resolution No. 159—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, as a result of deliberations on the subject of Labor Press a year ago in convention, authorized the appointment of a Standing Committee to be of service to the Labor Press, and

WHEREAS, The Labor Press in general has manifested keen interest in and deep appreciation for the service thus made possible, and

WHEREAS, It is the consensus of opinion of the Labor Press that this service be continued and if possible be improved upon during the coming year, and

WHEREAS, The continuance of this service will prove beneficial to both the Labor Press and the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Standing Committee of the American Federation of Labor be continued during the coming year; that it be enlarged by the inclusion of President Green and Secretary-Treasurer Meany in its membership and that it be authorized and empowered to render whatever aid or service it may deem feasible and practicable to render the greatest possible aid to the Labor Press.

In recommending the adoption of Resolution No. 159, your Committee also recommends that consideration be given to the providing of spot news to the Labor Press, as well as to the improving of the Weekly News Service, including the issuance of mat and cartoon service.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY: In connection with Resolution No. 157, your committee also considered Resolution No. 145, dealing with the same subject. They are as follows:

Condemning Racial and Religious Bigotry and Discrimination Against Minorities

Resolution No. 157—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Recent developments indicate the presence in this country of a considerable amount of racial tension, religious bigotry and anti-Semitism, setting Protestant against Catholic, Christian against Jew, white against colored, native Americans against foreign born citizens, and

WHEREAS, Anti-Semitism is used by Hitler and Axis inspired elements to sow dissension and mistrust in their effort to destroy the national unity so necessary to our successful conduct of this war and the conclusion of a firm and just peace, and

WHEREAS, Racial and religious discord plays into the hands of the enemies of organized labor who are trying to bring about the repeal or emasculation of the liberal social legislation added to our statute books and to tear down the American standard of living, and

WHEREAS, The same labor baiting forces will find group prejudice directed against Catholics, Negroes, Jews and other minorities an even more effective weapon to use in attempts to smash the unions in the post-war period, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, offering by its very existence living proof of the great good that comes of various groups working together toward one

common goal, has always contended that discrimination against minorities is inconsistent with the principles of democracy, which is the corner-stone of a free labor movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in the city of New Orleans, November, 1944, issue a warning to the American people against the danger of allowing the wave of racialism to rise in this country, and against the evil of discriminating against minorities, no matter who practices the discrimination and against what group it is directed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. be particularly cautioned to be on guard in their readjustment to post-war conditions, lest they fall victim to the disruptive attempts of the union-wreckers whose interests bigotry serves, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention demand the immediate abolition of the poll tax and the establishment, by act of Congress, of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, authorized to eliminate discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin, in private industry as well as in government work, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be urged to wage an unrelenting struggle against the groups responsible for the spreading of the poison of anti-Catholicism, anti-Protestantism, anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism and other forms of racial prejudice, and that the Executive Council give all possible support to the international and local unions in the undertaking and carrying out of an educational program calculated to promote tolerance, understanding, and amity among the various groups comprising the family of American organized labor.

Racial Discrimination

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly condemned discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin, and

WHEREAS, There are disturbing manifestations and tendencies in our nation that indicate that organized activities toward discrimination against peoples because of race, color, religion or national origin, and particularly toward anti-semitism are gaining a headway, and

WHEREAS, Such tendencies are definitely of Nazi technique, and if permitted to go unchecked, will endanger the internal unity of our nation, for the world has learned at heavy cost that organized anti-semitism is, in reality, Fascism's secret weapon and the beginning of the establishment of dictatorial control, and

WHEREAS, We have witnessed only too well the consequences of persecution of the Jewish people and its extension to the persecution of Catholics, Protestants, and to all minority groups as well as to native-born leaders with democratic ideals and principles, and

WHEREAS, We also know from the sorry experiences of our fellow trade unionists overseas that if the poison of race hatred and discrimination continues, it ultimately becomes an opening wedge toward the destruction of the ranks of organized labor itself, and

WHEREAS, It is most imperative that we be on guard against not only any disquieting influence that would seriously hamper the war effort so that speedy victory may be realized, but also the establishment of these vicious, undemocratic forces in the post-war era under the guise of false patriotism and so-called "protection" for Americans, which would tend to tear down the gains heretofore made by the labor movement through a disruption in its ranks, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the American Federation of Labor re-affirms its past position as a patriotic force in the life of our country and condemns any persecution of mankind in any form whatever and forewarns all Americans to be on guard against individual or collective groups that would breed disruption, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call for the enactment of federal legislation as a war-time measure and as a post-war measure, which will make organized discrimination such as anti-semitism, a criminal offense, punishable by imprisonment. We believe that such a law is essential for the preservation of our great democratic principles and for the protection of our Americans, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin, and for the ultimate protection of the trades union movement itself, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded by the Secretary to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate of the United States, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to the Majority and Minority Leaders of the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

Your Committee was of the opinion that Resolution No. 157 more adequately covered the subject and we therefore recommend the adoption of this resolution as the declaration of the Convention upon the subject, making unnecessary any specific action on Resolution No. 145.

The Recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Public Health

Resolution No. 160—By Delegates H. W. Brown, N. P. Alifas, D. M. Burrows, James Edgar, John Clayton, H. F. Nickerson,

George C. Castleman, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The public health services, Federal and State, have gradually encroached upon the field of labor departments, and

WHEREAS, The industrial work of State health departments has been fostered by and is still largely financed by Federal funds through the United States Public Health Service, and

WHEREAS, The use of these Federal funds is leading to confusion and duplication of inspection and increasing difficulty in enforcing labor laws for the protection of workers, and

WHEREAS, The public health services, having set up competing agencies without legal authority, are now fighting all attempts to strengthen State labor departments in carrying on their legal responsibilities for the protection of the health and safety of workers, and

WHEREAS, These public health authorities claim the credit for blocking passage of the Norton Bill, H. R. 2800, introduced at the request of the American Federation of Labor, to give Federal aid to build up State labor departments, and

WHEREAS, Public health authorities are now trying to secure the passage of the Miller Bill, H. R. 4663, to transfer major activities of various bureaus of the United States Department of Labor to the United States Public Health Service, and

WHEREAS, Similar action is contemplated in the State legislatures, and

WHEREAS, The experience of organized labor with doctors in workmen's compensation cases and other labor matters has been most unsatisfactory, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor views with alarm the efforts of medical men to assume control over safety and health matters, which are and always have been considered within the jurisdiction of labor departments, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor oppose the efforts of the public health authorities to encroach upon the work of the Federal and State Labor Departments and specifically oppose the Miller Bill and all other legislation of its type, Federal or State, to take industrial health matters away from labor departments.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Discriminatory Legislation In Distilling Industry

Resolution No. 161—By Delegates Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cilento, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, Attempts have been and are being made to seek the enactment of State laws which will place limitations on the manufacture and sale of more than one type of Alcoholic Beverage by a Distillery or Winery, and

WHEREAS, Such proposed legislation is by its very nature a barrier against a free flow of trade within the United States of America, and discriminatory against one group or one region and will injure the distilling and wine industry, and

WHEREAS, The enactment of such legislation will result in many instances in the serious displacement of wage earners in the industry with resultant hardship to members of the Distillery, Rectifiers and Wine Workers International Union and craftsmen members of other International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor employed in the alcoholic beverage industry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its President, instruct the various affiliated State Federations of Labor to keep a vigilant watch for such discriminatory legislation and to express their vigorous opposition to such measures.

Your committee recommends that the word "instruct" in the second line of the resolved be stricken out and the word "request" inserted in its place, and that with this amendment the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Equal Rights Amendment

Resolution No. 165—By Delegates Catherine Connelly, Can Workers Local Union 22623, Louise Collier, Ketchikan, Alaska, Central Labor Union, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers, Angela Bambace, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, Eva Schwartzman, Madison, Wisconsin, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, There has developed during the last two decades a movement which through a so-called equal rights amendment to the Constitution has sought to deny to women home makers and to women industrial workers the benefit of the laws which seek to assure to the child the support of his father, and to the workers the social protection of much needed labor legislation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled does reaffirm its support of every move which would afford women actual political and economic equality, and does therefore oppose the so-called Equal Rights Amendment which would vitiate family support laws and destroy all social protection now afforded to women and to the family, under the laws of the several states and the Federal Government, and be it further

RESOLVED. That we call upon our state federations of labor to continue the fight to have eliminated in their respective states all laws which deny women full political equality or which actually discriminate against women economically, and that at the same time we urge them to seek to preserve the laws essential to the protection of the child's support as a part of the family, the laws essential to the social and physical well being of women industrial workers, and be it further

RESOLVED. That this convention of the American Federation of Labor wire to the Republican and to the Democratic leaders of the Senate and of the House of Representatives our opposition to the so-called Equal Rights Amendment because this proposed amendment would destroy all existing customary law and statutes through which family support laws and laws protecting the social and the physical well being of American industrial workers.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution, and further recommends that the affiliated National and International Unions be requested to take similar action as called for in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair will interrupt now the report of the Committee on Resolutions for the purpose of presenting to you one of our speakers. Before doing so, however, the Chair recognizes Secretary Green of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report.

Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials

Delegate Green, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined the credential of Edward R. Quirk, representing Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20485, Providence, Rhode Island, and recommend that the delegate be seated with one vote.

Your Committee on Credentials reports that Martin Dwyer of the Building Service Employees' International Union will serve as delegate from that organization instead of William L. McFetridge, who found it necessary to leave the convention, and we recommend that Martin Dwyer be seated with 117 votes.

President Charles J. MacGowan, of the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, requests that the name of Ed. Rainbow be substituted for that of Harry Nacey.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You are all interested along with all other members of the American Federation of Labor in the work of the Workers' Education Bureau. We have received the annual report from the Director of the Bureau each year. You will recall for a number of years our old friend, Dr. Spencer Miller, was the Director and reported to us at our convention. Dr. Connors, the Director of the Bureau, is here now and I am pleased to present him to you—Brother John D. Connors.

MR. JOHN D. CONNORS (Director of the Workers Education Bureau of America)

President Green, Officers and Fellow Delegates to the Sixty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

During the past week scores of you have stopped at our exhibit in the lobby to secure literature and have asked me many questions concerning the past, present and future programs of the Workers Education Bureau—which, as you know, was founded 23 years ago to serve the trade union movement as the national agency in the development and extension of labor education.

It is not my intention, nor your wish, that I give you a lengthy and detailed account of all the activities of your educational agency during the past twelve months. Our program of labor institutes in which we cooperate with State federations, city central bodies, State universities and other educational institutions, has been continued. The main emphasis this year has been on labor's role in winning the war and planning for the demobilization and reconversion problems of the post-war period. Early in June, the 14th annual Rutgers Labor Institute was held in New Jersey. A detailed account of this and the other institute, conferences, our exchange lecturer plan and our many other educational services to the national and international unions, state federations, city central bodies, local and federal unions and the labor press, can be found beginning on page 228 of the Executive Council's report to this convention. This report is being critically examined by your convention Committee on Education and will be reported to this convention with specific recommendations at a subsequent session.

Instead of boring you with the record of past accomplishments, I prefer to discuss the role the Workers Education Bureau can play in the future as a dynamic force in building a stronger federation.

Last Tuesday evening, at a three-hour session of our annual Executive Committee presided over by our Chairman, Mathew Woll, we made extensive plans for revising our publications and printing new pamphlets

in modern illustrated format. Within the next month, our new bibliography, with suggestions for a labor library, will be printed and in the mail. We are now editing an up-to-date booklet entitled, "How To Run A Union Meeting," to be followed shortly by a new Shop Steward's Manual and other printed and visual material for which you and your affiliated unions have told us there is a crying need. If our limited budget will permit, we are planning to prepare electrical transcriptions modeled along the lines of the excellent broadcast "The Progress of Labor" which was originally produced by labor's own station WCFL in Chicago and was rebroadcast last Monday evening by the New Orleans station, WDSU. These transcriptions would be made available to all branches of the Federation for radio and educational work. We propose to inaugurate a streamlined educational program to assist State federations and city central body officials, together with local business agents and international representatives in preparing for hearings before the numerous Government agencies—both State and Federal—and to cooperate with them in meeting the avalanche of new obligations and responsibilities which have recently descended upon them.

During recent months, through the indefatigable efforts of Arnold Zander, an active member of our Executive Committee, there has been established a local Workers Education Bureau in Madison, Wisconsin. We propose to help build more of these "grass root" local bureaus during the coming months.

No report of your Workers Education Bureau during these past 12 months would be complete without a word of tribute to the memory of James H. Maurer, Veteran Labor Leader and President of the Bureau from its inception in 1921 to 1929—who passed into "The Great Beyond" at his home in Reading, Pa., on March 16th last. Dr. Spencer Miller, Jr., former Director, who worked so closely with Mr. Maurer during those years, delivered the following eulogy in part at his funeral on March 21:

"James Maurer had little formal education but he had great wisdom; the workshop, the marketplace, and the trade union hall were his classroom. At sixteen he could neither read nor write; yet he became an avid reader and a writer of vigorous prose. He loved people and dedicated his life to the service of his fellow workers.

"It was particularly fitting that this unlettered worker, who by dint of intensive self-education became so wise, should have been elected as the first President of the Workers Education Bureau. James Maurer was at once an authentic, courageous, and progressive leader of American labor. He was a living example of what self-education could do for an adult worker.

"James Maurer was President of the Bureau during its pioneer days. His counsel and humor carried it over many a rough place. His faith in the future of the labor movement was exceeded only by his belief in the power for good of such a movement, when its members and leaders are progres-

sive in outlook and informed as to their social responsibilities.

"When he laid down his duties as President of the Bureau in 1929, his interest in workers' education and the Bureau did not end. When his autobiography was being written, he turned to the Bureau for aid in its preparation and publication. He received the help he so richly deserved.

"He was a valiant fighter for every cause in which he believed. Like Valiant-for-Truth in 'Pilgrim's Progress,' he could say: 'My marks and scars I carry with me, to be a witness for me, that I have fought his battles who now will be my rewarder'."

For many years, the Workers Education Bureau has been the educational arm of the American Federation of Labor. An arm that, although it is in constant use, is not utilized to its utmost because, my friends, of your passive and indifferent attitude to the important question of educating our members as to what our aims, principles and program for their economic and social advancement really are.

Among the important questions discussed at this 64th Annual Parliament of Labor has been the preservation and extension of free trade unions throughout the world. It is indeed an important and vital question and we must do everything humanly possible to re-educate those masses of workers who have lived so long under the yoke of a totalitarian state in many lands, but don't you think, fellow delegates, that it is about time that we gave more than mere lip service to the question of educating our own seven millions of organized workers—particularly those millions who are sometimes referred to as "war babies?"

Are we going to permit these "war babies" to leave our ranks after this war is won as they did following World War I? Are we under the false illusion that the millions of newly organized workers are not interested in the principles and aims of the American Federation of Labor? I don't believe that anyone in this auditorium wants to see our ranks depleted and become the victims of selfish, rabble-rousing demagogues who do not recognize in American trade unionism a means for the social and economic security of every American worker and his family.

It is said that in order to understand the present and future problems that arise in connection with the destiny of the American worker and his family, it is necessary to study and understand the past. How much have we done to tell the millions of American workers that the social and economic advantages which they enjoy today—yes, and before the war—are due, to a large extent, to the untiring yeoman service in the field of social and labor legislation by the valiant pioneers—many of whom I see sitting on all sides of me today. You have never stopped fighting for the righteous cause of American trade unionism. In fact, you have grown in stature to the degree that today we, of the American Federation of Labor, are recognized as the largest and most powerful democratic force of free men and women in the world.

Now that I have given many of you your just praise, I want to take you over the coals a bit with what I hope—in fact, I know, you will regard as constructive criticism. Let's face

the facts, and the brutal fact is, that it is impossible to carry on the type of educational program we should have with the limited personnel of three full-time persons and the inadequate budget that you have provided for your Educational Bureau.

I note with interest the expressions on your faces. You are all obviously interested in what I am saying. In fact, I am sure that you agree with what I am saying, but what are we going to do about it? Is this report and recommendation that our budget be increased going to fall on passive ears and minds as it has in the past? Is this going to be just another perennial report? Ask yourselves that question! I hope not!

Millions of our members want to know about the American Federation of Labor. They are not illiterate. They can read and are willing to read. They can listen and are willing to listen. But though it is true that buttons perform an important function for button holes, and vice versa—printers, radio stations, lecturers and full-time field representatives must be paid in the coin of the realm for their services.

Friends, speaking very candidly, we haven't enough money in our budget to undertake the educational program that is so essential to our movement.

Now, don't think for one moment that we have been asleep on the job—through volunteers, and the splendid cooperation of many within our ranks, we are carrying on, but the torch is not being held high enough, nor is the flame of the Bureau's program bright enough for all within our ranks to see it. By limiting the activities of our educational program, we are selling workers education short!

World War II veterans—millions of whom never belonged to labor unions, will want to know more about us when they return. What better medium can you think of to inform these veterans about our fight for the preservation of some of the principles they have fought and bled for, than a program prepared by us for them to read, hear and see upon their re-entering the social and economic life of our great democracy?

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union recently sent to many union halls throughout this country a poster which has on it the slogan, "Man Does Not Live By Bread Alone." Yes, my friends, man does not live by bread alone! Within the hearts of the most intellectual, to the most hard-boiled amongst us, a degree of idealism still burns, and in some, the flame is greater than in others. The miner, the baker, the butcher, the teamster, the building tradesmen, the metal tradesmen and the garment worker, along with many others, want to know more and more and still more about their place, their functions as trade unions. It is our duty to tell them more than we have heretofore. Nothing in this world is static and President Green has stated, "Nothing in this world is perfect." But we can march forward together, contributing to a greater degree of perfection with a sounder and more comprehensive program of education for our members of today and our members of tomorrow and our friends.

We are now negotiating with President Green and Secretary Meany for a modest emergency subsidy to help finance the inauguration of this streamlined program.

Since grants from educational foundations have ceased, our Bureau must depend exclusively upon the trade union movement for financial support. Frankly, we have been operating at a deficit during the past year. It is vitally important, therefore, that our basis of support be widened and increased to enable us to better serve the National and Internationals, State federations, city central bodies, local and Federal unions, actively affiliated with the Federation, along with the labor press.

We are going to solicit greater financial support from the executive councils of international unions and from your strong locals. When we come—do not merely listen to us courteously and place your hands on our shoulders and tell us you believe in the important work we are performing and of the great need for its expansion and extension. Instead—come through with the wherewithal to finance a basic grass roots workers education program for our seven million members.

Lip service is something that belongs to the realm of professional politicians, not in the realm of free democratic American trade unionism.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank Brother Connors for his address. He has spoken to us plainly and we do not misunderstand what he has said. He has made clear his objective and the needs of the Bureau over which he presides.

Please accept these recommendations and these statements in a very sincere way and respond as fully as possible to the appeal which he has made.

DELEGATE ZANDER, State, County and Municipal Employees: May I say just a word? I realize how unpopular one is in speaking at this hour, but I would like three minutes on this question.

About two years ago President Green asked me if I would serve on the Executive Board of the Workers Education Bureau. I told him I would be very happy to do so. You have heard these reports year in and year out, but I should like to raise two points now briefly.

One is that the work of the Bureau will be successful only insofar as we can get the support of the national and international unions. That has been covered, Brother Connors has spoken about that, and it needs no further amplification from me.

The second point is one also very briefly referred to in the report Brother Connors has just made. We have talked about institutes and lectures and a lot of those things which are put on now and then

as we have travelling shows put on for us. Some of us felt we should do something a little more concrete, on a purely local level, and in an effort to do that we moved into a community on a experimental basis. We tried in that community to enlist the support of the local membership of the trade union movement. We said we wanted membership support and membership participation and membership activity in behalf of workers' education. We said that workers' education, as we talked about it before, would have very little if any meaning until we could get members as members interested and active in the work. We said, as many of us have said in our own trade union activities, we must build a vehicle through which the members can participate and through which they can speak.

Here, then, was a straight organization job; here was the usual problem of building the mechanism for expression. And so we started out on a membership basis and in a small community with a membership in the trade unions of about 9,000, we now have a majority enlisted on a purely individual membership basis in a local Workers' Education Bureau. Here we are trying to give expression to this thought that the members themselves must be included and enlisted and must give impetus to the activities we are trying to carry forward. This little experiment proved that members are interested, that they can be enrolled on an individual membership basis.

You may say, what are they doing about it? When they started paying one cent per

member per month through their unions into the local educational movement they immediately said, "We are paying our money, let's have some action, let's have some courses, let's have some work in which we can engage." They have gone forward, and beginning this Fall several courses are being given under the guidance and under the pressure and with the insistence of individual members in a local movement and they are guiding that program, they are saying what they want and how they want it. They are specifying and asking for delivery of a product on a definite basis.

I outline this in some detail because I think we might be able to do the same kind of thing in a great many communities throughout the country. I believe there is an answer in this for us who are interested in workers' education to get our membership involved and interested so that they themselves give the urge to the movement.

Having something at the top level is quite a different thing from having some activity at the bottom level, and in this whole little experiment which is going forward, there is a drive and a push from the individual members which we think we sorely need.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The hour of adjournment having arrived, the convention will stand recessed until 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

At 12:35 o'clock P. M. the convention was recessed until 2:30 o'clock P. M.

SEVENTH DAY — WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

November 29, 1944

The convention was called to order at 2:35 P. M. by President Green.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The convention will please be in order. The chair recognizes Secretary McDevitt of the Building Trades Committee for report at this time. We will interrupt the report of the Resolutions Committee to receive this report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDEVITT:
Your Committee gave consideration to Res-

olutions Nos. 107, 108 and 112. They are as follows:

Contract System for Post-War Government Construction

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, Continued employment in the post-war period is of vital importance to our members and the welfare of our organization, and

WHEREAS, The promotion of programs of construction of public works by Federal, State and City governments and subdivisions thereof will aid the construction industry and give our members employment, and

WHEREAS, Although some progress has been made in the matter of developing plans, specifications and estimates for post-war construction by Federal, State and City governments and their subdivisions, it appears that continued effort is necessary, and

WHEREAS, The promotion of programs of post-war construction should not be left to develop by itself but should receive the active support of industry and labor and all governmental agencies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse and actively support and develop programs of post-war construction by Federal, State and City governments and their subdivisions and that the resultant projects be constructed under the contract system, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its departments assist and encourage all agencies which deal with programs of post-war construction.

Contract System for Government Construction

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The possibility exists that, in the period following the war, construction activities may fall to a low level with consequent unemployment, and

WHEREAS, There are now under consideration plans calling for the construction of public works as a means of stimulating the construction industry and/or providing some degree of protection against unemployment, and

WHEREAS, The Baruch Report urges the consideration of such plans in order to be prepared, should occasion arise, to lessen the evils of unemployment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing such plans, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention be recorded as urging that any plans for the construction of public works which may be adopted be undertaken through the contract system.

Private Contract System for Government Construction

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. De-

laney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, In many different areas along the West Coast the Government through the instrumentalities of the Department of War, the Department of the Navy, the United States Maritime Commission or other of its agencies has taken over the construction of projects which heretofore have been constructed by private contractors, and,

WHEREAS, An inevitable consequence of this transfer of construction projects into the hands of the Government has been a sharp reduction in the wages of those of our members who are there employed because of the fact that wage rates fixed by the Civil Service Commission are in many cases twenty-five to fifty per cent below those fixed for members of this organization by collective bargaining agreements, and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of decent wage levels and thus the health of our trade depends upon the health and vitality of a construction industry conducted by private enterprise, and

WHEREAS, The entrance of government into this field has caused undue hardship to our members, has made difficult the enforcement of agreements, has brought an element of unfair competition into the construction industry and tends to reduce it to a state of chaos, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled in the sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor respectfully petition the government that the contract system be maintained in the construction industry and that wherever possible projects taken over by agencies of the government be returned to private contractors, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of Labor, the Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission and to such other parties as the American Federation of Labor may deem necessary or advisable.

As stated in these resolutions, a pressing need exists to secure affirmative assurance that all construction sponsored, aided, supervised or directly undertaken by the federal, state or local governments be carried out by private contractors under a contract system.

Your committee recommends the approval of these resolutions.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously approved.

Highway Construction

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. De-

laney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, During the years of the war the established program of highway construction has been interrupted, and

WHEREAS, Because of that interruption, together with the rapidly developing changes in the commercial and industrial needs of the country, there is today an enormous pent-up demand for highway construction, and

WHEREAS, State and national legislation looking toward the development and execution of a plan to meet those changes, is currently under discussion, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as supporting such legislation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention be recorded as urging that any program of highway construction that may be adopted be undertaken through the contract system.

To speed post-war growth of industry and trade, rapid development of large scale highway construction is of strategic importance and will help greatly in the nation's effort to achieve full employment. In recommending the adoption of this resolution, we urge that every effort be made by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions to secure the necessary authorizations and appropriations for a large scale highway construction program.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously approved.

Construction Wage Rates

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, By reason of the war effort a large volume of construction is currently being carried forward by the Department of War, the Department of the Navy, the United States Maritime Commission and other agencies of the government, and

WHEREAS, Upon initiation by the representatives of the several agencies of the government the rates of wages fixed by the Civil Service Commission are frequently made applicable to those of our members who are employed on those construction projects, and

WHEREAS, Those rates of wages are generally substantially lower than those paid our members under the provisions of agreements entered into with employers privately engaged in the construction industry thus causing a definite loss in earnings, discon-

tent and a deep sense of injustice, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take active and aggressive steps looking toward the discontinuance of this practice.

Assurance that union rates of pay be maintained on all construction work undertaken by the government or with government aid is essential to safeguard the established wage standards throughout the building and construction industry. We ask that specific action be promptly taken by the American Federation of Labor in cooperation with its Building and Construction Trades Department to insure payment of standard union wages on all government construction work. We also recommend that action be taken to secure the amendment of the National Housing Act which would assure the payment of not less than prevailing wages on all housing on which mortgages are insured by the FHA. With these recommendations, we ask the approval of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously approved.

WAR HOUSING

(Executive Council's Report, pages 251-254; Resolution No. 146)

We report jointly on the portion of the Executive Council's Report dealing with war housing and on Resolution No. 146 dealing with the veterans' rights in war housing. It is as follows:

Veterans' Rights in Defense Housing

Resolution No. 146—By the Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, California.

WHEREAS, The housing situation is still acute and occupancy of Defense Housing is now limited to war workers, and

WHEREAS, The families and dependents of the men and women now serving in our armed forces, or the families and dependents of men and women who have died in combat or from sickness or wounds received while defending the home of these same war workers, are not considered on equal terms with war workers insofar as being allowed to rent or buy into Defense Housing, and

WHEREAS, Veterans who are unable to secure a job in war plants, by reason of dis-

ability, cannot qualify for a "V" card admitting them to the same status as war workers with regard to renting or buying into Defense Housing, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor Veterans' Employment and Rehabilitation Service Overall Committee believes that the families and dependents of the men and women who are now risking their lives for us and the disabled veterans should be afforded the same privileges as war workers, and

WHEREAS, These facts should be brought to the attention of the proper authorities, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor direct the attention of the proper authorities to the facts surrounding the situation and request that dependents of men and women now serving in the armed forces, and veterans with dependents, even if receiving compensation for disability and/or education at government expense, or any other recompense for his services as is now or will be in the future made into law, be granted equal rights to Defense Housing as war workers.

We note the limitations and inadequacies of the war housing program reported by the Executive Council. Insufficient provision of housing in a great many war production areas, unwillingness of the National Housing Agency to program rental housing and its failure to press for public war housing, have worked extreme hardship on many thousands of war workers, led to forced sales of homes at greatly inflated prices to workers in temporary war jobs, resulted in hidden and unreported increases in the cost of living, impaired health, efficiency and morale of those engaged in war production and war services and created conditions detrimental to the war effort. Stubborn refusal of the National Housing Administrator to accord labor effective representation in the national and local phases of war housing administration and lack of reliance on local housing authorities for determination of local housing requirements, are in a large measure responsible for the failure of the war housing program to meet the workers' critical war need for adequate shelter.

Labor must insist that adequate provision of dwelling accommodations be assured by Congress and the National Housing Administration in every community dominated by the war effort in which critical shortages continue to exist. War housing is a necessary instrumentality for the winning of the war. It must not be laid aside until the war is won nor be allowed to become a tool for promotion of private interests.

Eligibility to occupy war housing must be extended to all war workers and their families as well as to families of all members of the armed forces and families of all veterans who have served their country.

With these recommendations we ask for the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report and of the purposes of Resolution No. 146.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HOUSING (LEGISLATION)

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 175-177)

We commend the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor for its comprehensive report on housing legislation and for its vigilant work in cooperation with the A. F. of L. Housing Committee to safeguard and advance the interests of wage-earners in this all-important field.

We recommend the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously approved.

POST-WAR HOUSING

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 162-166; also Resolutions 110, 111 and 114)

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDEVITT:

We report jointly on the portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with Post-War Housing and on Resolutions Nos. 110, 111 and 114. The resolutions are as follows:

Housing and Slum Clearance

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In every large city of the United States and in lesser degree in many smaller towns there are widespread slum areas where poverty, filth, boredom and despair befall the air, breed vermin, deadly germs and epidemics, and are the generators of the greatest percentage of criminals, juvenile delinquents and physical and mental defects, and

WHEREAS, All of these evils ultimately spread over the rest of the cities and the nation and affect adversely the welfare, security, health and life of all people, destroy property values and increase taxes to meet the continuous and ever increasing costs for building and maintenance of hospitals, reformatories, asylums and penal institutions, together with the growing armies of attendants, judges, court clerks, guards, police and charitable assistance for the care of the physically, mentally and morally defective of the slum areas, the combined destructive power of which to life, property and earnings are proven to be greater than that of our wars with foreign enemies, and

WHEREAS, All of these conditions are primarily due to the deliberate failure and gross neglect to maintain the slum properties in decent living and sanitary condition thereby robbing millions of employment and thus pauperizing them, forcing them to live in slums at rentals that have paid many times over the cost of building to their owners, and compared to cost of maintenance much higher than in moderate and high class neighborhoods, paying dividends which have enabled many a junk dealer and slum property owner to rise to political czardom and social prominence in certain of our great cities, and

WHEREAS, The remedy of these conditions by local and state governments is made impossible by political and money power and the costs for caring of the sick, the destitute and the criminals of the slum areas by government and charitable agencies constitute in fact a bounty to the owners of slum properties adding to their riches and their political power to prevent the elimination of these plague spots which to them is an easy source of income but to the people a deadly peril, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the perils to health, life, property and welfare of the nations being as great and greater than in war the same rules and regulations should apply for the protection of the people. We favor the enactment of laws setting up minimum standards for decent housing, federal supervision and federal agencies duty bound and authorized to step in wherever local or state governments fail to enforce and maintain the prescribed standards for housing, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in all post-war reconversion and re-employment plans we urge that first place be given to housing needs and slum clearance before any other public works of highways, parks or little or unused field houses and public buildings are projected; projects often used to detract attention from the main cause of unemployment to enrich certain monopolies of basic materials, raise taxes and are insufficient to meet the needs for employment and national security, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor approve and present to the elected representatives of our national legislature a request to prepare and introduce a bill embodying these principles in the Congress of the United States.

Housing

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The shortage of housing throughout the nation, accumulated through the years of depression and recovery and greatly aggravated by the halt of residential construction during the war has created an acute need for dwelling accommodations among all income classes and in all parts of our land, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor estimates that to meet this need a broad and comprehensive program reaching within five years a stable level of housing construction of 1,750,000 dwelling units a year is both necessary and possible of attainment, and

WHEREAS, The attainment of this level of construction is necessary to provide full employment to building mechanics and laborers and to workers in related basic industries and to keep this employment stable, and

WHEREAS, It is the solemn purpose of organized labor that the years following victory do not become a period of mass unemployment, distress and poverty but mark the era of reconstruction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled utilize all resources and the resources of its affiliated organizations in their command to effectuate the following post-war housing program.

I Private Housing

1. To assure attainment of home ownership and access to new, durable, well designed homes in well-planned neighborhoods to the great mass of wage-earners the laws governing FHA mortgage insurance be amended to (a) limit the rate of interest to not more than one per cent above the going federal rate of interest; (b) protect the equity of the home buyer compelled to move due to loss of work or other causes by means of some form of equity insurance; (c) prescribe more effective minimum standards of sound construction and durability; (d) extend the amortization period to 32 years; and (e) require that not less than prevailing wages be paid on all home construction subject to FHA insurance.

2. To achieve full measure of protection to wage-earners against loss of their savings as a result of home purchases without full knowledge of the nature and quality of housing bought and of the financial burden involved and to relate home ownership to stable incomes and employment, every effort should be made to establish, in cooperation with the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, advisory service to our membership sponsored by every central labor union, regarding home financing, location, design, durability and other information essential for sound home ownership.

II Public Housing

3. Resumption and expansion of the slum clearance and rehousing program of the United States Housing Authority, suspended for the duration of the war, to provide decent homes to families of low income whom private enterprise cannot reach should be pressed with the view of achieving an annual rate of 500,000 dwelling units a year to be built under local programs of properly constituted local housing authorities.

4. To perfect the slum clearance and low rent housing program provision should be made for greater reliance by the local housing authorities on private financing instead of federal borrowing.

5. Full measure of effective labor representation should be achieved on all local housing authorities and state and federal housing agencies.

III Cooperative Housing

6. Where unemployment stability is assured provision should be made for mutual home-ownership by wage-earners under proper safeguards. Labor organizations should take initiative to make mutual home ownership possible of permanent war housing projects now occupied by war workers and to prevent the transfer of these projects, built with public funds, to speculators.

IV Urban Redevelopment

7. Virtual stoppage of construction in war-time provides an unprecedented opportunity to wisely plan the rebuilding of our towns and cities for sound and stable growth. To this end provision should be made vesting the responsibility for assembly of land in properly constituted housing and planning agencies of every municipality. Local standards of development should be established, extending controls to outlying suburban areas to prevent unchecked growth of jerry-built unplanned suburban slums at the expense of downtown areas of our cities. Labor should seek representation on city planning commissions and all agencies of local government concerned with urban redevelopment.

V Local Housing Committees

8. Each Central Labor Union, in cooperation with the local Building and Construction Trades Council, should establish a standing local Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, to further the interests of wage-earners of the community in sound and well planned housing development and to press for the enactment of legislation necessary to that end.

Post-War Housing

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The shortage of housing throughout the nation, accumulated through the years of depression and recovery and greatly aggravated by the halt of residential construction during the war has created an acute need for dwelling accommodations among all income classes and in all parts of our land, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor estimates that to meet this need a broad and comprehensive program reaching within five years of a stable level of housing construction of 1,750,000 dwelling units a year is both necessary and possible of attainment, and

WHEREAS, The attainment of this level of construction is necessary to provide full employment to building mechanics and la-

borers and to workers in related basic industries and to keep this employment stable, and

WHEREAS, It is the solemn purpose of organized labor that the years following victory do not become a period of mass unemployment, distress and poverty but mark the era of reconstruction, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled utilize all resources and the resources of its affiliated organizations at their command to effectuate the following post-war housing program:

I Private Housing

1. To assure attainment of home-ownership and access to new, durable, well-designed homes in well-planned neighborhoods to the great mass of wage-earners the laws governing FHA mortgage insurance be amended to (a) limit the rate of interest to not more than one per cent above the going federal rate of interest; (b) protect the equity of the home buyer compelled to move due to loss of work or other causes by means of some form of equity insurance; (c) prescribe more effective minimum standards of sound construction and durability; (d) extend the amortization period to 32 years; and (e) require that not less than prevailing wages be paid on all home construction subject to federal FHA insurance.

2. To achieve full measure of protection to wage earners against loss of their savings as the result of home purchases without full knowledge of the nature and quality of housing bought and of the financial burden involved and to relate home-ownership to stable incomes and employment every effort should be made to establish, in cooperation with the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, advisory service to our membership, sponsored by every Central Labor Union, regarding home financing, location, design, durability and other information essential for sound home-ownership.

II Public Housing

3. Resumption and expansion of the slum clearance and rehousing program of the United States Housing Authority, suspended for the duration of the war, to provide decent homes to families of low income whom private enterprise cannot reach, should be pressed with the view of achieving an annual rate of 500,000 dwelling units a year to be built under local program of properly constituted local housing authorities.

4. To perfect the slum clearance and low rent housing program, provision should be made for greater reliance by the local housing authorities on private financing instead of federal borrowing.

5. Full measure of effective labor representation should be achieved on all local housing authorities and state and federal housing agencies.

III Cooperative Housing

6. Where employment stability is as-

sured provision should be made for mutual home-ownership by wage earners under proper safeguards. Labor organizations should take initiative to make mutual home ownership possible of permanent war housing projects now occupied by war workers and to prevent the transfer of these projects, built with public funds, to speculators.

IV Urban Redevelopment

7. Virtual stoppage of construction in war-time provides an unprecedented opportunity to wisely plan the rebuilding of our towns and cities for sound and stable growth. To this end provision should be made vesting the responsibility for assembly of land in properly constituted housing and planning agencies of every municipality. Local standards of development should be established, extending controls to outlying suburban areas to prevent unchecked growth of jerry-built unplanned suburban slums at the expense of downtown areas of our cities. Labor should seek representation on city planning commissions and all agencies of local government concerned with urban redevelopment.

V Local Housing Committees

8. Each Central Labor Union, in cooperation with the local Building and Construction Trades Council, should establish a standing local Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, to further the interests of wage earners of the community in sound and well-planned housing development and to press for the enactment of legislation necessary to that end.

Your committee is in full accord with the principles and procedures of the nation's post-war housing policy enunciated by the Executive Council and find these to be in full conformity with the objectives of the resolutions dealing with this subject. We recommend that to carry into effect the post-war housing program of the American Federation of Labor, legislative action, federal, state and local be undertaken in order to assure sound and rapid development of housing construction on a large scale throughout the nation. To this end informational services should be provided by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor in order to make possible fullest participation on the part of central labor unions, building and construction trades councils and all of our affiliates in support of the proposals advanced by the American Federation of Labor. We commend this program of affirmative action to all our affiliated unions as a rallying point for labor in its efforts to attain full employment after the war.

Your committee is mindful of the need to mobilize not only organized labor but the public opinion as well, in support of the plans and sound construction principles advocated by the A. F. of L. housing program. We wish to stress the need to maintain and enforce high standards of durable home construction and of sound neighborhood and community planning. The standards of construction embodied in building codes must be maintained to assure safety and promote a high standard of health and welfare in the community. Building codes' standards must not be impaired on the pretext that changes are necessary to achieve low cost construction. Low cost housing must not be cheap housing. Minimum standards of construction should be assured by federal, state and local regulations.

We wish to stress the fact that the provisions of the housing title of the G. I. Bill of Rights fail to protect the veterans. There is need for prompt legislative and administrative action to safeguard the interests of veterans left unprotected and to integrate the veteran housing program into a unified housing program for the entire nation under a unified administration.

With these recommendations, your committee recommends the approval of these resolutions and of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendations of the committee were unanimously approved.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 280-281)

Your committee takes this opportunity to congratulate the officers and members of the Building and Construction Trades Department on the outstanding record of achievement, not only on behalf of the mechanics and laborers in the building and construction industry but also to the entire nation through their constant and effective furtherance of the war effort. This record of growth and leadership is an assurance to the American people that the skills and resources of the union building tradesmen will perform a real service in enriching America when the peace is won.

We recommend the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously approved.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDEVITT:

Mr. President, that completes the report which is signed by the following members:

William J. McSorley, Chairman
James L. McDevitt, Secretary
Joseph V. Moreschi
F. B. Comfort
Charles B. Gramling
John H. Lyons
Martin P. Durkin
Wm. J. Bowen
C. W. Sickles
Pete Yablonski
G. X. Barker
J. M. Gavlak
M. J. McDonough
John J. Conway
H. E. Wood
C. A. Fink
Earl E. Thomas
Laurence Foley
James J. Ryan
Paul A. Givens

COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES.

I move, Mr. President that the report be adopted as a whole.

The motion was seconded, and the report was adopted as a whole by unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you very much, Brother McDevitt.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We will now resume the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Delegate John P. Frey, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

INTRODUCTION

(Page 104, Executive Council's Report)

Your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RETIREMENT PLAN FOR A. F. OF L. EMPLOYEES

(Page 125, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption "Retirement Plan for A. F. of L. Employees" the Executive Council reports on the progress of the study and consideration being made by its members. The Executive Council plans to give further study to the subject with the hope that some practical plan will be formulated.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report, with the recommendation that the Executive Council be empowered to put in effect any practical plan when the Council has agreed upon it.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS

(Page 167, Executive Council's Report)

Your committee appreciates the information given in this portion of the Executive Council's report, and recommends approval.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ARMED SERVICES

(Page 171, Executive Council's Report)

In this portion of the Executive Council's report information is supplied as to the legislative activities during the past year, in connection with the armed services. Your committee therefore recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

(Page 171, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption, "National Labor Relations Board," the Executive Council com-

ments on what is commonly known as the Frey rider to the Appropriation Bill to the National Labor Relations Board, and reports that the same restriction upon the National Labor Relations Board's discretionary authority was re-enacted by Congress this year.

The Executive Council points out that as a result of this amendment to the NLRB appropriation, the raiding tactics of the CIO were materially lessened, and in many instances entirely dropped. Because of this diminution of raiding, Congress received definite proof of the wisdom of this amendment.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RIVERS AND HARBORS

(Page 183, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption, "Rivers and Harbors", the Executive Council reports upon H. R. 3961 covering projects for the improvement of rivers, harbors and other waterways in order to aid navigation, develop power, provide flood control, etc.

Attention is also called to the Bill as reported by the Senate Committee on Commerce which apparently contains "jokers" designed to favor utility interests.

The Executive Council calls attention to the fact that it will press for the taking out of the objectional Senate Committee amendment, and also press for the enactment of H. R. 3961 during the coming session.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES

(Page 184, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption, "Railroad Employees," the Executive Council presents information

concerning the recent increases in wages secured by the Railroad Labor Organizations, and gives a condensed presentation of what followed after the Railroad Labor Organizations had requested their increase in September, 1942.

This portion of the Executive Council's report is information. Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CARE OF CHILDREN AND MOTHERS

(Page 186, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption, "Care of Children and Mothers," the Executive Council reports on S. 1130 introduced by Senator Thomas, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. This portion of the Executive Council's report is a report on legislation which has been introduced, and the sums allotted to the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

Your committee believes the information contained is of most practical value to those interested in the care of children and mothers. Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SUBSIDIES

(Page 187, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption "Subsidies," the Executive Council reports upon its activities in connection with appropriate legislation relative to subsidies, and its effort to have subsidies previously approved by the American Federation of Labor continued.

Your committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNEED EMPLOYES OF CONTRACTORS

**(Pages 188-189, Executive Council's
Report)**

Under the caption "Interned Employees of Contractors" the Executive Council reports the effects made in the 77th and 78th Congress to secure passage of bills or amendments providing benefits to interned employees of contractors on public works outside of the United States or in Alaska.

The Executive Council is to be commended for its efforts to secure the legislation required. Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PHARMACY CORPS, U. S. ARMY

**(Page 189, Executive Council's
Report)**

Under the caption "Pharmacy Corps, U. S. Army," the Executive Council reports that the Congress has enacted legislation creating a Pharmacy Corps, U. S. Army.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WORLD PEACE

**(Page 279, Executive Council's
Report)**

We recommend concurrence in the principles which the Executive Council proposes as the basis for world peace. The nations of the world live together in what technical progress has made one community. So completely have distances been conquered and so disastrous the weapons of war that if we would have peace we must organize to deal with aggression. Yet power to deal with aggression must respect the rights of nations which in turn must assure individuals those rights which guarantee personal

freedom. The United Nations must not set up new agencies through which the powerful can dictate to other nations.

As the Executive Council points out, since World War I we have experimented with some international agencies and the only one that has endured through peace and war is the agency which brought into its work representatives of functional groups of many lands—the International Labor Organization. The tripartite basis on which this agency was organized has brought into its administrative and legislative work representatives of the government, the employers and the workers of all countries affiliated with it. These representatives in turn, reporting back to the groups they represented, had a concern and responsibility for their work in their home lands as well as in the international office. We believe that by extending the representative principle to other agencies we can develop a sense of responsibility on the part of the citizens of all countries for the policies and activities of the United Nations that will make for genuine efforts to maintain the peace. It would be a serious mistake to delegate full responsibility for world peace to the diplomats and other statesmen. It is the citizenry of the world who have a burning desire to end the situation which periodically sends their young men to the battlefield. They should have a voice and a responsibility in maintaining world peace.

As the Executive Council intimates in its insistence that only bona fide trade unions shall be the agencies to designate representatives of workers, so bona fide organizations of other functional groups shall designate representatives of their groups.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

POST-WAR PLANNING COMMITTEE

**(Page 257, Executive Council's
Report)**

Your committee recommends that this convention express its appreciation for the constructive work of the Post-War Planning Committee and its notable contributions in the form of a post-war program and a national forum for the discussion of various

post-war problems. The Federation's post-war program was one of the first national documents formulating the goals we hope to achieve through the war and setting up post-war agencies for peace. The Federation realizes we are living in a world community of nations and that unless we organize this community for peace we cannot escape the recurrence of wars. We believe that such world organization is necessary to achieve our sovereign will for peace and instead of limiting our authority and power, makes possible a fuller realization of the spirit and constructive purposes of our people.

As this document points out, there must be equal care to maintain peace on the home front as in world affairs and peace can result only from social justice. For individuals as well as nations, security, a good life and justice must be possible for all.

The committee has outlined the necessary steps to carry us through the transitional period after war is ended. Many of these recommendations have as yet not been adopted as public policy or preparations made by private agencies to achieve maximum levels of employment and production. We are keenly aware that despite much talk of the desirability of full employment with high national income, unless plans and agencies are coordinated to achieve the goal it will never achieve reality. Unless business enterprises and free unions can team together to realize maximum production, we shall have unprecedented unemployment with millions looking to the government for relief, and deflation undercutting the security of investors, management and workers.

We believe that military and production results are such that our Post-War Planning Committee should be reorganized and charged with responsibility for following employment trends by industries, by regions and by areas, and for consultation with employers, with international unions and with representatives of private organizations and governmental agencies, for the advancement and maintenance of employment, for the maintenance of consumers purchasing power at levels that will maintain high levels of employment, and for the maintenance of industrial conditions that assure personal freedom and justice to individual workers and free enterprise for employers.

The welfare of individuals is so closely interrelated and interdependent that only by

the procedures and principles of cooperation can we approximate security for all with high standards of living.

We shall need approximately 60 million jobs to provide for all an opportunity to earn a living. The obligations of our Federal Government will necessitate a federal budget of approximately \$20 billions. If taxation to produce this sum is not to be unduly oppressive there must be a high national income so that incidents of taxation shall fall on the greatest number of persons. With a national work force of 65 millions we have produced a gross national product of \$196 billions; with a work force of 60 millions, gross national production should approximate \$173 billions. These figures give us the boundaries within which adjustments will be made.

Changes back to civilian production are already in progress as some military schedules are filled. Production of the weapons of war will continue for replacements or changes in warfare which increase orders in excess of anticipation, and to supply the improvements as use in battle indicates the need.

V-E Day will bring orders sharply cutting war production which will drop still more sharply after V-J Day. Only quick return to civilian production with its rapid expansion can save us from serious unemployment in the transition and after full reconversion. Your committee believes the Post-War Planning Committee should be reorganized and converted into an Employment Committee. To be effective such a representative committee should have the necessary technical and administrative assistance to do an effective job as and when needed. The funds necessary should be allocated to the committee which should make quarterly reports.

We suggest that this Employment Committee consist of the present chairman, representatives of each of the Departments, of minority groups, women workers, the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. This committee shall be the planning and policy making group with an executive committee for administrative purposes.

The activities of such a committee would rely heavily upon a public relations department which has been recommended by past conventions.

By awareness of what is happening and changes in trends, by having in readiness persons responsible for transmitting information and submitting alternate courses of policy, and for bringing together persons and groups concerned in problems, much can be done to avert unnecessary human disasters and to facilitate progress toward sustained high levels of employment. Such procedures have the advantage of strengthening voluntary action and free enterprise, by developing responsibility for action together with informational services to aid in establishing the best action for the particular need.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RELIEF ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

(Page 276, Executive Council's Report)

The report on Labor's relief activities reveals the very significant way in which unions have accepted responsibility for providing aid for fellow workers of invaded and bombed countries, assistance for refugees as well as help in rebuilding the free labor movement in the wake of the armed forces. While we have repeatedly stated that Labor has a special stake in this war, our relief activities have given reality to that expression. Because workers have had full employment during this war, we have had incomes that enabled us to have the privilege of contributing generously to the victims of war as well as sharing in national responsibility to buy War Bonds. We have given out of our narrow reserves and given because we felt that human freedom is the most important thing in life.

Your committee recommends that the convention express its hearty approval of the wisdom and the constructive vision of our officials who have provided this channel for Labor to participate in the humanitarian activities which must follow war as well as contribute to the reconstruction of democratic institutions.

We recommend endorsement of the activities and urge our unions to continue generous contributions so that funds will be available to enable free trade unionists to

revive their organization and renew their activities. As we have so often said free trade unions are essential to democracy and the revival of free unions in all countries can be our contribution to a free world.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROPOSED WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

(Page 278, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption, "Proposed World Trade Union Conference," the Executive Council's report calls attention to the invitation received to the proposed world trade union conference. In replying to this invitation the Executive Council voiced the opinion that questions relative to international trade union relations should be dealt with through the International Federation of Trade Unions. It was evident that the invitation had been sent to representatives of organizations which were not considered to be bona fide trade unions, and in addition to some who were dual to the unions in the United States and Canada. Because of these facts the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor declined to accept the invitation, and through correspondence the President of the American Federation of Labor informed Sir Walter Citrine of the reasons why the American Federation of Labor could not see its way clear to participate in such a proposed conference.

Your committee recommends approval of the action taken by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

In connection with that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption, "World Peace," your committee considered Resolution No. 134.

Labor Representation at Peace Conference

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor will be vitally affected by the international peace treaties to be negotiated when war ends, and

WHEREAS, Labor can only be adequately represented by men chosen from its ranks, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention respectfully and firmly request the President of the United States to afford labor adequate representation in the delegation selected to negotiate the peace, and that such labor representatives be present at all subsequent treaty negotiations in which labor's interests are directly or indirectly involved.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

POST-WAR LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 178, and Resolution No. 28)

VICE PRESIDENT WOLL: Your committee, in giving consideration to Post-War Legislation (Executive Council's Report, Page 178), also gave consideration to Resolution No. 28.

The resolution is as follows:

Industrial Reconversion

Resolutions No. 28—By Delegate John B. Bailey, Central Trades and Labor Council, Monroe, La.

WHEREAS, The scourge of unemployment that plagued this nation for a decade between 1930 and 1940 was alleviated only by the advent of World War II, which afforded temporary employment to millions of workers, and

WHEREAS, The cessation of hostilities will cause the closing down of hundreds of war plants and will throw millions of workers out of employment, and

WHEREAS, Congress in its recent sessions, has been seriously considering post-war industrial reconversion, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, representing the millions of organized workers within its ranks, is vitally concerned with such post-war industrial reconversion, and

WHEREAS, A comprehensive industrial reconversion program no doubt will be adopted by Congress before the end of World War II, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand Congress, as a part of its post-war industrial reconversion program, enact provisions that will afford the maximum of employment to workers who would otherwise be displaced, even to the

extent, if necessary, of government operation of war plants on a non-profit basis.

Under the caption "Post-War Legislation" and the sub-heads "Contract Termination" "Disposition of Surplus Property" and "Reconversion," the Executive Council's report deals with its activities in appearing before committees of the Congress in connection with all legislative measures introduced dealing with post-war legislation.

In closing the report makes special reference to the Murray-Kilgore Bill and the Dingeli Bill, both of which were sponsored by the American Federation of Labor, coupled with the information that during the congressional recess representatives of the American Federation of Labor were co-operating with liberal members of the Congress in drafting remedial legislation which will be introduced in November of this year.

In connection with this report your committee recommends that Resolution No. 28 be referred to the Executive Council.

We further recommend that in connection with the bills mentioned that the Executive Council be requested to carefully study them so that such amendment as may be advisable, including labor representation on the administrative agencies set up, may be included.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MANPOWER

(Executive Council's Report, Page 238)

The report of the Executive Council is in two sections: (1) a review of Manpower and Production Achievements, and (2) an appraisal of the current situation with respect to Manpower needs and with respect to the policies and program of the War Manpower Commission.

The record set forth in the first section is an eloquent testimony to the production achievement of American labor. This section further indicates that the various phases of manpower requirements that have during the past months been critical have, for the most part, been satisfactorily met. This points to the conclusion that though there remain certain critical manpower needs in relation to the war production program, they are not essentially

different from those needs which have been satisfactorily met before and without recourse to compulsory labor legislation.

We are of the firm conviction that with the continued cooperation of organized labor and industrial management with government agencies, these problems too can be solved. We therefore recommend the renewed endorsement of the voluntary manpower program carried out under the provision for participation of labor and management on the National Management-Labor Policy Committee in the War Manpower Commission and the regional and area war manpower committees.

A study of the record of the National Management-Labor Policy Committee indicates clearly the quality of the contribution made to the program of this important war agency by the President of the American Federation of Labor and his alternate. The representatives of the Federation have stood four-square for voluntary principles as the basis for our manpower program and have led the opposition to all efforts to substitute compulsion.

We recommend an expression of appreciation of the services of these representatives with instructions to continue their support of voluntary principles.

We note certain departures from the voluntary manpower system which have crept into the program of the War Manpower Commission. One of these is the acceptance of Prisoner-of-War labor as a supplement to the use of free labor. While we approve of employment for prisoners of war as salutary in meeting the desires and needs of the prisoners to escape enforced idleness, we do not approve their being employed in competition with free labor nor in any way which adversely affects the wages, conditions or employment of free labor. We therefore recommend that the War Manpower Commission be urged to discontinue the employment of Prisoner-of-War labor by private employers altogether, and to provide employment for Prisoners-of-War only on such public projects as will not conflict with the employment of free labor.

Another departure from basic policy appears in the various proposals—some of which have been consummated — to meet stringent manpower needs arising from poor working conditions or from the low wages prevailing in some occupations, or from both by the importation of foreign workers. We recommend that the War Manpower Commission be called upon to establish a policy under which the importation of foreign workers would be permitted

only after every other means, including wage adjustment, have been exhausted in meeting manpower requirements, and then only on approval of the accredited representatives of the other workers in the establishment in which they are to be employed.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRICE CONTROL AND RATIONING

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 246-249)

Effective price control is of vital importance to wage earners; every price increase, open or hidden, in goods and services essential to living is a wage cut. To protect the wages, the incomes and the buying power of all workers as consumers, the American Federation of Labor insists on the continuation of price control so long as upward pressure of prices remains and until the danger of inflation is past. As the Executive Council points out, the most severe test of the nation's ability to prevent a runaway inflation is likely to come within two years after hostilities end. Authority to enforce ceiling prices should therefore continue beyond the actual war emergency. Unless we maintain price stability and protect the workers' buying power in the difficult period of post-war transition, there will be no escape from eventual collapse and mass unemployment. Only by retaining price ceilings and rationing as long as scarcities of essential goods exist can we assure complete and permanent removal of controls when full peace-time production and a free market are achieved.

Of strategic importance is pricing of reconverted civilian articles coming back on the market. So long as these articles, essential household appliances and automobiles, remain scarce, pressure for a speculative rise in their prices will be great. It would be disastrous to future employment if industry were allowed to price these goods out of a mass market and thus price workers out of jobs. We urge that prices on reconverted items be kept at 1942 levels and that upward adjustments be permitted only on showing of hardship as in the case of some small businesses. We also ask that the War Production Board and other agencies concerned take positive measures to assure continued production of low-priced items and to require minimum quality specifications

on essential commodities, especially low-cost textiles and apparel.

Organized labor constitutes the largest and most effective instrument of consumer representation. Representatives of the A. F. of L. on the OPA, its district labor advisory committees and local price and rationing boards have rendered an outstanding service not only to our membership but to all consumers of the nation. We urge that our unions everywhere make available the services of qualified labor representatives so that the share of labor participation in price control and rationing may be increased. In the days ahead, it will be of growing importance to make sure that labor representatives do not become mere silent partners in price administration and that labor retains initiative in shaping an independent and unified policy of consumer protection, a policy which is labor's own. We concur with the recommendation of the Executive Council that to this end our central labor unions be asked to form A. F. of L. consumer committees in every community and that aid and guidance be extended to union consumer committees by the American Federation of Labor. We recommend that for this purpose the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a Consumer Committee of the American Federation of Labor to coordinate the policy and further the activities of our unions in all matters relating to the cost of living and consumer protection.

With this comment, we ask the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WAGES

(Page 133, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption of "Wages," the Executive Council has presented an exhaustive study of wages and the part they played in maintaining consumers' capacity without which American industry and commerce cannot succeed. It also makes a comparison between wages and the cost of living, supplying a mass of statistical information relative to the subject. The report concludes with the recommendation that all unions in the American Federation of Labor make a concerted drive for wage increases for all workers, that the necessary legislative ac-

tion be taken to substantially increase the wage floor provided by the Fair Labor Standards Act. That a concerted drive under the American Federation of Labor be put into effect during the coming year to assist International Unions in organizing workers under their jurisdiction, and also in the low paid industries, so that necessary increases in wages may be secured for all workers.

In this connection your committee believes it advisable that the record of this convention should contain a reproduction of the letter sent to the President of the United States under date of November 13th, 1944, by Secretary-Treasurer George Meany. The letter follows:

November 13, 1944

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

As a member of your Cost of Living Committee I wish to place before you the reasons for labor's persistent and determined objection to the way the Bureau of Labor Statistics "Cost of Living Index" is used in wage stabilization. Chairman Davis has given you a report which reviews in detail the work of the Mitchell Committee of experts and gives his conclusions on the increase in living costs since January 1941. I am giving you a special report to clarify certain points which the American Federation of Labor feels have not been sufficiently emphasized.

First of all I should like to point out the difference between measuring prices and measuring the costs of living. The Bureau of Labor Statistics measures prices. It does not measure costs of living. This distinction was made clear by the experts:

The Mills Committee expressly says:

"Within the limits established for it, the cost of living index provides a trustworthy measure of prices paid by consumers for goods and services."

And the Mitchell Committee states:

"For many policy and analytical purposes it is important to isolate the price factor alone. For these purposes, the index should be as nearly as possible confined to the price factor in the living costs of families dependent upon wages and low salaries." (page 18)

Thus clearly the index is limited to the measurement of one factor in the cost of living, that of prices, and to that alone; and according to the Mitchell Committee, it should be so limited. This means that it measures prices, but it does not measure living costs.

However, Chairman Davis confuses these terms when he says that the index is "an acceptable approximation to changes in the cost of living for urban workers" and that

"it should be regarded as the standard measure of changes in the cost of living for wage earners and lower-salaried employees."

Labor cannot accept this index as a measure of the changes in the costs of living. Also, as to its being a trustworthy measure of prices, the Mitchell Committee finds that due to under-reporting of prices of price-controlled foods, the index has a downward bias of one-half of one point. Thus it is not entirely trustworthy even as a measure of prices. These are two of the reasons why labor cannot accept the index as even an approximation to changes in living costs.

Secondly, I cannot agree with Chairman Davis' general statement that the BLS index figures "are good basic figures for use in the formulation of fiscal and other governmental policy." This statement should be qualified so as to make it clear that such policies do not include the adjustment of wages. Such a qualification is necessary to avoid any misunderstanding as to the use of the index.

The chief question which your Cost of Living Committee undertook to answer in November 1943 was this: What is the cost of living today compared to January 1941? No one on your committee has answered the question.

Mr. Davis' conclusion, adopting the findings of the Mitchell Committee, is that the over-all increase in the cost of living from January 1941 to September 1944 is 29 to 30 per cent.

Labor finds, however, that many factors which have greatly increased our living costs are not allowed for by the Mitchell Committee report. By living costs we mean the cost of maintaining the same living standard we had before the war—and there is general agreement on this definition. Our living habits have had to adjust to war-time conditions, often at greatly increased costs. Landlords no longer do the repair and redecorating work they did before the war and we are forced to pay these costs ourselves; rationing of meat has forced us to eat in restaurants at greatly increased cost; inferior gasoline, wear and tear on automobiles by ride-sharing to and from work, the use of worn out cars requiring much repair have increased the cost of necessary transportation and are only partly accounted for by the BLS; families living in crowded war centers without equipment for home laundering must send their washing out at much higher cost. This type of cost has not been accounted for in the Mitchell Committee's estimates, but our members tell us that such things add greatly to the amounts they must spend to maintain their pre-war standard of living. Unless earnings rise enough to cover such costs as these, in addition to those covered by the Mitchell Committee, workers must move to cheaper houses, buy cheaper commodities, and so on, in an effort to make ends meet. Every wage earner family knows that the increase in the amount they have to spend to maintain standards is greater than that shown by the Bureau of Labor Statistics or the Mitchell Committee.

When the Little Steel Formula was established the War Labor Board made plain that it intended to maintain established living standards, as Vice Chairman Taylor's opinion states:

"Those groups whose peace-time standards have been broken are entitled to have these standards re-established as a stabilization factor" . . . "Such labor standards can be preserved without any significant effect upon the broad inflation problem."

And Chairman Davis said:

"Because of the need for maximum war production it is necessary that fair and equitable labor standards should not be broken down . . . Not to protect these standards would justly give rise to a sense of insecurity and frustration among the workers who remain at home; and it is only fair to the workers who are drawn into the fighting services that their standards should be protected while they are away."

Thus the public members of the Board clearly recognized the principle of maintaining workers' peace-time living standards as a basic requirement for justice both to war workers and to servicemen.

This basic principle, however, has not been upheld. Although the original purpose was to permit wage increases equivalent to the rise in living costs, the Little Steel Formula froze the increase at 15 per cent and wage rates have not been allowed to move upward and have not kept pace even with the rise in prices shown by the BLS index.

One reason for this was the failure of the Bureau of Labor Statistics index to measure the rise in living costs. All those who have examined the index agree that it measures only one element in the increased cost of living, that is, the rise in prices of a selected list of commodities and services bought by wage earners and small salaried workers living in large cities. It does not measure the total rise in living costs for workers generally, or show what this rise has meant to them in reduction of their peace-time living standards. It does not adequately measure such elements as quality deterioration, disappearance of cheaper articles from the market, absence of special sales (which are included in the Mitchell Committee estimate); nor does it measure such other increases in living costs as those I have listed above. The Mills Committee and the Mitchell Committee both feel that it should not measure these items, because, if it did so, it would no longer be a price index suitable for use in measuring price inflation and for other necessary purposes for which it is now an essential measuring rod.

The BLS itself recognizes that its index is not a cost of living index and says so in the statement placed at the head of its monthly cost of living releases:

"The index does not show the full wartime effect on the cost of living of such factors as lowered quality, disappearance of low-priced goods, and forced changes in housing and eating away from home."

The Mitchell Committee states:

"It is really an index of price changes in a list of customary supplies, kept as nearly constant as possible." (Part I, Page 18).

The name of the index should be changed to something more appropriate, such as "Index of Workers' Retail Prices." One recommendation of the Mitchell Committee is that "The index should be given a less misleading name." (Part I, Page 20).

All of the changes and refinements suggested by the Mills Committee and others to improve the index, are to improve it as an index to retail prices of goods and services customarily bought by wage earners and small-salaried families in large and smaller communities. These are not intended to make it a cost of living index. The Mitchell Committee expressly states that "What the BLS now tries to supply is desirable" and that to mix additional factors with price changes would only impair its usefulness. Yet these additional factors have a very important bearing on workers' actual living costs and force heavy increase in those costs. Chairman Davis also says that "the BLS must exclude changes in the manner of living if its index is to continue to perform the intended purpose of recording how living costs are being influenced by changes in retail prices." The things he specifically mentions for exclusion are, in addition to "changes in the manner of living," eating away from home, the cost of forced purchases in higher priced stores because of transportation difficulties, increased living costs of migrants. If the index does not measure these things, then it does not measure cost of living.

Clearly then, the index is not and cannot be made a satisfactory indicator of increases in costs of living necessary to adjust wages so that the welfare of wage earners can be stabilized.

The Mitchell Committee also shows another reason why the index cannot be properly used for wage determination. It does not apply to many groups of wage earners:

"The BLS index relates only to families, only to families living in cities of considerable size, and only to urban families that work for a living. The index is misused when it is applied to individuals, or to small town and rural families, or to families on the verge of poverty." (Part I, page 20).

The Mills Committee also states that for the purpose,

"of estimating the pressure on present wage rates and the present wage adjustment formula by workers' experience with living costs, a national average of living costs is not satisfactory." (Page 10).

There are millions of workers for whom the national index cannot properly measure even the price changes that affect their living costs. Use of the BLS index to adjust their wages cannot possibly bring justice.

The American Federation of Labor has never agreed to the principle of basing

wages on cost of living or on price inflation. The established wage policy of this country has always been based on raising wages as increases in productivity made this possible. This is the only possible basis for an expanding economy with rising living standards.

In war-time however, we have been willing to meet the emergency with emergency measures. At every stage of war-time policy-making the American Federation of Labor has supported inflation control and has loyally supported the war administration even though our living standards have not been maintained and we have been denied fair compensation for work done. We have not asked increased pay to keep pace with the enormous increases in productivity in war industries. We have willingly contributed this to the war effort—and it has amounted to many billions of dollars. The government has profited by more work done for the same costs and through great reductions in costs. We have not asked wage increases to compensate for the substantial rises in productivity which have reduced unit labor costs in civilian industries.

I said we have been willing to accept emergency measures. But even these emergency measures have not been applied so as to give basic justice to wage earners. For one long year technical inquiries into the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost of living index have been drawn across our pathway so as to divert labor's attention from the main issue—the injustice of freezing wages below the inflation indicated even by the Bureau's inadequate index. Thus wages have been kept frozen instead of being stabilized, which was the common understanding of the purpose of the law.

The Little Steel wage freeze has made it impossible to carry out the fair and just wage stabilization policy outlined on October 3, 1942, by your Executive Order 9250 which expressly grants the War Labor Board power to approve wage increases "necessary to correct maladjustments or inequalities, to eliminate substandards of living, to correct gross inequities, or to aid in the effective prosecution of the war." Your order recognized that true wage stabilization must take into account many phases of wage adjustment in addition to adjustments for cost of living. Substandards must be raised; inequities and inequalities must be adjusted; where low wage rates interfere with the prosecution of the war, they must be corrected.

But the Little Steel wage freeze has cut across all these factors of a just wage stabilization policy. It has prevented the proper raising of substandards. It has checked the fair adjustment of inequalities. It has even interfered with the prosecution of the war by delaying correction of very low wages which were creating manpower shortages in foundries and other plants behind schedule in their war production. In fact it has made true wage stabilization impossible.

This freeze has penalized workers as compared to other groups so that the original plan for price control requiring equal sacri-

fine from all groups, as stated by you, has been sabotaged. This inequality of sacrifice is clear from a comparison of income increases before taxes for different groups. Commerce Department figures show that from 1939 to 1943, the yearly income of the average farmer has increased 204%; the income of the average business proprietor increased 94%; corporation profits rose 320%; but the average worker's income rose only 58%.

The increase in the worker's income in this period was due chiefly to overtime pay, certain war-time bonuses and the longer work week, all of which will disappear with the ending of the war. The straight time wage rate on which we must depend for long term progress has increased less than the rise in living costs. The average American non-farm worker actually receives less real buying power for his straight time hour of work today than he did before the war. Average straight time hourly "real" earnings of all non-farm workers have declined from 65c in 1940 to 60c in 1944. These are Commerce Department wage figures expressed in constant buying power at January, 1941, price levels, as determined by applying Mitchell Committee living cost estimates.

Our concern over the wage freeze is increased because we know its consequences will extend into the post-war period and undermine efforts for full employment. We are equally concerned because of our obligation to those in the armed services to maintain undiminished opportunities to work at compensation which will assure high standards of living. At the risk of wholeness of body and life itself, they are fighting to maintain for us all the institutions of freedom. We shall be derelict in our duty unless we maintain for all those standards of work and pay that help to give substance to freedom. Returning soldiers should be able to resume work with at least the same conditions as when they left. The wage freeze policy has turned downward the line of progress and cut away "real" wage levels established through long years of effort. This is shown in a particularly striking way by the following "real" wage figures, which have been adjusted for the rise in living costs as estimated by the Mitchell Committee, so that they show as nearly as possible the buying power of one hour's work in constant prices—those of January, 1941:

"Real" Wage In Cents Per Hour			
	1935-6	1940	1943
Building trade	106.2	128.3	111.2
Printing trades	110.3	112.6	103.1
Bakeries	66.1	73.0	66.9
Truck drivers	69.7	79.4	72.6
Street railways	71.7	78.2	71.6

These are union wage scales, the only figures we have to show straight time hourly wage rates as distinguished from "earnings." The BLS average hourly earnings figures include overtime, up-grading, and "incentive" payments and so obscure the trend in straight time hourly wage rates.

In every case the above figures show that the peace-time trend of rising "real" wages has been reversed by the Little Steel Formula. Far from being maintained since 1940, the peace-time living standard represented by these wages has been seriously cut away. In bakeries and on street railways "real" wage rates have been cut down to the level of 1935-6; and the printing tradesmen who received \$1.10 in 1935-6 have been cut far below that level to \$1.03. I am convinced that this destruction of our hard won wage standards, this blotting out of years of progress, has not been a war-time necessity.

So great has been the reduction of workers' "real" straight time hourly earnings in industry as a whole through the Little Steel wage freeze that today 60% of all workers in private industry are receiving less than 85c an hour, the amount necessary (on a forty-hour week) to support a family of four at even the bare subsistence living level provided in the BLS Maintenance Budget; and only 8% receive a wage of \$1.30 per hour or more, which is necessary to give their families the health and efficiency standard outlined in the widely recognized Heller Committee Budget.

We have accepted this wage freeze, with its serious reduction in our living standards, at a time when the profits of businessmen and of corporations were reaching unheard of peaks. We know that most employers are able to pay us a just wage without raising prices, and we are fully confident that in the few cases where price adjustments would be necessary these adjustments can be made without causing inflation.

The failure of straight time hourly wage rates to rise as our national producing power expands and our gross national product increases will be an unsurmountable deflationary force paralyzing our efforts for full employment. Reconversion will sweep away the various devices by which workers' take-home pay has been maintained, such as continuous overtime, rapid up-grading, the six-day week and special bonuses in war work. The elimination of overtime, the lay-off of extra workers and demobilization of armed forces will reduce consumer buying power by \$23 billion when both wars end. Subtracting this from our present level of \$128 billion in consumers' income available for purchase of goods and services will leave only \$105 billion, according to Commerce Department estimates. But studies of the Commerce Department and the Federal Reserve Board show that we shall need \$114 to \$116 billion of consumer purchases to maintain full employment. There will be a shortage of \$9 to \$11 billion unless present wage rates are raised.

We cannot hope to escape the necessity for maintaining high wage levels at home by counting upon large exportation of our products. For sooner or later we must be ready to import an amount of goods roughly equal to our exports, so that the countries who buy from us will be able to pay us. Dumping goods abroad is no answer to the problem of inadequate buying power at home.

Our economic planning for the post-war must keep abreast the military time-table both for war production and for post-war plans. We should now be in readiness for the end of the battle of Europe. Readiness in wage policy is an essential. The serious declines in workers' real wages must be remedied now, so that a clear and stable wage policy will be in effect when we enter the difficult period of reconversion. For if wage adjustments were to be left until after V-E day, the resulting chaos would retard reconversion and cause irreparable damage to our whole economy.

Wage rates to be effective in civilian production must be agreed to in advance by management and unions so that they can be incorporated in estimates and plans. We must have ready not only the blueprints for full employment but provisions for the consumer purchasing power to sustain production at that level. Can we offer less to those who have won the war on the home and military fronts?

Justice to wage earners at work and those now in the armed services demands that the government wage control policy be modified so that straight time wage rates can be adjusted to maintain established labor standards.

What the AFL has proposed as wise policy is contained in our resolution:

"BE IT RESOLVED, That the National War Labor Board request the President to issue an executive order which will realistically adjust the Little Steel Formula with the increased cost of living and permit employees and employees to effectuate the newly established policy by voluntary agreement without submission to the National War Labor Board."

Mr. President, this proposal would work out as follows:

There would be a return to the principle and practice of collective bargaining over a wide area. Employers and workers could by mutual agreement increase wage rates to maintain standards of living—up to the proposed 30% over January, 1941. The only requirement would be the filing of the agreement with the WLB.

In cases of disputes, the WLB would be permitted to increase wage rates up to the 30% increase over January, 1941, depending on the particular circumstances found to exist in each case.

Thus collective bargaining would be revived so that it could play its part in providing the necessary purchasing power for full employment. In addition, conditions in the labor market would induce employers to increase voluntarily the wage rates of unorganized white collar and other low income groups, so that they too would share the opportunity for increased wage rates within this new limit.

Sincerely yours,
GEORGE MEANY,
Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor.

With these comments your committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

STATE ANTI-LABOR LAWS

(Executive Council's Report,

Page 204)

It is pointed out in the present report of the Executive Council that in 1943 it reported on state anti-labor laws, and in that previous report it analyzed the enactments passed by the States of South Dakota, Idaho, Kansas, Colorado, Arkansas, Texas, Minnesota, Alabama, Florida, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. The present report of the Executive Council is therefore confined chiefly to litigation which has developed in the past year pertaining to these various enactments. It is well to remind the delegates that these anti-labor laws differ greatly from the general run of anti-labor laws which we have had to deal with as long as there has been an organized trade union movement. They are not isolated enactments seeking to deprive labor of some specific right. On the contrary they consist of a series of enactments drafted by anti-labor associations who have engaged expensive lawyers to prepare the drafts and special lobbyists to cause them to be submitted in various state legislatures and to pilot their successful passage. The Christian American Association and the Farm Bureau, to name but two of these organizations, have undertaken the work of securing the enactment of these laws. Manufacturers and business men have been appealed to to contribute sums of money for the purpose of carrying on a campaign for the passage of these laws. A large fund has thus been created which has been spent most lavishly and questionably on the maintenance of headquarters with paid personnel, on the printing and distribution of hundreds of thousands of pamphlets, on radio time and newspaper advertising. These expensive activities have borne fruit as is evidenced from the fact that twelve of such laws were passed almost simultaneously. Great effort and a strong opposition campaign were engaged in by the American Federation of Labor unions in these states to combat the campaign for this legislation. Our unions were successful in defeating these proposed laws in many of the states.

Your Committee warns the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor that the Christian American Association and the Farm Bureau is still engaged in this campaign to secure the passage of anti-labor legislation, and it is even now fostering legislation of this type in several other states. We remind the delegates that next year the legislatures of over forty states will go into session. Our unions must be extremely vigilant and must lay definite plans to combat this type of legislation in those states where it will be introduced.

Your Committee deems it appropriate to direct the attention of the delegates to the major objectives of this anti-labor legislation. Summarized, they are as follows:

1. Compulsory registration of unions and officers and the procurement of licenses as a condition precedent to doing business;
2. Prohibition of striking, boycotting and picketing unless the strike has been authorized by a majority vote.
3. Vesting in the state control over the internal affairs of labor organizations by giving to the state the right to fix and regulate fees, dues, assessments of labor unions, and to control the levying of fines; and likewise to regulate elections of officers, compel detailed financial accounting, etc.

It is apparent to everyone familiar with the philosophy of trade unionism that if the major provisions of these laws are upheld by the courts free trade unionism in this country is destroyed. The principle of "Voluntarism" on which the American trade union movement is founded will disappear and inevitably the unions will become the creatures of the state. The basis on which these anti-labor laws are founded is the abhorrent and reprehensible doctrine of the totalitarian governments.

Your Committee desires to direct your attention to the present status of the litigation in the various states pertaining to these anti-labor laws.

Colorado: As has been pointed out in the report of the Executive Council, the Colorado law is extremely vicious. Perhaps it would be well to be somewhat more detailed in describing the situation in Colorado by explaining what the Colorado law provides, for it will serve as an example of most of the provisions contained in the other laws.

1. It provides for compulsory incorporation.
2. It prohibits what it terms arbitrary

or excessive dues, initiation fees, and fines. It provides that the state will determine what is arbitrary and excessive.

3. It requires detailed financial reports.
4. Strikes can only be called by a majority vote of the workers in a plant.
5. A jurisdictional dispute cannot be the basis of a lawful labor dispute.
6. Employers can hire and fire as they please, regardless of seniority agreements.
7. Demand for a closed shop does not constitute a labor dispute.
8. Picketing and boycotting cannot be engaged in in furtherance of a jurisdictional dispute.
9. The law contains a "hot cargo" provision which makes it illegal to refuse to handle, install, use, or work on scab material.
10. Company unions are defined so as to make them legal.
11. A labor dispute cannot be possible between a union and a single employer such as a self-employed barber, plumber, or truck owner.
12. A bargaining agent can only be elected by a majority vote of all employees; so if a majority does not appear at a meeting no bargaining agent can be elected.
13. It contains a complete code of what constitutes unfair labor practices by unions, for the violation of which unions can be put out of business.

The American Federation of Labor and the State Federation of Labor, through our general counsel and Colorado counsel, instituted a suit attacking the constitutionality of this law. Judge Sackman, the trial judge, upheld the major contentions of the American Federation of Labor in that he declared the provision for compulsory incorporation to be invalid; he likewise invalidated the provisions which regulate the internal affairs of labor unions. He declared as legal the requirement for a majority vote authorizing a strike before picketing or boycotting can be engaged in.

Both the State of Colorado through its Attorney General, and the American Federation of Labor and State Federation of Labor by their counsel, appealed those portions of the decision which were adverse to them. The appeal was argued before the Colorado Supreme Court in September of this year, and a decision of the court is awaited.

Your committee is gratified that it is able to report that the State of Colorado has not proceeded to enforce any provision of the act and that our unions in Colorado have not been subjected to any change in their present status. The Attorney General has

indicated that he will await the outcome of the decision of the Supreme Court before he proceeds to enforce the law.

Kansas: The American Federation of Labor in conjunction with the Kansas State Federation of Labor instituted a suit to restrain the state officers from enforcing the Kansas law, which is in many respects similar to the Colorado law. The constitutionality of the act was argued before three federal judges, who have had the case under advisement for almost a year and a half. We are advised by our general counsel that a short time ago the judges sent for the various counsel in the case and stated that they would not decide this case until a case now pending in the United States Supreme Court was decided by that court. Although our general counsel protested the delay the court has refrained, and stated that it will refrain, from deciding the case until the United States Supreme Court acts on what is known as the Thomas case, appealed from the Texas Supreme Court.

Florida: The Attorney General of the State of Florida has carried on a vigorous and vicious anti-labor crusade. Even before the passage of the Florida anti-labor law he instituted suits to revoke charters of corporations which had entered into closed shop contracts with American Federation of Labor unions. Being defeated in his attempt to invalidate the closed shop contract he induced the Legislature to pass a general anti-labor law similar to the one passed by the State of Colorado. After it was passed he brought suit against Leo Hill, President of the Florida State Federation of Labor and against the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters to restrain them from doing business in the State of Florida because they had not registered as is required by the Florida law. These cases were argued before Circuit Judge Lewis in Jacksonville. Judge Lewis agreed with the contention of our general counsel that the law was arbitrary and unconstitutional, but he proceeded to re-write the law so as to remove the discretion from the commission set up to pass upon registration applications, and he declared the law as he re-wrote it to be valid. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the State of Florida. Arguments were had before the Supreme Court about a month ago and a decision is awaited.

Concurrently with the commencement of

the Jacksonville suit by the Attorney General the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the Florida State Federation of Labor, instituted its own suit in Tallahassee to restrain law enforcement officers from enforcing any provision of the Florida Act on the ground that the act was unconstitutional in its entirety. The case was argued before a trial judge many months ago but this judge has failed to render a decision in the case. In all probability the chances of winning the decision of the Florida Supreme Court in the case brought by the Attorney General against President Leo Hill and the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters are good.

Another suit is pending in the Florida Supreme Court involving the Amalgamated Street and Electric Railway Employees which tests specifically that provision in the Florida law which requires a vote by the workers, authorizing a strike before they can engage in picketing. Members of the Amalgamated proceeded to strike and picket without such vote. They were arrested for violating the law and found guilty by the lower courts. Briefs are now on file with the Florida Supreme Court and the case is set for argument next month. The principle involved is similar to the one passed upon by the Oregon Supreme Court three years ago wherein that court held as unconstitutional the law requiring a majority vote authorizing a strike of employees before picketing could be engaged in. Your Committee is advised by our general counsel that based upon existing legal precedents the contentions of the American Federation of Labor in this case should be sustained.

South Dakota: Your Committee reports that the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the South Dakota State Federation of Labor, instituted a suit to have this law declared unconstitutional. The law is not quite as intricate or detailed as some of the laws of other states. It does, however, provide for detailed financial accounting. It prohibits union officials from entering upon ranches, farms, feed yards, shearing plants or processing plants for the purpose of attempting unionization. It likewise prohibits picketing in these industries in the event of a labor dispute. The trial court of South Dakota before whom the case was brought, decided that all of the provisions of the South Dakota law were invalid except the one which requires

financial accounting. An appeal was taken from the decision of the court upholding the requirement for financial accounting.

Idaho: Idaho passed a law similar to the South Dakota law. Soon after the passage of the law the Attorney General of Idaho ruled that in his opinion the law in its entirety was unconstitutional. Local district attorneys, however, threatened to enforce the law, therefore the American Federation of Labor in conjunction with the Idaho State Federation of Labor was compelled to institute a suit to restrain the officials from enforcing the law. The local district attorney moved to dismiss the suit. The court overruled the motion to dismiss and the case is to stand for trial.

Alabama: The anti-labor law passed in this state is of significance because it is the first one to reach the Supreme Court of the United States. The American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the State Federation of Labor, filed suit before the trial courts of Alabama. A prompt decision was handed down by the trial judge who held in favor of several contentions of labor, and against it on others. For instance the Alabama Supreme Court held unconstitutional the "hot cargo" provision which makes it unlawful for workers to refuse to handle, install, use or work on any particular materials because the same were not produced, processed or delivered by members of a union. Your Committee desires to emphasize the significance of this holding because similar provisions will be found in the laws passed in other states. About three years ago California adopted a "hot cargo" law by referendum of the voters. None of these laws has reached the Supreme Court of the United States except the Alabama law. The Alabama Supreme Court held to be illegal the provision in the law which makes it unlawful to strike in the absence of a majority vote. Another significant holding of the Alabama court is in connection with the provision prohibiting labor unions from making political contributions—a provision similar to that now found in the Smith-Connally Act. Thus there will be presented to the Supreme Court of the United States squarely the question whether a law prohibiting unions from making political contributions is valid. Your Committee believes that the Supreme Court will sustain the Alabama court because the provision in the Alabama law, as well as the provision in the Smith-Connally

Act imposes the prohibition only on trade unions and does not impose a similar prohibition on fraternal organizations, church organizations, farm bureaus, and other non-profit associations. But the Alabama court did uphold those sections which compel the filing of financial statements, which prohibit the charging of permit fees, and which make it unlawful for supervisory employees to become members of a labor union.

Both the State of Alabama and our unions have appealed to the United States Supreme Court, and your Committee is pleased to report that last Monday the Supreme Court granted the petition for certiorari and has agreed to hear the case on its merits.

Texas: The American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the State Federation of Labor, entered suit in the courts of Texas to restrain its officials from enforcing the Texas law. It is an extremely harsh law and contains many bad provisions. However, your Committee is pleased to report that a number of adverse provisions in the law were struck down by the trial court. For instance that provision which attempts to regulate the election of officers and which provides for their term or tenure of office, was declared to be illegal; likewise Section 7, which seeks to regulate most minutely the internal affairs of unions, was declared to be illegal. (In Section 7 is contained that highly offensive provision to the effect that unions cannot collect by way of initiation fees, dues, fines or assessments, any moneys "in excess of the reasonable requirements of the union.") The court also struck down that provision which prohibits unions from attempting to levy on back payments of dues and assessments on returned servicemen. But the court did hold some of the regulatory provisions to be valid, as for instance the requirement that aliens or persons convicted of a felony may not serve as officers or representatives of a union. The Texas court, contrary to the Alabama court, held the prohibition against political contributions to be legal; it likewise held the charging of permit fees to be illegal. It upheld those provisions which permit the court to review and re-try any decision of a union expelling a member. It upheld the provision which requires the filing of financial returns. It also upheld the provision that it is necessary for an officer or business agent of a union to register before he proceeds to solicit members.

Both the State Federation and the American Federation of Labor have appealed from the decision of the lower court. Our general counsel has filed briefs and argued the case before the Court of Civil Appeals of Texas. The case is under advisement and a decision is expected at an early date.

Arkansas: The Arkansas law is quite different than the laws passed in other states. It is not so much a regulatory law as it is an "assault and battery law." It provides that if an assault occurs in connection with a labor dispute which shall have the effect of interfering with a man and his employment, such act constitutes a felony punishable by from one to two years in prison. It makes no provision for the alternative of a fine. Unfortunately two workers affiliated with the Brotherhood of Painters became involved in an assault and battery case in connection with a labor dispute. Ordinarily a case of this nature would constitute a misdemeanor and be disposed of by a five dollar fine. Because of this law the two workers involved were sentenced to one year imprisonment. After serving a short period of time they were paroled.

The significance of these cases is that they were appealed to the Supreme Court of Arkansas and that court held the law to be valid. It is regrettable that the cases did not reach the American Federation of Labor when they were pending before the lower court because a more complete record could then have been made and federal questions preserved so that an appeal might have been taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. As the record stood at the time the American Federation of Labor and its general counsel were informed of the cases it was not possible to appeal them to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Arkansas law illustrates more clearly perhaps, than do any of the other laws, the malicious and vengeful attitude on the part of those who have been and are engaged in promoting this class of legislation.

Your Committee cautions the delegates that not only will intensified lobbying for the passage of these laws be carried on in the legislative tribunals, but if passage by a legislature proves difficult or the bill is rejected, the campaign will continue through efforts to submit the proposals to the people by way of constitutional amendment. Such campaigns are much more difficult to oppose because of the great effort necessary to

combat them and the large expenditure involved. Only by intensified action on the part of every local union affected, through a centralized body such as a State Federation of Labor, can effective opposition be maintained. That is manifest from the campaigns against the constitutional amendments recently voted on in the States of California, Florida and Arkansas, and which we have discussed in another report.

It is a source of gratification to your Committee, and we know it will be to you, that as a result of the cases instituted by the American Federation of Labor attacking the validity of these laws, not a single conviction has been had in any of the states except the unfortunate circumstance related with respect to the Arkansas law; nor has there been any attempt at enforcement in any of the states to the present time, and no union has been compelled to reform its structure or change its methods of operation thus far; and it is the opinion of your committee that the situation will remain in status quo until a decision of the United States Supreme Court comes down construing the major provisions in one of these state laws.

The State Federations of Labor have been extremely cooperative with the American Federation of Labor in contesting the validity of these laws. The American Federation of Labor has spared no effort or expense in the attack upon them.

Your Committee deems it appropriate to make mention of the legal services performed by our general counsel in connection with the many suits involving these laws. Judge Padway and his associates have rendered outstanding service in these cases and it has been a tremendous task. The success thus far achieved is in no small measure due to the thorough and masterful presentation of trial procedure, briefing, and sound judicial arguments presented to the various courts.

Your Committee moves the adoption of this report.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Committee Secretary Frey continued the report as follows:

UNION RESEARCH (Executive Council's Report, Page 140)

The war which America is now waging,

and the peace which shall follow, is in large measure Labor's war and Labor's peace. Labor's stake in the war and in the peace is the greatest, for the workers constitute the mass of mankind. This pivotal position between war and peace now imposed upon organized labor, as the **Executive Council** states, requires active and informal cooperation of workers and management. Such cooperation must necessarily be based upon factual knowledge. The post-war goal of full production and humane utilization of technological advances requires technically trained persons, who, with factual knowledge, can interpret the present in the light of the past, and the future in the light of the present. Research services alone can supply the Federation and its officers with the necessary factual knowledge and background upon which they can continue to base their union policies which must continue to be directed to the promotion of the common good.

We concur, then, with the **Executive Council**, on the necessity for the increasing use of research services, as well as the necessity for the augmentation of Labor's personnel in this specialized field. Such personnel should be instituted and encouraged on a local, national and international basis.

We further recommend that the Federation office in Washington be considered as the nominal headquarters of research. The research foundations of the various national and international units should send duplicate copies of their findings to the Federation office. In this way duplication of studies can be avoided; different regions can be best served; and the continual unified advancement of the American Federation of Labor on a national scale can be made more secure.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONSUMERS COOPERATIVES

(Executive Council's Report, Page 140)

America's future is the work of the present. A partial glimpse of what that future can be is rendered by the **Executive Council's** excellent report on Cooperatives. By indirection the Council points out one

of the most important functions of every organized worker in planning for his future and for the future of the nation.

The American Federation of Labor has ever been vitally interested in securing a better and a fuller life for the workers. It has constantly fought for a higher wage scale. At the same time it has encouraged the development of consumer cooperatives, thus endeavoring to give to its members a better quality of goods and services at a lower cost. Wisely the Federation has sought a just wage for production, while demanding a just and reasonable price for quality goods and services.

Attention is directed in this particular section of the **Executive Council's** report to the rapid growth of consumers cooperatives to the great variety of interests which the different cooperatives serve; and to the vast savings which must result from cooperative endeavor; and to the effectiveness of cooperatives in preventing monopolistic control. The cooperative movement is, as the Council states, a most vital instrument in bringing about full employment and full production in the post-war world. The great savings that result from these joint enterprises will help to supply the necessary buying power that full production demands.

We concur with the suggestion of the **Executive Council** that there be close collaboration between the American Federation of Labor and the Cooperative League of the United States. In the post-war world American workers will need consumer cooperatives to create jobs of building up buying power, to stabilize employment, and to prevent price profiteering.

Together with the Council we recommend that immediate action be taken by this convention to provide a Department of Consumers Cooperation within the Federation, and that the Council consider the question of a full-time executive and the necessary staff, so that information on consumers cooperatives can be collected and assistance given to central bodies and local unions interested in learning how to set up study clubs and buying clubs and how to manage consumer cooperatives. We further recommend that all publications of organized labor continue to study and report to their members the nature and development of consumer cooperatives.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CREDIT UNIONS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 145)

The Executive Council has well summarized the philosophy of organized labor in its report on Credit Unions. That Labor's philosophy is one of service is amply evident in the fact that, at least 11,000 credit unions in this country are serving the needs of over three million persons on a yearly loan business of about \$210 millions. These credit unions, operating under the supervision of government banking examiners, are paying substantial dividends which range from 3 to 6 per cent to all of their members.

The benefits resulting from this economic service of organized labor are multiple. Credit unions, which operate to serve the organized and unorganized workers in all the contingencies of life, help to preserve the benefits of hard-won union gains. They give stature to organized labor while they are rendering security to their members. Through their cooperative efforts they make trade unionism a "way of life" by cementing the interdependence of members upon their unions and unions upon their members.

We concur with the Executive Council in encouraging the constant growth, and wisely extended services of credit unions. This committee urges all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to assist in the organization of credit unions.

We further recommend that the existing credit unions be especially solicitous and helpful to all returning veterans, and further recommend that all credit unions affiliated with our labor organization, make a special effort to render ineffectual, and thus to destroy, war-bond sharks, who even now are seeking war-bond profits at the expense of the workers.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR STANDARDS ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 154-155)

We fully endorse the recommendations of the Executive Council that determination of prevailing minimum wages be revived, that

such prevailing minimum wage standards be made fully applicable on all government contracts and that all labor standards required by the Walsh-Healy Act be prominently posted in every covered establishment to inform the workers concerned of their rights under the law. Federal government will continue to be a large purchaser of materials and equipment for military operations and for lend-lease, relief and other programs. Labor standards prescribed by the Act must be applied and enforced in the production and handling of goods on all such purchases. To make the prevailing wage requirements effective, current and up-to-date determinations should be made and the Public Contracts Board should be reconstituted for that purpose. Specific assurance should be given that all relaxations in standards agreed to by labor and now in effect would automatically terminate as soon as the conditions justifying such relaxations no longer prevail and in no event would extend beyond the duration of the war emergency. We also urge that effective safeguards be promptly established against the use of prison labor on work contracted by the federal government.

With these recommendations, we ask that this portion of the Executive Council's report be approved.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TAXATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 166)

A sound tax policy is indispensable for the government to meet its obligations and equally necessary to enable private enterprise to provide the employment basic for economic prosperity.

We note that the American Federation of Labor is studying proposals and urge that wide publicity be given its findings.

The report and recommendation of the committee were unanimously adopted.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 172)

Under the caption, "Immigration and Naturalization," the Executive Council's Report sets forth

the bills introduced upon that subject in the 78th Congress of the United States. The Executive Council's Report recommends that all phases of the traditional immigration policy of the American Federation of Labor should be maintained.

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's Report, your committee considered resolutions Nos. 43 and 136.

The resolutions are as follows:

Immigration

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates C. J. MacGowan, William E. Walter, J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, William J. Buckley, J. P. McCallum, Harry Nacey, J. F. Schmitt, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, There appears to be a growing sentiment among certain people in the United States with a selfish and spurious cry of humanity on their lips to lower our immigration barriers and to permit a general influx of impoverished people from all countries of the earth, and

WHEREAS, American labor, having made the greatest contribution to the elimination of international gangsterism and the preservation of the democratic way of life than has ever been made by any workers in world's history, such workers should not now be subjected to a flood of immigration which will destroy our American standards of life and create an unemployment problem more devastating in its effect and more permanent in its character than the depression of the early thirties, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor unqualifiedly declare that we are unalterably opposed to the admittance of any immigration from any source unless and until our nation has been completely converted from a war-time to a peace-time economy, and that all of our wage earners are steadily employed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will do all things possible to assist the peoples of every stricken land to rehabilitate themselves so that they can again become self-sustaining; but to destroy our own standards will not permanently assist other nations and will only impoverish our own people.

Immigration

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The question of immigration after the war definitely involves the internal national problem of unemployment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor declare its considered opinion to be that while the people of the United States must do all in their power to assist the unemployed and the destitute in other countries through loans, food, clothing, supplies and the implements of peace-time production, we are nevertheless unalterably and actively opposed to the lowering of our immigration standards which would permit an influx of the impoverished people to our country. Our most pressing problem when peace comes will be to find full employment for our citizens, and when this has been established we can then, but not until then, give consideration to the lowering of our immigration barriers.

Your committee recommends that approval be given the final resolve of Resolution No. 43 and that approval be given to the resolve of Resolution No. 136.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

POST-WAR HIGHWAYS

(Page 182, Executive Council's Report)

Under this caption of the Executive Council's report there is presented the necessity for a greater extension of the highways with the coming of peace. It gives the names of the bills which have been introduced in Congress to accomplish this objective. The Council calls attention to the fact that 45 State Legislatures will meet in January, 1945, and they must consider legislation which will make possible cooperation by the Federal Government and the States in extending the program for highway construction.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Council's report, and calls attention of all State Federations of Labor to the necessity of securing financial contributions through State legislation which is necessary to the further development of the state and national highways.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

(Page 191, Executive Council's Report, and Resolution No. 9)

Under the caption, "Federal Employees," the Executive Council reports on the sev-

eral bills and amendments to existing legislation which were secured for the benefit of Federal employees, and also calls attention to the active cooperation and assistance which the Executive Council has given to the National Organizations of Federal Employees affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The record of accomplishment indicates the reason for the resolution of appreciation for assistance given which these organizations of Federal employees have brought into this convention.

Under the sub-head Federal Employees Social Security Numbers the Executive Council reports upon its activities in connection with legislation relative to Federal Employees Social Security Numbers, and its intention to continue to cooperate in every way possible with our affiliated organizations to safeguard the interests and increase the salaries and benefits of the employees.

Your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

In this connection your committee directs attention to Resolution No. 9.

Government Employees Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates Leo E. George, John F. Bowen, Alex. Swickard, Wm. McGrath, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Joseph Considine, Louis Horlbeck, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, T. B. Dunahoo, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Lee D. Kistler, International Plate Printers; Die Stampers' and Engravers' Union of North America; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; Fred Baer, Bert Hayman, George J. Richardson, International Association of Firefighters; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers; Frank Coleman, Maryland State and D. C. Federation of Labor; John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; Jos. Landis, Irvin Kuentzell, Ira Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful

in improving standards of employment in the Government service, and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers, and

WHEREAS, All these unions have recently reaffirmed their allegiance to the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions of Government workers in this Sixty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

Resolution No. 9 was introduced by the entire delegation representing Federal employees affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which expresses their appreciation for what the American Federation of Labor has done to assist them.

The resolution requires no action by the convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CANAL ZONE

(Page 196, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption, "Canal Zone," the Executive Council reports on the numerous bills which it has supported in the interest of employes on the Canal Zone including the McCarran amendment which prohibits the employment of aliens by the government on the Canal Zone in positions above the grade of common labor, which however has been suspended during the period of the war.

The provisions of the McCarran amendment should be enforced immediately after the cessation of the war, which will make secure the employment of many citizens of the United States, and give opportunities for employment to thousands more.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CANAL BUILDERS

(Page 198, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption, "Canal Builders," the Executive Council reports on the special recognition for those workers who built the Panama Canal, and providing a modest annuity for those who served three or more years prior to 1914 on the Canal Zone in constructing the Panama Canal. It also calls attention to the resolution adopted in the 1915 convention extending this provision for civilians which, after twenty-nine years of persistent effort, has been successfully concluded.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

(Page 221, Executive Council's Report)

This portion of the Executive Council's Report covers a subject of vital interest to all national and international unions of craftsmen in which the adequate training of apprentices is essential to maintain the necessary craft skill in the industry. Your committee commends the progress made by the Federal Committee of Apprentice Training to the continued extension of its activities, but the Executive Council properly calls attention to the necessity for management and labor under the proper policies, rules and regulations of the Federal Apprenticeship Committee to work out the every day and practical operation of a thorough-going apprenticeship system. In the field of apprentice training the function of the government should be to assist management and labor both of whom are the ones directly interested, and both of whom must have daily oversight of the apprentice training within the plant under the program and policies, the policies and the regulations of apprentice training, which can only be carried on successfully through the cooperative effort of management and labor in the plant. The American Federation of Labor from the beginning gave ac-

tive interest to the work being done by the Federal committee on apprentice training. Your committee notes with regret that this committee has been detached from the Department of Labor with which it has been incorporated, and transferred to another federal agency.

Your committee recommends that the President and the Executive Council be requested to present to the President of the United States the reasons why the committee should be re-transferred to the Department of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

(Page 198, Executive Council's Report)

Under the caption "White Collar Workers" the Executive Council reports upon its efforts during the year to secure adequate protection for the 15 million white collar Americans who are imperiled by the existing economic situation. The welfare of these groups was canvassed, and an agreement reached by the representatives of these organizations relative to the proposals which should be presented to the Senate subcommittee. In the hearings held, the representatives of these groups were given an opportunity to present the plight of such workers, and definite legislative proposals were made by their respective committee.

The council's report indicates the urgent necessity of giving every assistance possible to the so-called white collar workers because the position of many of them has become deplorable in view of their failure to secure a sufficient wage to meet the rapidly increased cost of living. The situation for a majority of these groups is a steadily deteriorating economic condition. Their standard of living has been forced downward. No group has been less successful in maintaining a real wage.

These groups, because of the character of their employment, must have the militant support of the American Federation of Labor. We cannot afford to remain silent or idle while a large section of the American workers are being forced to continually lower their standard of living because of an insufficient wage. It should be our definite purpose to extend every assistance to these groups in organizing, and in addition, to speak as well as work for them on all occasions.

With these comments your committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PUBLICITY, RADIO AND THE LABOR PRESS

**(Page 214, Executive Council's
Report)**

This portion of the Executive Council's report relates to the wave of anti-labor propaganda which has been launched against our trade union movement. In addition it refers to the volume and varied attack against labor on the home front, and the efforts of the publicity and information service of the American Federation of Labor to overcome the onslaught. The Executive Council indicates its purpose for the broadening and extending of the public relations program of the Federation, including greater use of the radio, and expanding and strengthening the labor press. It pays a tribute to our labor press, but indicates the necessity for greater helpfulness by the Federation.

It is the opinion of your committee that the immediate period following peace will require farther reaching and more wide-spread public relations than heretofore. Unquestionably public relations has become one of the outstanding requirements of our trade union movement.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council review the entire question of publicity and public relations in all of its aspects, so that a program may be approved and set into action which will give the most effective publicity relations possible.

With these comments your committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

**(Page 215, Executive Council's
Report)**

The American Federation of Labor is justly proud of its official magazine, the AMERI-

CAN FEDERATIONIST. Both its appearance and its content material make it an asset to our organization which should be put to the widest possible use.

We recommend that every central labor union create a committee or some special agency responsible for making sure that the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST is among the magazines in the reading room of their public library and its branches and in the libraries of their high schools. And further, that every state federation be responsible for having this magazine in the library of the state university and all outstanding colleges. The union might contribute a year's subscription to the library, knowing the magazine would be so useful that it could not be dispensed with at the end of the year.

We urge also that all subscribers as they read each issue, see that it is handed on to someone with an interest in some article, sent to a club, mailed on to someone in the armed forces, or put in some recreation center for service men or civilians. Just a little thought and care will greatly increase the usefulness of our present circulation.

We urge also all possible local cooperation to promote the sale of the magazine on public news stands. All members can help the public form the habit of looking to the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST as an authoritative source of information on the labor movement.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY

**(Page 216, Executive Council's
Report)**

This publication has been the pioneer effort to adapt economic data to the service of unions. It successfully and continuously translates statistical data into terms of human progress and need. Such interpretations provide the information necessary for policy making and application. Every union officer has a responsibility for maintaining and raising standards and needs to constantly review his factual understanding of wages and the capacity of the employer to pay increases. Labor's Monthly Survey keeps these officers in touch with trends and advised of when they need to add to their files of information. The time to prepare for the revival of collective bargaining

is well in advance of the lifting of the wage freeze.

We urge all internationals to supply their key men and their local union officials with this service which will supplement the service which their organizations may supply for their specific jurisdictions.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NORTH AMERICAN LABOR NEWS

(Page 217, Executive Council's Report)

We commend the action of the Executive Council in making available the clippings of labor news in Spanish. The American Federation of Labor as one of the oldest trade union organizations in the world has a responsibility for the regular distribution of information our trade unions and their experience in dealing with union problems, with other national labor organizations in the Western Hemisphere. This clipping sheet is a symbol of our good will and can help to build up lasting relationships and mutual understanding.

We concur in the recommendations of the Executive Council that this publication be continued and, we trust, expanded.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

OVERTIME ON WAR WORK

(Page 231, Executive Council's Report)

In this portion of the Executive Council's report attention is called to the inequitable operations of Executive Order 9240 and as amended by Executive Order 9248. The Executive Council recommends that Executive Order 9240 be rescinded at the earliest possible date.

With this recommendation your committee is in full accord and therefore recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ALASKA

(Pages 304-305, Executive Council's Report)

This portion of the Executive Council's report is a factual report of conditions affecting labor in Alaska, and the unnecessary and unjustified handicap placed upon American workmen in Alaska by directive orders and instructions issued by Federal agencies in Washington.

The Executive Council indicates the necessity for closer contact between the International Unions and their members employed in Alaska.

Your committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE

(Page 249, Executive Council's Report. Also Resolutions Nos. 27 and 49)

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY: In connection with the Executive Council's report on President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, your committee has considered Resolutions Nos. 27 and 49 which are as follows:

Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Discrimination in employment on account of race, color, religion and national origin, are unjust and un-Christian and hinder the war effort thereby causing the President of the United States to issue Executive Order 8802 under which the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice was established, and upon which sits a representative of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The work of the Fair Employment Practice Committee has received the commendation and support of most of the leading papers and the Protestant, Cath-

olic and Jewish churches and outstanding men and women in public life, and since the U. S. Senate Committee on Labor and Education of the present Congress voted out favorably a bill, for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee realizing that, in the interest of full employment for all workers, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin, and sound and constructive reconversion from a war to a peace economy, the aforementioned committee will be indispensable, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans, La., November, 1944, go on record as endorsing and supporting the existing President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice and also federal legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee in the interest of justice and fair-play for all workers, without regard to race, color, religion or national origin.

Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Louis P. Marciano, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is presently established a Fair Employment Practices Committee under a Directive of the President of the United States, in the exercise of his war time authority, and

WHEREAS, There has been demonstrated beyond any doubt the substantial need for the continued functioning of protective measures to prevent discrimination in employment against any person because of race, color or creed, and

WHEREAS, There is full recognition of the continued need for such protection to the American worker, in order to enjoy the democratic processes of our great country, and

WHEREAS, The eradication of discrimination has proven to be possible only through the establishment of appropriate legislation, or regulation through the Federal Government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby goes on record as supporting the establishment by the necessary congressional action of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee, to continue the necessary preventive measures to insure the American worker against discrimination in his employment because of race, color or creed.

The Executive Council's report is a record of the activities of the FEPC during the year, indicating that it received 4,050 cases involving complaints of discrimination, that 1,100 of these were brought to a satisfactory adjustment, while 1,799 were closed due to lack of sufficient evidence or merit, or lack of committee's jurisdiction and other causes. During this time the committee also

handled over 1,000 cases received prior to July 6, 1943 by the predecessor committee.

The report further calls attention to the coöperative agreement negotiated between the FEPC, and the War and Navy Departments, War Manpower Commission, United States Maritime Commission, War Shipping Administration, Office of Labor Production of the War Production Board, the National War Labor Board, and the United States Civil Service Commission, It is a report of progress.

Your committee therefore recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report and Resolutions Nos. 27 and 49.

DELEGATE WEBSTER, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. President and delegates to this convention: I wish to express appreciation of the Pullman Car Porters for the passage of this resolution. While the resolution did not ask the convention to support any particular bill, I think it advisable that we might say a word or two about the problems that the committee has met and why we feel the necessity of having a permanent committee, and some of the things we think will eventually have to be put into a permanent bill in the interest of these discriminatory practices.

The President of the United States, in his good judgment, saw fit to appoint this Committee on Fair Employment Practices, and on that committee since its beginning have been members of the American Federation of Labor. The problems have been quite complex and the report of the Executive Council indicates the problems and measures of success attained and the results of the activities of this committee.

In the attempt to carry out the work of the committee we have found some of these industrialists and labor unions who absolutely refuse to comply with the provisions of the Executive Order as it has been carried out by the President's Committee. So early in the activities of the committee we felt the need for sound provision whereby the regulations of the committee could be carried out.

Now it is our opinion and there has been some expression in the Executive Council's report as to the feeling that some objection might be raised.

The Sleeping Car Porters are aware of what might happen in that respect, and we are not any more in favor of anything that

would jeopardize free and voluntary trade unions than you are, but we have come to the conclusion as trade unionists that when these racial prejudices exist in industry, and unfortunately in some Unions, something extraordinary must be done to get proper compliance.

We believe, and it is the experience of the committee that if a trade union intends to do right under this question, it can be accomplished, so I will give you one or two illustrations of how it has actually worked.

Everyone is familiar with the situation in Philadelphia a few months ago, when it became necessary for the President of the United States to call the Army to settle the strike because a few men decided they did not want Negroes integrating into the public utilities. The corporation said they were willing to hire Negroes, but representatives of the Union—it was not an American Federation of Labor Union, but an independent or so-called company union that said they would not work with these Negroes if they were put on the street cars. The committee ordered that it be done and that they be put on the cars, and when the first attempt was made, the strike took place.

In the meantime there was an election and the CIO won on that particular problem. The United States Army moved in and they put Negroes on the street cars, and nothing has happened since then.

Now the opposite situation happened in Los Angeles. For over a year a committee and its staff attempted to reconcile the differences between the Union and company in the attempt to put Negroes on street cars in Los Angeles, and as stated by Commissioner McNutt, in order to live up to their obligation on the color line, it would interfere with the war industry. We found in Los Angeles hundreds of cars in the barn that could not be operated because they did not have men to operate them, yet they were turning down Negroes who applied and apparently had the qualifications. We held a public hearing in Los Angeles and it was proven that both the Union, which was a Local Union, and the Street Railway Company had been guilty of violating the order. They both admitted they were guilty of violating the order, but thought it better to violate the order than to invoke the storm and strife that would be created if they put Negroes on the cars.

However, they appeared to be more reasonable than those we usually meet and ask-

ed if we would sit down and talk with them, and for two days the members of the committee and representatives of the Street Car Company and their general counsel and the Local Amalgamated Union, along with one of their International Officers, sat around, and a method was worked out whereby Negroes could be integrated into the street railway industry. Within thirty days Negroes were integrated on the street cars all over Los Angeles, and nothing has happened since. So we are of the opinion if a trade union and a corporation are honestly interested in trying to solve this problem, they can do so.

Now, fellow delegates, it seems you feel that the only contention in reference to these discriminatory practices is in American Federation of Labor Unions. That is not true. We have found as much discrimination in fact more, in those that are not American Federation of Labor Unions. As a matter of fact, the question of discrimination against Negroes, and that is the largest problem the committee has to deal with, is no respecter of organization. Even these company unions have taken the same attitude; so have some of the CIO Unions and some of the American Federation of Labor Unions, and probably the greatest offender is the Railroad Brotherhoods.

We find they all have color clauses in their Constitution and do not admit Negroes, yet they control all grievance procedures before the Adjustment Board under the Railroad Labor Act. Here we have the situation of Negroes employed on the railroads in certain classifications, but because they cannot belong to an organization, they have no organization to take their grievances to and be placed before the Adjustment Board under the Railroad Labor Act. This is a most atrocious situation.

We filed cases against the Locomotive Firemen's Association and a number of carriers operating in the Southeast—the Southeastern Carriers' Association. After considerable difficulty the hearings were held in Washington for four days. The railroad carriers appeared in all their splendor. The Railroad Locomotive and Firemen did not see fit to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the committee, but the committee found both the carriers—those that were operating as the Southeastern Carriers Association and the Locomotive Firemen—were guilty of violating the Executive Order. Directives were issued. We found

they were not only guilty of violating the Executive Order, but they had entered into an agreement between the Locomotive Firemen's Association and the Southeastern Carriers Association with the National Mediation Board sitting in, for the purpose of eliminating Negro firemen off of the jobs on which Negroes have worked for forty or fifty years. It was found by this particular process, brought about by discrimination, they were being slowly but surely eliminated from the road. The committee found the agreement *per se* in violation of the Executive Order and ordered it scrapped. Neither the carriers nor the unions agreed to abide by the decision and told us in no uncertain terms that they would not, and so it was referred to the President of the United States under the regular procedure the committee found.

Shortly after it was submitted to the President of the United States, he appointed what we know as the Stacy Committee. That was seven or eight months ago, and up to the present time no one knows what has been done, but as a result of the expose they did begin to hire a few Negroes on the roads involved and in some instances allowed Negroes to work on Diesels. It seemed the bone of contention was a Negro fireman was good enough to fire a wood burner, a coal burner or stokerized engine but not a Diesel engine.

Shortly after this expose, a few Negro firemen were allowed to operate on Diesel engines, but due, apparently to the long delay in this committee bringing about some final decision on this matter, we find again they are now being displaced as the result of introduction of Diesel engines. When you run into a situation such as that—and we will run into numbers of situations of that sort after this war is over, if the law is passed to make the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices a permanent institution, or rather to set up another institution, a commission or some other agency to carry out the functions as they are now being carried out by the President's Committee—unless we have some method whereby these situations can be corrected when we run into these obstinate organizations, both on the employers and the union side, it will be a useless gesture and we will be just fooling ourselves and we still won't have anything.

The President says—and we all have the utmost confidence in him—that they are

going to provide 60,000,000 jobs for the workers of the nation, for the boys coming back from foreign lands after victory has been won. If the pattern that still exists in this nation, which has relegated Negro workers in this country either to no jobs or to the least desirable jobs, then it will be a worthless gesture to talk about 60,000,000 jobs, and we can't get jobs on the same basis as all other workers getting jobs in this country.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has been in this organization for a number of years. We have not always agreed with everything which it did, but we are still in the organization. According to the statement made by President Green before a meeting we held for the purpose of having the American Federation of Labor point of view interpreted to the Negro workers at the opening of our convention, he said there were 1,000,000 Negroes in the American Federation of Labor. I might point out that if the statistics are correct and there are 7,000,000 workers in the American Federation and 1,000,000 Negroes, we feel we have a right to call upon you and ask you to cooperate with us in trying to solve some of these problems which, if not solved, will not permit of any democracy in this country. There cannot be any full democracy unless everybody participates.

We found out in the investigation of the President's Committee in the earlier stages that there was a common pattern in one of the large industries of this nation that they would not hire Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Negroes and dark-skinned Mexicans. With that sort of philosophy abroad in the land it is apparent that some more drastic, some more extraordinary effort must be put forth in order to make these people appreciate that all the workers of this nation are entitled to this democracy, which all of us are fighting for, and not just a selected few.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT (Executive Council's Report, Pages 153-154)

The Executive Council reports that a uni-

versal 40 cent minimum wage has been established under the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act, which comprises 21 million workers. The Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division is to be commended for his reliance on the voluntary industry committee procedure which has made possible the attainment of the universal 40-cent wage minimum more than a full year ahead of the automatic schedule prescribed in the statute. It should be stressed also that each minimum wage recommended by each industry committee has been established as the result of representative participation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates in the deliberation of these committees. By lifting minimum wages from 25 to 40 cents an hour in covered industries during the past six years, organized labor has made a major contribution toward raising the standard of compensation among all workers in the lowest paying industries and occupations in the country.

The gains made to date should be vigilantly guarded against impairment by law or court decree. Extension of the coverage of the act should be vigorously sought to extend the benefits of the statute to the branches of food processing industry and industrialized agriculture where workers are now denied these benefits by discriminatory exemptions. A concerted effort should be made to amend the act to authorize industry committees to recommend the establishment of minimum wage rates above the present 40-cent limit in order to adjust the minimum standard of compensation to the rise in the cost of living and to the elimination of overtime and curtailment in the hours of work. Labor's efforts to prevent the reduction of full-time earnings and thus safeguard the weekly, monthly and annual wage incomes of workers must be made a major weapon of defense against mass unemployment in the years to come.

We note the limitations in the coverage of the Federal statute which gives no protection to the minimum standards of pay to wage-earners in trades, services and other employment outside interstate commerce. We recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor extend every assistance to State Federations of Labor in a drive to secure the enactment of state wage and hour laws in order to protect low paid workers and assure uni-

formity of pay standards in all occupations.

With these recommendations we urge the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SOCIAL INSURANCE

(Page 147, Executive Council's Report)

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill which contained the legislative proposals of the Committee on Social Security and the President of the American Federation of Labor developed in accordance with approved policies of the Federation and introduced in the 78th Congress, has not been considered by either House of Congress. It has, however, served to stimulate extensive discussion and public education on these subjects of such vital interest to wage earners and their families.

With the convening of the 79th Congress there will be an opportunity to introduce legislation designed to meet the earlier objectives and to reflect the considered judgments derived from the experience with the legislation introduced in the last Congress. Your committee accordingly recommends that the Committee on Social Security work with the President of the American Federation of Labor in preparing and submitting to the Congress legislation which will provide a comprehensive system of contributory social insurance and social security designed to attain the following specific objectives:

(1) A national system of Unemployment Insurance providing compensation in the event workers become unemployed through no fault of their own or from temporary disability on a uniform basis to all workers not otherwise covered who are employed by private employers, with provisions for inclusion on their own election by the self-employed and employees of the states, their instrumentalities and political subdivisions; such compensation to be a proportion of previous earnings with minimum benefits sufficient to prevent destitution and maximum limits with respect to duration and amount of benefit.

(2) Extension of the present system of Old Age and Survivors Insurance to provide annuities for old age and total disability and survivors insurance for all persons who are employed by private employers and with provision for inclusion, on their own election, by the self-employed and by the employees of the states, their instrumentalities and po-

litical subdivisions not otherwise covered. eration of Labor of November 20th endorsing benefit payments based on the earnings of the insured with minimum and maximum benefits.

(3) The social security rights of men and women in military service should be protected without interference with any veterans' benefits to which they may be entitled.

(4) A national system of Health Insurance providing health services for all covered workers and members of their families.

(5) A unified Public Assistance Program which will provide federal grant-in-aid to the states adjusted to the relative financial needs of the states in order to enable them to provide more equal assistance to all needy persons.

Your committee further recommends that pending the enactment of such legislation every effort be made within the various states to improve the present State Unemployment Compensation Systems. The following specific proposals are recommended for submission to the state legislatures, forty-four of which will convene during 1945.

(1) That the present limitations existing in some states on coverage by the number of employees employed in an establishment or by an employer be removed;

(2) That maximum unemployment benefit payments be increased to \$25 per week.

(3) That the maximum period for which benefits can be paid to eligible workers be raised to 26 weeks.

(4) That the restrictive disqualification provisions which prevent workers who are involuntarily separated from their employment from drawing benefits be modified so as to remove the penal provisions from the State Unemployment Insurance Systems and restore the traditional freedom of workers to change their employment.

We note with approval that the recommendations made to the 63rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that a program for mobilizing labor action nationally in support of the social security program of the Federation is now getting under way and that toward this end a person has been appointed by President Green to serve full time on the staff of the American Federation of Labor as Director of Social Insurance Activities.

We recommend for the favorable consideration of all national and international unions, state federations of labor, and city central bodies, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that Social Security Committees be appointed in each of these affiliated organizations for the purpose of assisting in the promotion of the Social Se-

curity Program of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HAWAII

(Page 307, Executive Council's Report)

This portion of the Executive Council's report tells the story of organized labor's activities in Hawaii during the last year, and directs attention to the development of organization and the many additional trade union agreements which have been negotiated, all resulting in higher wages and improved conditions of labor.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

PUERTO RICO FREE FEDERATION OF WORKINGMEN

(Page 309, Executive Council's Report)

In this portion of its report the Executive Council has gone at length and in detail to report upon developments in Puerto Rico during the year. Reference is made to the increased number of trade union agreements which have been negotiated and the improved terms of employment and conditions of labor which they established. The workers of Puerto Rico are to be especially commended for their continuous and courageous effort to build up and strengthen their trade union movement. Our trade union movement in Puerto Rico has established a splendid record for patriotic devotion during the war.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

VICE PRESIDENT WOLL: This completes the report of your Committee on Resolutions with the exception of two small matters which we will report upon tomorrow morning.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Green of the Credentials Committee for report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Committee Secretary Green, on behalf of the committee, reported favorably upon the seating of Harry Crews as a delegate representing the International Association of Firefighters in place of John F. Redmond.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

COMMUNICATION

Secretary Meany read the following message:

WESTERN UNION

Washington, D. C.,
November 25, 1944.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Hotel Roosevelt,
New Orleans, La.

The resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labor of November 20th endorsing H. R. 4715 is sincerely appreciated and I desire to thank the convention on behalf of the Railway Mail Association.

C. N. HARVEY, President.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now we will receive the report of the Committee on State Organizations. I am pleased to present to you Acting Chairman Walter, Secretary of the Boilermakers International Union.

ACTING CHAIRMAN WALTER: President Green and delegates, the Committee on State Organizations has handled all of the subjects referred to our committee, and our fair-haired secretary, Berniece B. Heffner, will make the report.

Committee Secretary Berniece B. Heffner submitted the following report, on behalf of the committee:

STATE LABOR LEGISLATION

(Executive Council Report, Pages 199, 200, 201, 202, 203 and 204)

The Executive Council has presented a splendid factual report on several problems facing the workers in the several States, on the following questions:

- (1) Operation of Workmen's Compensation;
- (2) Length of time that workers can claim wages due them;
- (3) Permission granted for children under 16 to work in stores and factories;
- (4) States not having adequate anti-injunction laws to supplement the Norris-La Guardia Act;
- (5) States that do not protect women workers with maximum work-week laws; and
- (6) States that do not prohibit industrial home work.

There is not much that your Committee can add to the report of the Executive Council on the above question, as the report is comprehensive and complete. Your Committee concurs in the report, and urges

that in those States whose laws do not provide adequate protection to the workers, the State Federations of Labor, through their State Legislatures, marshal all their economic strength to remedy any and all shortcomings that may exist. It appears obvious that unless State Legislatures adopt more protective legislation for the workers, equivalent to that granted by other States on the above subjects, the only remedy left to the workers will be to seek to have such legislation and protection granted them by Federal enactment, to the end that they may receive equitable protection regardless of where they may have to work.

State Labor Legislation

Last year the Convention was informed of the anti-labor enactments passed in the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, South Dakota, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Texas and Colorado. No further legislation of this nature was passed since 1943, although there were introduced in the legislatures of several states similar enactments which were defeated. However, in three states enactments were submitted to a vote of the people for a proposal to amend the constitution. These states were California, Florida and Arkansas. The enactments deal with one specific phase of labor legislation, that is, the out-lawing of the closed shop. The proposal was defeated in California, but was passed by small majorities in Florida and Arkansas.

The various state enactments have been carefully analyzed by the legal department of the American Federation of Labor with a view of attacking their constitutionality. The American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with State Federations of Labor, caused suits to be instituted in the states of Alabama, Florida, Idaho, South Dakota, Kansas, Texas and Colorado. The purpose of these suits is to restrain by injunction the law enforcement officials of the state from enforcing the law until the Supreme Court of the United States has passed upon the validity of at least one of these laws. As a result of the commencement of these suits in the various courts of the several states mentioned no state, with the exception of Arkansas has sought outright enforcement of the laws, and in all probability will not enforce the laws until the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision respecting the validity of one of

them. There is now pending before the United States Supreme Court the Alabama suit. Briefs are in preparation and arguments will be made before the Supreme Court on the validity of this law within a few weeks. Thus a decision will be rendered at an early date which will determine the rights and obligations of labor under these restrictive measures.

It is unnecessary to analyze in detail these various enactments since such an analysis was made and appeared in the Executive Council's report in 1943. It is well, however, to bear in mind that the objectives of these enactments are (1) that unions and officers secure a license before they can function; (2) that workers affected by a labor dispute cannot picket and boycott in furtherance of a strike unless it is voted by a majority of the workers; (3) a complete subjection of the internal affairs of labor unions to supervision and domination by the state.

These laws, if valid, would destroy the basic foundation on which trade unionism rests in this country, namely "Voluntarism." It would convert our free trade unions into creatures of the state and thus establish totalitarian government in the United States. As previously stated, the validity of this legislation is being subjected to court tests instituted by our general counsel, and considerable success has been had in the courts to the present time. However, the final determination of the rights and duties of labor unions under this legislation will have to await the decision of the Supreme Court in the Alabama case.

Your committee feels gratified with the able manner in which this litigation is being handled by our general counsel.

Experience has proved that this legislation can be defeated only by concerted effort on the part of organized labor in the various State Federations of Labor. Laws of this nature were introduced in twenty-two of the states in 1943 and through the efforts of the State Federations of Labor and their affiliates they were defeated in 10 states. No single union or combination of a few local unions can effectively cope with the tremendous propaganda machine and the unlimited resources of the forces backing this legislation.

The most effective work in opposition to these amendments has been performed by State Federations of Labor.

Your Committee believes it to be impera-

tive that every local union and every council within each state unite with their respective State Federations of Labor and your committee further urges that the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and every international union use every means at their command to see to it that their local unions and councils are in affiliation and united with each State Federation of Labor. Only by such united and concerted action can the unions hope to meet with success.

Respectfully submitted

G. M. Bugniazet, Chairman
Berniece B. Heffner, Secretary
William E. Walter
George L. Googe
Joseph A. Mullaney
John Clinton
Phil Hannah
Charles T. Crane
C. J. Haggerty
W. S. Gross
Thomas A. Murray
Oliver De Poorter
Gust Anderson
John J. Guenther
Louis Koenig
John F. Joinville
Bernard Quinn
James D. Graham
Claude O'Reilly
John J. Hauck
Harry W. Acreman
George Troy
E. A. Carter
Alex. F. Swickard

Committee on State Organizations.

ACTING CHAIRMAN WALTER: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE HAGGERTY, California State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I want to take this opportunity of presenting to the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor International Unions the sincere and deep gratitude of the California State Federation of Labor for the splendid assistance given to us in the recent campaign in our State against this anti-labor measure known as Proposition No. 12. Without that splendid aid of the President of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council, the various national and international unions, I am sure we could not have been successful in defeating this measure.

It must be obvious to all of you here that a measure of that type takes the concerted activity and the full weight and strength of the labor movement in those States to defeat it. It was not alone the financial

support you gave to us, which was very helpful, but the very fact that we had International Presidents assisting us with their publications and magazines and their various means of educating the membership, in a way that naturally stimulated the Unions of the States and the Locals and Councils to do their utmost to defeat this measure.

I think it is important that you realize how important the National Unions are to our component parts in the various States, the component councils of the various States, because when we can show to our Local Unions who are not in affiliation in numerous instances that International Unions recognize and are conscious of the viciousness of these measures and are behind us, we automatically have the support of those Unions and Councils behind us in our campaign.

I know it must be obvious to you that more and more we are going to have these campaigns at the State level. It is apparent to all of us that the point of attack will not be the national level, but it will be the State level. There, it seems to me, we have to mobilize our forces wherever the attack may be made, and while Arkansas, Colorado, California and Florida are proving grounds now, there is no assurance that every other State, taken one by one or two by two, will not be the victims of the same kind of an attack, because if we can have decisions similar to that we were told about today, rendered by the Florida Supreme Court, granting the right to cities, counties and States to license our people, certainly we will be helpless to carry on our activities for our people in the various States.

So I hope you here will recognize the extreme necessity of giving your full aid and support, not just financially, which of course is important, but to see that your people are in the various divisions of labor, the various Councils, because unless we meet these attacks in a unified matter we cannot win.

I hope the report will be adopted, Mr. Chairman.

DELEGATE HOYT, Florida State Federation of Labor: I feel at this time I would be remiss in my duty to the organizations in Florida if I did not have a little something to say on this particular subject.

We have not been as fortunate in Arkansas and Florida to defeat the amendment as California was. We have an ex-

tremely vicious anti-labor amendment there with an extremely vicious State's Attorney, who has declared the minute that law was enacted into law, which was done a week ago today, he would start to enforce it. Florida is an agricultural and tourist state, not industrial in any way, and for that reason it makes it absolutely necessary, if possible, to have all of the local unions affiliated with the State Federations of Labor and the City Central Bodies assist in every way possible.

I would like to second the remarks of Brother Haggerty in regard to the subject and see if it is possible for us to get the groups in Florida and the other States to affiliate.

The Unions in Florida are up in arms and annoyed by this legislation, and several industries, including some of the shipyards and motion picture people have stated the moment this law becomes effective, they will throw their theatres and shipyards into open shops.

DELEGATE MOWERY, President, Arkansas State Federation of Labor: I want to express the thanks of the Local Unions in Arkansas and our State Federation for the benefits we received from the American Federation of Labor and International Unions in our fight against this amendment. We, too, were defeated by a narrow margin. We found practically every business association in the State was lined up with the Christian American Association. We endeavored to secure the signatures of leading business men and industrialists, those few in Arkansas, to be used for advertising purposes and found during our campaign that the wholesale hardware people, wholesale grocers, the Brewers' Association and Chambers of Commerce, all those groups were entered into the fight against organized labor. The Farm Bureau Federation, which exerts a strong influence over the extension service, and we are primarily a farming State, we found were in opposition to us.

We also found that some of the International Unions who had opened offices at the proposed Camden arsenal, had set up offices to take applications and were informing individuals from that farming section that it would be necessary to join unions and pay initiation fees, and it worked to the detriment of our campaign.

I say those things not in criticism of the Internationals who had their representatives on the ground, but for the benefit of those

States where this legislation will be proposed at some time in the future. I point out these other things so that you might prepare yourselves to combat that sort of legislation when it arises.

We found these people worked very strongly on the emotions of the fathers, mothers and wives of men in service. Thousands of letters and pamphlets went to them from the Christian American Association in Little Rock. You will be flooded with that kind of propaganda.

I heartily endorse the recommendations of the committee, and like Brother Haggerty, we ask that you adopt the recommendations of the committee.

DELEGATE SMITH, Clark County Central Labor Council, Washington: Mr. President and delegates: I have listened with interest to the discussion here on the anti-labor laws passed in various states. I represent the Clark County Central Labor Council of Southwest Washington. Those of us in the Council more or less anticipate a program of this sort in our State, but so far no such legislation has been proposed. However, the Legislative Committee of our Council has formed a joint committee with the Farmers' Grange Association to operate on a year round basis. They will meet and discuss proposed legislation for the benefit of the State, and through that effort, I think we will make friends with the various farmers of the State and prevent any such law being passed in the State of Washington.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any further remarks?

DELEGATE SINGER, American Federation of Musicians: Mr. President, I am here representing the Musicians, but I am President of the Central Labor Body of Miami. I want to thank the members of the American Federation of Labor and International organizations who helped us in Florida trying to prevent the passage of Amendment 5 in our State. As Brother Haggerty told you, this Attorney General is vicious. He is exactly that. He will not stop at anything, and in our State it is not the Christian American Association, but the associated industries and the DuPont interests. In Miami we were able to defeat the amendment through the good services of three members of the House of Representatives from Dade County and the Ministerial Association.

I also want to take the opportunity of thanking the press of Miami, particularly

the Miami Herald which gave us much assistance and would like to thank the brother from Arkansas and the committee for its report, and hope it will be adopted by the convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any further remarks?

The report and recommendation of the committee were unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: That concludes the report of the Committee on State Organizations, and we thank the committee for their services.

Is the Committee on Adjustment ready to make at least, a partial report?

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

VICE PRESIDENT FELIX KNIGHT, Chairman of the Committee: Mr. President, the secretary of the committee, Brother Maloney, will read the report.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MALONEY: Mr. President, this will be a complete report. The committee had two cases before it. The first one, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks vs the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, appears on page 461 of the fifth day's proceedings and is as follows:

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Brotherhood of Railway Clerks vs. The Order of Railroad Telegraphers

A jurisdictional dispute arose between the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the Order of Railroad Telegraphers. Said dispute was presented to and considered by government agencies created for the purpose of dealing with such disputes.

The phase of this jurisdictional dispute which was brought to the attention of the Executive Council dealt with an application made for an injunction on the part of the officers of The Order of Railroad Telegraphers to restrain the officers of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks from attempting to enforce the jurisdiction of said organiza-

tion over certain workers employed on certain railroads.

After giving consideration to the question and after taking into account all testimony, information and facts presented, the Executive Council adopted the following resolution:

"RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor after hearing parties at interest does formally request the Order of Railroad Telegraphers to abandon the suit for injunction now pending in the Federal District Court for the Eastern division of the Eastern District of Missouri, and that The Order of Railroad Telegraphers submit to a determination of the jurisdictional questions in controversy by the A. F. of L. pursuant to custom, practice, well settled and established procedures and in obedience to obligations of affiliation. The Executive Council deprecates this action of The Order of Railroad Telegraphers and regards such conduct as contrary to and in violation of the long established policy of the American Federation of Labor to oppose the use of the injunction against Labor Unions in labor disputes."

In addition, the Executive Council at its meeting held in Philadelphia and during the month of May, 1944, adopted the following declaration:

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
May 9, 1944.

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY AND STEAMSHIP CLERKS, FREIGHT HANDLERS, EXPRESS AND STATION EMPLOYEES VS. THE ORDER OF RAILROAD TELEGRAPHERS:

This case came on for hearing and decision through complaint filed by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, April 29th, 1944, against The Order of Railroad Telegraphers alleging that the telegraphers have been and are now invading and transgressing the work jurisdiction of said Brotherhood. The Order of Railroad Telegraphers was chartered by the American Federation of Labor October 31, 1899, and new charter was issued September 18, 1901, and thereupon admitted to affiliation as an International Labor Union of railroad employees engaged in transmission of intelligence by Morse Code through wires. In the year 1913, said ORT applied to the A. F. of L. for extension of jurisdiction to include the clerical work and this request was denied in the year 1914. No extension of jurisdiction has been granted since date of affiliation.

The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks was admitted to the A. F. of L. in 1907 as an International Labor Union of Railroad and Steamship clerks employed by railroads, steamships and other transportation companies. On application, jurisdiction was extended to include freight handlers employed by railroads.

At the hearing of their complaint by the Executive Council, the Brotherhood alleged that the members of the ORT have been and are now making records, bills, accounts, assessing and collecting charges for the transportation of property and selling tickets and other clerical work for the transportation of persons.

In many instances members of the ORT devote substantially their entire work day to clerical work and only one hour or less to telegraphers' work. It was shown by the Brotherhood that the ORT had admitted to membership employees of railroads who devote their entire working day to clerical work such as selling passenger tickets, receiving, deliveries, billing, rating and collecting charges and making of other records for the transportation of property.

The ORT admitted its members have been and are now doing clerical work as claimed by the Brotherhood, but undertook to defend this conduct by pointing out that this has been done for many years to a varying extent and that clerical work is a part of their jurisdiction. It was claimed that unless members of the ORT are permitted to do clerical work their jobs as telegraphers will in many instances be discontinued because there is no need for their services as telegraphers. The ORT admitted some of its members are exclusively employed doing clerical work and they do have in membership clerks employed by the railroads in the United States and Canada.

The facts are clear that the Brotherhood was granted jurisdiction over all railroad clerical work of the character above described and that the ORT has invaded the work jurisdiction of the said Brotherhood granted by the American Federation of Labor. Their violation of clerks jurisdiction by the ORT cannot be excused because it has continued for some time. The very purpose of the A. F. of L. in granting work jurisdiction to International Unions would be defeated if their contention were accepted. It would breed non-respect for the rights of affiliation and induce industrial conflict that will inevitably result in work interception.

The Executive Council finds that the ORT is violating the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, et al. and instructs said ORT to confine its members to the work jurisdiction granted by the A. F. of L., and directs that any member of the ORT performing clerical work be disassociated from membership.

The Executive Council regarded the resort to the use of the writ of injunction in the controversy herein referred to, as a violation of the traditions and policies of the American Federation of Labor and of the declarations made by conventions of the American Federation of Labor regarding resort to the use of the writ of injunction in labor disputes. It is the fixed traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor to bring about and promote the settle-

ment of jurisdictional disputes which arise between organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor through conferences and submission to duly and legally constituted tribunals set up by the American Federation of Labor, rather than to resort to the use of the writ of injunction.

Long and extended hearings were held on this controversy, and the Presidents of both organizations reviewed this case in great detail.

Your committee deprecates the action of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers in going to court without exhausting the machinery of the American Federation of Labor for the settling of jurisdictional disputes and recommends concurrence in the Executive Council's Report with this proviso, that the words contained in the last three lines of the declaration adopted by the Council on May 9, 1944 be deleted.

The paragraph will then read as follows: "The Executive Council finds the Order of Railroad Telegraphers is violating the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, et al, and instructs said Order of Railroad Telegraphers to confine its members to the work jurisdiction granted by the American Federation of Labor."

Your committee further recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call a meeting of representatives of both organizations within sixty days after the adjournment of the convention for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment of all matters connected with this controversy.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Is there any discussion?

DELEGATE GARDNER, Order of Railroad Telegraphers: I find in the committee's report this statement, "The Executive Council finds the Order of Railroad Telegraphers is violating the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, et al, and instructs said order of Railroad Telegraphers to confine its members to the work jurisdiction granted by the American Federation of Labor."

I want to say that I do not agree with this statement. In fact, I disagree with it. I make this statement for the record and to make my position clear. I thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any further remarks?

The report of recommendation of the committee was approved without a dissenting vote.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MALONEY: The committee then considered Resolution No. 118 which is as follows:

Auto Workers vs. Molders

Resolution No. 118—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, Joseph Steiger, Ernest Atkinson, Gustave Knuese, Charles Blame, International Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America and Delegates Ray Kolsay, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union.

WHEREAS, For several years the UAW-AFL has been continually raiding foundries and other work shops which do not come under their jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, Many meetings have been held with President Green who has told the representatives of the UAW-AFL that they cannot invade the jurisdiction of other organizations and inasmuch as they simply take no notice of it, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor act upon this matter and revoke the charter of the UAW-AFL.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MALONEY: Representatives from all organizations involved in this controversy appeared before our committee and discussed the subject matter contained in this resolution from their respective viewpoints.

However, as the result of a meeting with President Green and complaining organizations in the Roosevelt Hotel on Saturday, November 25th, President Lester Washburn, International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, wrote the following letter to President Green:

November 27th, 1944.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
c/o Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, Louisiana.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In accordance with your request made at the conference called by you at the Roosevelt Hotel on Saturday, November 25th, 1944, between representatives of the Metal Trades National and International Unions and representatives of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, the United Automobile Workers agree to continue to adhere to the agreement made between the above mentioned National and International Unions at Seattle, Washington, in 1941.

The United Automobile Workers further agree that in the event a jurisdictional controversy should arise between the United Automobile Workers and any of the above mentioned National or International Unions, the United Auto Workers will, upon your request as President of the American Federation of

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Labor, assign a representative to meet with a representative of the particular union involved for the purpose of finding a mutually satisfactory solution.

Fraternally yours,
International Union, United
Automobile Workers of America,
LESTER WASHBURN, President.

Your committee accepts the above letter and trusts the policies outlined therein will be carried out in good faith by the Automobile Workers, and that violations of the jurisdiction of the International Molders and Foundry Workers Union as charged in the resolution will cease.

Your committee non-concurs in the resolution, and I move adoption of the committee's report.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any remarks?

DELEGATE STEVE NSON, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I am not going to oppose the committee's report. However, I would have been a little more satisfied had they made the same recommendation as they did with the Brotherhood of Railroad Clerks of having you call a meeting within 60 days, because first, I do not agree as to whether we had an agreement in Seattle in 1941. The Automobile Workers made the statement before your committee that when they received the charter back again, that carried with it all of the shops, foundries, machine shops and everything else. I have to disagree with that, and it is necessary in my opinion, for not alone the Molders, but the others, to call a conference. I would not want it called this year because I am too busy, but in the early part of the next year, for the purpose of deciding what the agreement in Seattle was. I was at that meeting in Seattle. There was nothing brought out, only that they would stop invading our and other jurisdictions. I am not opposed to the committee's report, but would like it understood that you are calling a meeting of the representatives of the different organizations involved in the early part of 1945 to clear up the agreement that they claim exists from 1941.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any further remarks? The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee, Brother Knight.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KNIGHT: Delegates, Brother Stevenson was present when this letter was read in the hearing, as were members of the Molders represented on the committee and likewise a representative of the Metal Polishers. Brother

Stevenson offered no suggestions or anything, and the representative of the Metal Polishers stated he thought the letter settled it, and the committee assumed that the hearing President Green called at the Roosevelt Hotel on Saturday, the 25th, when the interested parties were present, sufficed for a hearing that might be called later, and that was the reason for that recommendation not being made.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair will gladly assure Brother Stevenson that I will respond to his request to call a conference at the earliest possible date.

The report and recommendation of the committee was adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MALONEY: That concludes the report of the committee, which is signed by the following members:

Felix H. Knight, Chairman
James Maloney, Secretary
Roy Horn
John F. McNamara
J. B. Etchison
Charles L. Bagley
Arthur Seward
H. H. Reddick
Frank Brewster
Ed. J. Brown
E. J. Manion
Ernest Atkinson
James Edgar
George W. Lawson
Gus Van Heck
L. M. Raftery
Harry Nacey
Joseph J. Delaney
J. O. Mack
Joseph O'Neill
Joseph P. McCurdy
Samuel R. Diskan
Louis Krouse
Gordon Chapman
George Grisham
Committee on Adjustment.

I move adoption of the committee's report as a whole.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole by unanimous vote, and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN: May I announce that we will receive the report of the Committee on Education tomorrow morning, and following that a report from the Committee on Organization. I hope the chairmen of these committees will be prepared to submit their reports in the morning.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, we will stand adjourned until 9:30 tomorrow.

At 5:30 o'clock P. M. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, November 30

EIGHTH DAY — THURSDAY MORNING SESSION**New Orleans, Louisiana, November 30, 1944**

New Orleans, Louisiana
November 30, 1944

Delegate W. J. Bassett, Secretary of the
Committee, reported as follows:

The convention was called to order by
President Green at 9:50 o'clock.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I request Brother
Charles B. Gramling, our good old friend
from the International Union of Operating
Engineers, to pronounce the invocation this
morning.

INVOCATION

**(Delegate Charles B. Gramling,
International Union of Operating
Engineers)**

Our Gracious Heavenly Father, we are
thankful to Thee for having supported us
to go this far in our deliberations. Heav-
enly Father, we ask that peace and har-
mony continue throughout the deliberations
of this convention.

We thank Thee again for the lives of our
soldiers and sailors, our air corps men and
our marines, for our boys and girls. Bring
them back to us quickly through a speedy
and successful victory.

Our Father, we ask Thee to take charge
of us and in the closing hours of this con-
vention guide and direct us in that spirit
of harmony which must prevail everywhere
if we are to succeed.

These things we ask in Thy name. Amen.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now
presents to you Vice President Doherty,
Chairman of the Committee on Organiza-
tion.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON
ORGANIZATION**

VICE PRESIDENT DOHERTY: Mr.
Chairman, your Committee on Organization
held two meetings which were well attended
and at which the Director of Organization
of American Federation of Labor assisted
very ably in handling the matters that came
before our committee.

The committee is now ready to report,
and the report will be submitted by the
committee's secretary, Brother W. J. Bas-
sett.

**Financial Aid for Masters, Mates
and Pilots**

**Resolution No. 115—By Delegate E. W.
Higginbotham, National Organization Mas-
ters, Mates and Pilots of America.**

WHEREAS, The National Organization
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America went
on record at its forty-sixth national con-
vention assembled at Washington, D. C.,
October 25, 1944, legalizing within its or-
ganization the establishment of the branch
system, whereby two or more locals may
consolidate into such system, and

WHEREAS, Experience and past history
has proven that small locals not self-sup-
porting on the Great Lakes do not make any
progress because no regular paid officer
can be supported by them for organizational
purposes and so forth, which puts these
locals in the very vulnerable position of
being dissolved, as well as being impossible
to expand, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federa-
tion of Labor supply financial aid to the
National Organization Masters, Mates and
Pilots for an organizer for the Great Lakes
District.

Information obtained by your committee
from the author discloses that the National
Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots has
now consolidated many of the local unions
in preparation of organizing activities. The
committee therefore recommends that this
matter be referred to the Executive Council
with a recommendation that all possible fi-
nancial assistance be granted.

The recommendation of the committee was
unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BASSETT:
Your committee recommends that Resolu-
tion 116 be amended to read as follows:

Organization

**Resolution No. 116—By Delegates Lester
Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria,
Peter G. Noll, Frank Evans, International**

Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The organizational efforts of the American Federation of Labor are divided among all national and international unions and the organizational staff of the general headquarters of the AFL, and

WHEREAS, Each national and international union is operating individually in every section of the country to advance its own interests, and

WHEREAS, Representatives of each national and international union come in contact daily with possibilities to organize workers into the American Federation of Labor who are not subject to their respective jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, At present each national and international union, separately and individually, must compete with the combined strength of an unscrupulous national federation of labor which is dual to the policies and principles of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The combined interest and efforts of all officers, representatives and business agents of all national and international unions, state federations and central bodies would constitute a force superior to anything that could be produced by any dual or opposing organization, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor instruct the organizational director in each state or region call a state-wide conference each month of all national and international representatives, general organizers and officers, and representatives of state federations of labor, and request that each central body call a similar meeting once each month of all general organizers, national and international representatives and local business agents, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the purpose of such conferences shall be to collect information on all organizational possibilities, and formulate plans whereby the combined organizational strength of all AFL unions may be used in assisting each national or international union, in every effort to enroll every worker into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee devoted considerable attention to the subject matter of this resolution and consulted at length with Director of Organization, Frank P. Fenton.

The information obtained indicates the serious problems and need for collective action in order to protect and expand AFL International Unions and affiliated locals in the face of dual organizational activities.

Your committee is convinced that conferences for the purpose of planning mutual assistance can and will consolidate the available manpower of the American Federation of Labor to such a degree that dual opposition may be defeated and the progress of the American Fed-

eration of Labor will be accelerated. Therefore your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Grain Processors International Charter

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Grain Processors Council has been functioning as a council for approximately eight years, and

WHEREAS, This council has shown itself as being capable of handling its affairs as a national organization, and

WHEREAS, By working under an international charter the American Federation of Grain Processors would be in better financial condition to organize the unorganized under its jurisdiction, because of more solidarity and increased revenue because of more dues paid into such International Union, and

WHEREAS, Other councils have been awarded national charters, with far less membership, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record in favor of granting an international charter to this council.

An application by the Grain Processors for a charter was denied in 1941 due to jurisdictional questions which brought objections from three International Unions.

The committee interviewed representatives of the American Federation of Grain Processors Council on this subject matter and were assured that the Grain Processors are not desirous of retaining jurisdiction belonging to any International Union. The representatives expressed a willingness to cooperate in transferring any members to the proper International Union, under direction of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends that the matter be referred to the Executive Council with recommendation that steps be taken to issue a charter.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 116, 117, 118)

To your committee was referred the report on Organizing Activities for the past year,

which appears on pages 15, 16 and 17 of the Report of the Executive Council.

The Executive Council reports that the activities of the organizing staff of the American Federation have been exceedingly varied due to the problems and limitations presented by the war emergency. The organizers have assisted many national and international unions and their affiliated unions in combating attempted raids by dual organizations. They have participated in drives to organize unorganized workers and in negotiating subsequent contracts.

Many organizers have participated in the preparation of briefs submitted to regional War Labor Boards or other government agencies. Some have served either as members or advisors to government agencies.

The organizers have also rendered a valuable public relations service in making appearances before clubs, church organizations, community forums, schools and over the radio, in addition to assisting in War Bond drives, war fund drives, Red Cross, Labor's League for Human Rights, etc. Another important service has been in connection with local committees devoted to post-war planning.

Exceptional progress has been made in the organization of new federal unions and in increasing the membership of the previously organized federal organizations. The fiscal year added 196 new federal unions with a membership of 11,510. This figure added to the increase of membership in previously established federal unions brings the average membership to a new high of 299,931—a gain of 40,000. With the exception of 1943, this gain is larger than any other of the last six years.

Outstanding accomplishments have been made in the field of Councils of Federal Labor Unions. Unions affiliated with the Chemical Workers Council have increased 77 per cent during the fiscal year. Uniform wages and working conditions were established in Florida with an average increase of 20 per cent. Many other cases have been handled with wage increases awarded in accordance with war-time restrictions.

Membership in the Office Employees Council increased 77 per cent. This Council now includes more than three-fourths of all directly affiliated unions and has successfully handled several War Labor Board cases awarding substantial salary increases and improved working conditions.

Grain Processors have been unified and are working cooperatively on a national basis.

The Railway Patrolmen have made great strides in accomplishing recognition for local unions. The Council now includes 91 per cent of all directly affiliated members in the field.

The Insurance Agents Council now includes all but two of the directly affiliated unions in its field and 95 per cent of all membership among insurance agents. During the year the Council signed fifteen agreements with eight companies. The Council has contracts with two of the three largest companies and is negotiating with the remaining one at present. Important precedents relating to transportation expenses were set by the Council through a War Labor Board case.

The Sugar Workers have increased membership by 16 per cent, although the organization was strongly organized in the Middle West and Rocky Mountain states previous to the past year.

Aluminum Workers membership has increased 58 per cent in the fiscal year.

Fabricated Metal Workers increased 33 per cent in membership and organized three substantial new locals.

The accomplishments set forth in the Executive Council's report are factual evidence of one of the most progressive and productive periods in the history of the American Federation of Labor. Your committee is mindful that, in addition to devoting the necessary time to obtain these accomplishments, the organizing staff has been faced with untold war-time handicaps and has been required to contribute many hours to extraordinary duties presented by the war emergency as pointed out in the Executive Council's report. Consideration of these facts further emphasizes the remarkable achievements in the field of organization. We therefore wish to commend the American Federation of Labor organizers and particularly Mr. Frank P. Fenton, Director, and his staff for the outstanding work they have done in this most trying period.

Previous conventions have recognized the necessity of conducting an intensified organization drive among all Government Employees.

Your committee whole-heartedly recommends that the organizational facilities of the American Federation of Labor be directed toward that goal at the earliest possible moment. It is the committee's fervent desire that full cooperation be accorded Government Employee organizations in endeavoring to achieve a completely organized Federal service.

The Executive Council's report makes special mention of the valuable cooperation extended

by Central Labor Unions in launching and carrying out organizing campaigns. It urges that this activity be increased by Central Labor Unions.

Your committee has given considerable attention to the subject of cooperative action and has reviewed the matter at some length with Director of Organization, Frank P. Fenton, and others.

Based on the testimony and evidence submitted, your committee is convinced that further and increased cooperation is essential for the preservation and advancement of the American Federation of Labor.

Activities and raiding tactics of dual organizations are making close alliances necessary in every industry through the international unions, Central Labor Unions and affiliated local unions. Without such collaboration dual organizations are able to make inroads on long established A. F. of L. local Unions by attacking them individually and collectively.

Evidence discloses that the American Federation of Labor Unions have more manpower through representatives in the field and, by and large, the most intelligent leadership. However, in many instances dual unions have captured industries because of a lack of coordination between the American Federation of Labor Unions.

Your committee is convinced that if the American Federation of Labor were to carry on intensive organizing campaigns in every city, town and state, with the assistance of all International representatives, local representatives, organizers, and business agents in each community, we would set a greater and even more impressive record than we have made in the past 10 years. We believe the selfish practices of individual unions in pursuing a policy of protecting only their respective jurisdictions, with no regard to the welfare of other unions, must be abandoned and that all organizations must yield to the fundamental policy that the concern of one is the concern of all if we are to keep pace with future developments.

Evidence before the committee shows that where such cooperation exists the American Federation of Labor has been highly successful. The contrary is also true in localities where such cooperation does not exist. Plants that should have been won by the American Federation of Labor have been lost through failure of our unions to properly coordinate in a joint organization drive.

We are convinced that in the organization of any plant or industry, the various crafts

having jurisdiction should set up a joint Council with a director chosen or approved by the American Federation of Labor or the International Unions, to manage and handle the campaign. Such directors should be given full support of the unions by instructing their representatives to participate to the fullest extent in the organization of a plant.

Upon completion of the organization of a plant we believe that a special committee selected by the various unions should proceed to negotiate a joint master agreement covering all crafts and unions and incorporating the scales of wages and working conditions prevailing in each union involved. This procedure is not new. It is common in the Building Trades, Metal Trades, and Railroads of our country. Such joint master agreements strengthen the position and protect the interests of all crafts and unions within a given industry or plant. In cases where an industry or plant is large enough the unions could jointly employ a representative for the purpose of settling grievances and policing the agreement on all matters; except where the autonomous rights of any international unions are involved or where a union reserves the right to handle any subject matter in its own way.

We believe that the foregoing policy will strengthen the position and protect every union in the relationship with employers. It is also the answer to the problem of defeating the activities of dual industrial unions in the large mass production industries.

Your committee believes it is more necessary than ever before that the family of labor should be united. It is vitally necessary that we expend every effort toward the end that all working men and women be organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. By cooperative and coordinated planning we will reach that goal.

Your committee recommends the widest possible application of this principle of joint action throughout all cities, towns and states.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BASSETT:

That completes the committee's report, Mr. President, which has been signed by:

Wm. C. Doherty, Chairman
W. J. Bassett, Secretary
Frank Duffy
V. O. Gardner
John P. Burke
Paul Dulzell
Patrick H. Reagan
Charles C. Levey
Vincent Castrovovo
William J. Riehl

Edward I. Hannah
 Leon Williams
 John B. Prewitt
 Earl W. Emerson
 A. Philip Randolph
 Joseph Schmidt
 Michael Flynn
 A. Shoemaker
 Louis P. Sahuque
 Ray Nickelson
 Lester Washburn
 Vincent J. Kane
 E. W. Higginbotham
 Tillman K. Garrison
 Anton White
 J. A. Payne

Committee on Organization

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BASSETT:

I now move the adoption of the committee's report as a whole.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole by unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We thank the committee for the service rendered.

Now we will receive the report of the Committee on Education, of which Brother George Harrison is the chairman.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HARRISON:

The committee at its meeting elected Brother Kuenzli of the Teachers' organization as secretary of the committee. He will now present the report of the committee.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY KUENZLI:

The report of the Executive Council in the field of education begins on page 218 and deals with three important topics in the field of education. First, Education; second, Vocational Education; third, Workers' Education Bureau of America.

Now under the heading of Education, your committee makes the following report:

Education

(Executive Council's Report, Page 218)

The report of the Executive Council on the subject of Education constitutes a comprehensive analysis of educational problems facing the nation during this crucial period of total war. This splendid report, as in the case of previous reports of the Executive Council on the same subject, indicates the significant place which education occupies in the program of the American Federation of Labor.

At its very first convention in 1881 the American Federation of Labor pointed out that if the state has the right to make certain demands upon its citizens then it is also the right of the citizens to demand from the state adequate education to equip the people to understand those demands. Ten years later the Federation declared "We . . . urge the necessity of a thorough education of . . . children so that they may be able to judge in after years of their standing, rights, and liberties that are guaranteed a free people of which they are part and parcel". Upon the basis of this fundamental philosophy the A. F. of L. has constructed its educational program over the years. The report of the Executive Council this year is a notable addition to the structure of organized labor's educational program. The Committee on Education recommends that every member of the American Federation of Labor read the interesting and scholarly report from beginning to end.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Educational Reconstruction

(Executive Council's Report, Page 219)

Under the title of educational reconstruction the Executive Council's report outlines improvements in the public school system needed to adapt our program of education to the needs of the post-war society. As the report states "merely keeping children in school is in itself not enough. We must see to it that the education afforded them fits them for citizenship in a complex democratic society". In order effectively to carry out this objective the public school systems themselves should operate as democratic institutions and demonstrate in a practical way the principles of democratic government. It is unfortunate that many undemocratic practices which have been eliminated in industry by federal and state laws still exist in the administration of the public schools. In many school systems throughout the Nation, teachers are practically compelled to join non-union organizations controlled by the employer. Many school administrators follow the practice each year of sending communications to teachers urging them to join non-union organizations. Frequently teachers are called individually to the office of the superintendent or principal and "per-

sued" to join non-union organizations. Such practices which in industry would be subject to prosecution under the Wagner Labor Relations Act have no place in our public schools which are charged with the responsibility of training children for life in a democracy. As the Mobile, Alabama Labor Journal stated recently "If teachers in our public schools are held in such bondage, how in God's name can they, with any degree of sincerity, teach their students about the glories that free men enjoy under a democratic form of government. Your committee recommends that all affiliated bodies use their influence in their respective communities to assist in eliminating these undemocratic practices as the first step in post-war educational reconstruction.

The Committee concurs in the statement of the Executive Council on the importance of the elementary school in our educational system and the necessity for more adequate pay for this important group of skilled workers. Thousands of elementary school teachers—and many high school teachers as well—charged with the important task of educating the citizens who will build the Nation of tomorrow receive less than one-fourth the average wages of union craftsmen. The American Federation of Labor has recommended a minimum salary for teachers of \$1500.00.

The committee desires to place special emphasis on the Executive Council's recommendation that no class in the public schools should exceed twenty-five in number. Tax payers' leagues—often camouflaged under misleading names such as governmental research bureaus—are advocating in many places that the size of classes be increased as an economy measure. The Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor, believing that overcrowding of classes in the public schools, is a costly—rather than economical—practice, has likewise recommended that no class should exceed twenty-five in number. Your committee feels that the reduction in the size of classes is one of the most vital steps in the reconstruction of our educational system in the post-war world.

Your committee desires also to emphasize the statement of the Executive Council that vocational schools should be placed on a par with academic schools and not used as a "dumping ground" for problem children of other schools. In order that students may

be trained for complete living in a democracy as well as in the practice of a skilled trade, vocational schools should require related courses in citizenship and English and should make available academic or cultural subjects for those students who wish to elect them. Academic studies should not necessarily be considered "college preparatory" and should be available especially to vocational students for the reason that many of these students will not have an opportunity to take such subjects in college. Appropriate university courses, however, should be made available to graduates of vocational schools who wish to continue their education on a college level.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ADULT EDUCATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 222)

Your committee approves this section of the Executive Council's report and recommends that the Permanent Committee on Education and the Workers' Education Bureau cooperate in carrying out this proposed expansion of adult education. As one of the immediate problems in workers' education your committee urges that union members be schooled in the vital importance of attending union meetings and participating actively in union programs. The radio, the automobile, and other modern conveniences have created an increasingly serious problem of getting members out for union meetings.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

(Page 222, Executive Council's Report)

As indicated in the report of the Executive Council, the American Federation of Labor for many years has advocated that federal funds should be provided to equalize educational opportunities for the Nation's children and youth. The development of modern transportation and communication systems, together with an age of mass production, has resulted in such extensive migration of citizens that cities, towns and communities can no longer be wholly responsible for the education of their future

citizens. The farm boy of Iowa today is the mechanic or lawyer of Chicago tomorrow. The need for national unity, national proficiency and national strength to meet and defeat powerful enemies has brought clearly into focus the vital importance of providing adequate educational facilities for all the youth of the nation. Our great need in time of total war has demonstrated as never before that the welfare of the wealthy states is dependent upon adequate educational facilities not only within their own boundaries but in the less wealthy states as well. The experience of all-out war has taught us decisively that federal aid to general education as well as vocational education is essential to the best possible program of national defense. Modern warfare is no longer based merely upon the brute strength but largely upon the intelligence and education of the individual soldier. As President Roosevelt pointed out recently in a message to the American Federation of Teachers, "Despite certain widely publicized educational weaknesses revealed by the strains of total war, the schools and colleges of the nation have made a magnificent contribution to the war effort. American fighting men have proved in combat the initiative, self-reliance, mental alertness and devotion to duty that are the products of the training they have received not alone in military training camps and stations, but in homes and schools and occupational life as well."

Just before Pearl Harbor the American Federation of Labor in its 1941 convention in Seattle, foreseeing the vital part education would play in the preparation for war declared, "Education is the first line of national defense and as such should be extended rather than curtailed." In addition to the reasons previously set forth by the American Federation of Labor in favor of federal aid to education we now have the conclusive evidence—and in many instances the tragic evidence—of the vital need of federal aid as a national defense measure. Preparation for total war has demonstrated graphically that the cost of a sound program of federal aid to education would be only a small fraction of the cost of failing to enact such a program.

The seriousness of this educational problem in relation to national defense may be emphasized by considering what would have been the fate of the Nation if there had

been no program of federal aid to provide vocational and technical training during the days when the outcome of the war was hanging in the balance. The Nation should thank God for the foresight and perseverance of Samuel Gompers who battled, often against overwhelming opposition, to secure federal aid for vocational and technical education under the Smith-Hughes Act during World War I. Organized labor today is equally emphatic in its demand for federal aid to equalize educational opportunities so that every child in the Nation may be prepared to render the best possible service to his country in peace or in war—whether his place of birth happens to be in the poorest district of the poorest state or in the richest district of the richest state. Just as it is the duty of every citizen to serve his country in time of need, so it is the duty of the Nation to train every citizen, regardless of his place of birth, so he may serve the Nation to the best of his ability. We desire to emphasize again the traditional stand of the American Federation of Labor that federal aid to general education shall not result in federal control of the schools. Those opponents of federal aid to education who argue, purely from the philosophical viewpoint that federal aid would mean federal control, fail to remember that federal aid has been granted to vocational education under the Smith-Hughes Act and George Deen Act for many years—without undue federal control. Likewise under the Lanham Act which provides emergency federal aid for public schools, there has been so little federal control that funds could actually be granted to a city school system which maintained a yellow dog contract for teachers. The bogey of federal control is a phantom displayed by those forces which have traditionally opposed the labor movement in its battle for adequate public schools. Organized labor, however, will be continually alert to see to it that the administration of the public schools and the determination of the curriculum will be left to local communities. In a word labor is unalterably opposed to federal control of schools but not fearful that federal aid will result in such control.

The Committee approves the general plan recommended by the Executive Council for a federal aid bill to be submitted to the Congress of the United States. The Committee recommends that the fixed proportion to be spent for teachers salaries under

point I be not less than 75%. The committee also recommends that the language of Point C be clarified by adding the words "charged with the responsibility of educating children" so that the full point reads "The requirement that funds given to any state shall be available to all political subdivisions of the state charged with the responsibility of educating children."

With these comments and specific changes in the details of the proposed bill the committee recommends adoption of the Executive Council's report on Federal Aid.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TRAINING AND RETRAINING OF VETERANS AND WAR WORKERS

(Page 223, Executive Council's Report)

Your Committee congratulates the officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor upon the significant part they played in securing the enactment of the G. I. Bill of Rights and especially for their success in democratizing the bill so it will better serve all veterans eligible to its benefits. We agree with the position of the Executive Council that retraining and rehabilitation should be available to veterans who were over twenty-five years of age at time of enlistment as well as to those under twenty-five.

Because of organized labor's long interest in vocational education and rehabilitation we urge that the staffs of local, state and national agencies of the Veterans' Administration include persons familiar with the problems of organized labor. We urge that, wherever possible, the Veterans' Administration make use of advisory committees of management and labor which have proved so successful in the Smith-Hughes vocational program.

Your committee further recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a special committee on veterans' affairs to consult, from time to time, with the chief of the Veterans' Administration, regarding veterans' problems. It is the considered opinion of your committee that such a committee will be of significant value to the millions of members

of organized labor who are now in the Armed Forces.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TRAINING FOR SERVICE BY ALL YOUTH

(Page 225, Executive Council's Report)

This section of the Executive Council's Report deals with the subject popularly known as universal military training for all youth of the Nation. Your Committee agrees with the position of the Executive Council that the form and substance of such a program constitute too technical and complex a problem to be dealt with hastily and without adequate study and investigation. The problem is one which is civilian in character as well as military and is not related to the immediate war emergency. Modern warfare demands far more than mere military drill in the usual meaning of the term. The mechanic, the technician, the truck driver, or the cook may be equally important to modern warfare as the soldier who carries the gun. The man who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before is a modern soldier of the highest type. Elsewhere in this report the vital importance of vocational training in the national defense program is pointed out.

Your Committee recommends, therefore, that consideration be given not merely to a program of universal military conscription for youth but to a complete program of total national defense. We, therefore, urge (1) that this convention to go on record against any hasty ill considered plan for universal military conscription for youth; (2) that we request the President of the United States to appoint a national committee representing the armed forces, organized labor, management, farm organizations, and educational organizations to make a thorough study of this problem and to recommend a program of action; and (3) that the Permanent Committee on Education continue to study this problem in terms of national and international developments, (4) that adequate funds be granted to the United States Office of Education to establish a research department which will be able to assist in the study.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

International Aspects of Education

(Page 225, Executive Council's Report)

Your committee in recommending concurrence in this section of the Executive Council's report, calls attention to the fact that the statement in favor of an international office of education adopted at the 1943 convention of the American Federation of Labor included a provision for a department of Adult Education with a division of Workers Education. Your committee feels that it is important that this specific section be emphasized in reaffirming the action of last year.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Permanent International Agency for Education

Resolution No. 151—By Delegate George P. Phillips, Minneapolis and Hennepin County Central Labor Union, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

WHEREAS, It is necessary to develop in the United States of America an informed and aroused public opinion with reference to the issues of peace and international organization and the establishment of an International Office of Education, and

WHEREAS, It is essential that an educational program similar to the program of other United Nations be established and a council for the United Nations on Education be created soon, and

WHEREAS, This council should be related to other aspects of United Nations Policy, and

WHEREAS, A permanent international agency for education should be established soon after the war ends, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the proposal that the United Nations establish an international organization to promote educational and cultural relations throughout the world and to assist nations at their request to raise their standards of education, such organization however to have no power to administer or control the educational systems or programs in any member nation.

Since this resolution deals with the same general problem as the section of the Executive Council's report entitled "International Aspects of Education" your Committee concurs in the general purpose of this resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Permanent Committee on Education to be studied in relation to the statement of the Executive Council on the same subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Trade Union Fellowship Project at Harvard

(Page 226, Executive Council's Report)

Your Committee is pleased to note the continued success of the trade union fellowship project at Harvard University. Although this plan of University training was established originally for the education of leaders in organized labor the presence of leaders of the labor movement on the Harvard campus has served as an educational agency for both faculty and students in the field of practical labor problems.

In an increasing number of universities throughout the Nation, courses in labor problems are being established. The lack of teachers who really understand the labor movement constitutes one of the most severe handicaps to these courses.

Your Committee recommends that the Harvard Fellowship plan be studied by other unions with a view to adoption wherever possible and practicable.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vocational Education

(Page 226, Executive Council's Report)

The report of the Executive Council on the subject of vocational education presents an impressive picture of the contribution of this phase of American education to the war effort. The report of the Executive Council at the 1943 convention of the A. F. of L. stated that 8,143,000 persons had received vocational or technical training of some kind from July 1, 1940, to June 30, 1943. During this past year 1,700,000 persons were enrolled in the program of Vocational Training for War Production Workers. Enrollment in the Food Production Program has totaled 1,350,000 persons during the past year. In the regular vocational education program conducted under the Vocational Education Act 2,300,411 persons were enrolled. These statistics indicate the tremendous importance of the vocational and technical schools as essential parts of the national defense program. It is an astounding fact that the number of citizens who have received vo-

national training for the war effort in the nation's vocational schools is almost as large as the total number of men in all the branches of the armed forces combined. The American Federation of Labor looks with pride on this record and rejoices in the large part it played in establishing the vast system of vocational education in the United States.

Training and Qualifications of Vocational Teachers

The attention of the Committee was called to the recent upsurge of an old problem facing the vocational education program. Organized labor over the years has demanded that those who teach trades in vocational schools shall be bona fide journeymen who have completed the apprenticeship of their trades and have had several years actual experience in practicing the trade. Insistence upon these qualifications has had much to do with the success of the vocational training program of the Nation. It has been organized labor's position that a high school diploma or the equivalent thereof, plus completion of apprenticeship, plus several years of trade experience, plus a reasonable program of in-service teacher training should serve as the equivalent of a college degree for teaching in vocational schools. This general program has proved sound in actual practice. There have been, however, constant attempts on the part of certain colleges and non-union teachers' organizations to establish a rule that vocational teachers must have college degrees. Some universities have established courses including a smattering of trade training as a preparation for teaching in vocational schools. Since it is almost impossible for a student both to secure a college degree and complete his trade apprenticeship, a rule requiring college degrees for all vocational teachers would result in union journeymen being excluded from teaching positions and the teaching of trades would be placed in the hands of men trained academically in college but unskilled in any trade. Such a procedure can result only in a serious weakening of one of the most successful phases of our educational system—a phase which has proved to be vital to national defense. Organized labor will be emphatic in its demand that trade courses be taught by experienced journeymen and that teachers with degrees—but with only a smattering of trade training—be employed only in teaching exploratory courses or manual arts.

In this connection your committee desires to reiterate the stand of the American Federation of Labor in favor of advisory committees to direct vocational training courses. Only by means of such committees can labor's interests in vocational education be safeguarded.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workers' Education Bureau of America

(Executive Council's Report, Page 228)

The committee desires to call the attention of every delegate to the report of the Executive Council on the Workers' Education Bureau of America. This important agency which is known as the educational arm of the American Federation of Labor has conducted an extensive program of education during the past year. The Bureau has participated in educational programs in eight states and has cooperated in conducting educational conferences in several other states.

The Bureau has been especially active during the past year in promoting cooperative educational programs between state universities and state federations of labor. Organized labor has long felt that the facilities of the universities should be extended to labor as well as to industry and agriculture. The success of the Bureau in promoting service to labor at the universities is an important step forward in the educational program of the American Federation of Labor.

The Bureau has made a significant contribution to the war effort by arranging an exchange of speakers with Great Britain. This practical program of international relations has done much to promote good will and friendship between England and the United States.

Each year the Bureau in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Teachers publishes in pamphlet form the education program of the A. F. of L. convention together with certain addresses and pertinent statements. This publication is sent each year by the American Federation of Teachers to libraries of colleges and teachers training institutions throughout the Nation. These booklets afford for the first time a convenient source of information for students of education and prospective teachers, regarding the progress of education of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee, believing that education and public relations are vital to the labor movement urges the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to grant additional funds to the Bureau whenever such funds are available. We also urge local and state labor bodies and international unions to support the Bureau by affiliating with it.

The committee extends its congratulations to the officers and the able director of the Bureau for the extensive educational program they have carried out during the past year. The enemies of organized labor are spending millions of dollars on educational programs and public relations. In several states these activities have resulted in anti-labor legislation. Your Committee recommends that organized labor extend its educational and public relations program in so far as possible, to assist in meeting the attack of the foes of labor. If the enemies of organized labor believe it is good business to spend millions on education and public relations, the labor movement may well find it profitable to spend thousands on a carefully planned educational program.

Special attention is called to the numerous publications of the Bureau in the field of labor and education. Many of these are valuable for source material for courses in trade unionism in colleges and public schools. The Bureau has on display at this convention text books recently published for use in public school curricula and will welcome criticisms and suggestions regarding books of this kind. Since there are few books of this type on the market and since there is a growing need for such books in the public schools your Committee recommends that persons interested in courses in union problems cooperate with the Bureau in assisting to promote publication of suitable text books in the history and principles of organized labor.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Yellow Dog Contract in Public Schools

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Oklahoma City School Board requires teachers to sign a yellow dog contract as a condition of employment, and

WHEREAS, The Oklahoma City School Board received certain funds from the federal government for the support of some school activities, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor vigorously oppose the granting of federal funds to any agency, public or private, which requires any of its employees to sign a yellow dog contract as a condition of employment.

Since the dispute over the yellow dog contract in Oklahoma City is now reported to be in a status of negotiation between the American Federation of Teachers and the Board of Education of the city and since a similar resolution has already been adopted by this convention, your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Legislative Committee for action and correlation with the resolution previously adopted.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY KUENZLI:

Your committee recommends that the following statements on Children and Youth, Child Labor and Youth Employment, in the Reconversion Period, and Health Protection for Mothers and Children which were submitted to President Green by Katherine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, be made a part of the official proceedings of the convention and that the subject matter be referred to the permanent Committee on Education for further study.

In Behalf of Children and Youth

The purposes of democracy and the future security and effectiveness of our Nation find their greatest fulfillment and best guarantee in the opportunities afforded children and youth.

Problems of childhood and youth, including child labor, lack of home supervision, and juvenile neglect and delinquency have been intensified by the war. It is of the utmost importance as we face the transition to peace: (1) That citizens, industry, organized labor and government give special consideration to the ways in which all children and young persons of whatever race, national origin, or creed may be assured individual care and protection from infancy through adolescence; (2) That all children and youth be assured opportunity for the fullest development of their powers and capacities, including access to health protection and medical care, to broad programs of education and training through at least the high-school period, and to appropriate employment when education has been completed or as a supplement to educational opportunity, provided in accordance with legal standards for employed youth; (3) That the Federal Government assume its share of responsibility for financing through grants-in-aid, the State and community services needed to assure these objectives; and finally (4) That the resources

of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor, which for 32 years has given invaluable service to all the children in the United States, be enlarged to enable it to fulfill its responsibilities as an agency promoting the interests of childhood in all their aspects.

Child Labor and Youth Employment in the Reconversion Period

Tremendous deficits in the education of our youth have been rolled up during the war and must be made up when the demobilization period comes if we are to safeguard our democracy and make it count for our children.

One million fewer boys and girls were enrolled in our high schools in the past school year than in 1940. Child labor during the war has soared to the heights of the 20s. Boys and girls 14 through 17 years of age at work in April 1944 totalled 2 million more than in 1940. Of the total 3 million at work last spring, half were working full-time and the other half part-time while continuing in school. While we admire and respect the fine spirit of our youth in wanting to help us achieve early victory in the war, we must not allow our educational standards for our youth to continue to deteriorate as the pressure for wartime production relaxes.

The very least we should strive for is a 16-year minimum-age standard for the employment of children in any occupation during school hours and in manufacturing establishments at any time.

Fifteen States already have adopted child-labor laws that meet or approximate this recommended minimum. Thirty-three States still fail to meet that standard which has long been recognized as a desirable and practical goal in child-labor legislation. In 20 States, the minimum for such employment is 14 years; in 4 States, it is 15 years.

Now is the time to dedicate our energies to achieving a 16-year minimum in every State throughout the Union, and to tighten up on hours, night-work, and hazardous occupation features of State laws. This will require close scrutiny of all State laws and active State legislature campaigns to raise standards to this minimum.

The American Federation of Labor has always fought child labor and more than a quarter century ago declared itself as "unalterably opposed" to the employment of children under 16.

In keeping with this honorable tradition, let us make renewed efforts toward achieving adequate child-labor protection for our boys and girls.

Health Protection for Mothers and Children

Draft examinations have shown an alarming percentage of young men not physically fit for military service. They have revealed hundreds of thousands of handicaps which might have been corrected had these young men received the benefit of the medical knowledge that already exists in our country.

No more serious indictment of our indifference to the special health needs of mothers and children could be asked for.

While we regularly give lip-service to the need for a healthy citizenship we have never yet reached deep enough into our pockets to provide the money that will insure the sound growth and development of our boys and girls.

This indifference and niggardliness must stop. We must plan and carry out medical care and health protection programs for all our people, with special emphasis on mothers and children.

We are still losing too many mothers in childbirth. A third of our babies are born outside of hospitals. More than 200,000 were born in 1942 without an attendant physician. Too many of our babies die in their first year. Over two-thirds of our rural counties have no centers operated under State health agencies where mothers can bring their babies to learn how to keep them well. Many of the thousands of deaths caused by infectious diseases, which occur each year, could be prevented if adequate medical care were available in the early stages of the diseases. On State registers of crippled children, there are no less than 15,000 children known to be in need of orthopedic or plastic surgery for whom care cannot be provided with the amount of public funds available this year.

The foundations for promoting maternal and child health and for restoring crippled youth to their full physical and mental powers have been well laid in the Social Security Act provisions for grants-in-aid to the States for the development of maternal and child health and crippled children's progress. Steps can be taken immediately through building upon these existing services to strengthen medical, nursing and hospital care for mothers and children. These measures should be coordinated with general programs of health service and medical care for the whole population as they are developed.

Nothing short of a large-scale Nation-wide effort, supported by adequate Federal, State and local funds, will make it possible to assure access to proper care for all mothers in childbirth, for all newborn babies, for all preschool children, for children during school years and throughout adolescence.

Your committee recommends that all affiliated unions cooperate fully with the program of the Children's Bureau in eliminating child labor, in promoting a "back to school" movement, and in improving the health and welfare of the Nation's children. The Children's Bureau is a subdivision of the United States Department of Labor which was established through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor. The above objectives are in accord with the program of the American Federation of Labor over the years.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY KUENZLI:

This completes the report of the Committee which is signed by the following:

George M. Harrison,
Chairman

Irvin R. Kuenzli, Secretary

E. E. Millman
 Carl H. Mullen
 Edward J. Hillock
 Louis Horbeck
 John F. Bowen
 Thomas E. Wilkinson
 James Petrillo
 Andrew Wigstrom
 C. F. Strickland
 William L. McPetridge
 Harry H. Cook
 Joseph Tuvim
 D. M. Burrows
 Harry Lundberg
 Robert Bruck
 William Schoenberg
 James J. Doyle
 Charles J. MacGowan
 W. L. Allen
 Peter G. Noll
 A. P. Bower
 Roland Adams
 Committee on Education

COMMITTEE SECRETARY KUENZLI:
 I move adoption of the report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We will have a further report from the Committee on Resolutions and the Chair recognizes Chairman Woll.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: The committee presents the following statement and observations:

Labor and the Veterans

Establishment of friendly and cooperative relations between organized labor and the veterans of this war is essential to the future welfare of America.

The achievements of American workers on the production front have served to defeat attempts to arouse animosity among servicemen against labor. The eagerness of labor to back up the fighting forces with everything they need to crush the enemy is appreciated not only by the commanding officers of our Army and Navy, but by the men in the ranks as well.

While labor is proud of its own contributions to the cause of victory, all of us recognize that the greatest sacrifices and the greatest responsibilities have fallen upon the millions of men in uniform who are doing the actual fighting.

These men are going all out for us. We must do all in our power for them.

Labor's obligation to the servicemen is two-fold. We must, first of all, produce in ever increasing quantities the weapons of war needed to hasten the day of victory and save needless death and suffering. This convention already has served notice of the determination of the seven million members of the American Federation of Labor to fulfill that immediate obligation.

But above and beyond this, we must also make every possible effort to provide for the economic and social security of our fighting men when the war ends and they come back home to resume civilian life.

The least America can do is to assure a good job at decent pay to every demobilized serviceman so that he can get a new start in life and make up for lost time.

This is a program for which labor, industry and the veterans' organizations can and must work closely together, along with the agencies of the Government.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor confer with representatives of all these groups and agencies at the earliest opportunity in an effort to bring about agreement on essential objectives and the steps necessary to carry them out.

The American Federation of Labor and the unions affiliated with it already have taken steps to protect the seniority and job security of their 1,500,000 members now serving in the armed forces, who have been exempted from paying dues while in the service. In addition, a large number of our unions have taken action to admit qualified and honorably discharged servicemen into membership without payment of initiation fees. These are steps in the right direction.

Furthermore, the American Federation of Labor has given unqualified support to the "G. I. Bill of Rights" and other legislation seeking to provide post-war security for servicemen.

Your committee urges this convention to commend these policies and activities and to direct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to explore every new avenue of cooperation with veterans groups that presents itself. Only in this way can we hope to discharge even a part of our obligations to the men who are defending the

American way of life and to cement them with us in future efforts to improve that way of life when peace comes.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Is there any comment?

DELEGATE HARVEY BROWN: I am very glad to learn of the report of the committee on the subject matter just submitted to the convention.

The National Association of Machinists have been trying, in their small way, to meet their responsibility and have tried to pay a debt we owe to the men and women in uniform. The position of the membership of the International Association of Machinists is that as civilians we can never pay the debt we owe to the boys in uniform. Many months ago the Machinists' Union took action whereby we are willing to forget the fact that men on the fighting fronts, when working in our trade, either have never joined a union of their trade or were members and deserters of our organization. We are willing to forget all of that and when they return and again enter into our industry and can show evidence of honorable discharge, we will admit them without paying an admission fee.

We have also gone on record and have notified every lodge of our association in the United States requesting that they create a committee on rehabilitation. The purpose of that committee is to contact every government, state and local agency that plays a part in the work of rehabilitating the veterans, those who suffer injuries, so they again take their place in our industry and I hope, Mr. Chairman, that in addition to adopting this recommendation, all the National and International Unions who have not yet given thought to this question, will give serious consideration to participation in a movement to do everything we can to help those who return to again take their places in industry.

I again repeat that we as civilians can never pay the debt we owe those men and women in uniform on the fighting fronts throughout the world; and if we do what the committee recommends, we will in a small way be meeting that responsibility.

DELEGATE DUFFY, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America: Mr. Chairman, I am in thorough accord with the report of the committee. The Brotherhood of Carpenters have at least 75,000 members in the armed forces. The question

arose as to their standing in our organization, since we did not know how long the war would last. Our General Executive Board gave that question thorough consideration, and they decided—and all our Local Unions have been so notified—that the members of our organization in the armed services will be kept in good standing, entitled to all rights, benefits and privileges of the organization without paying any dues whatever and without the Local Unions paying any tax to the General Office. At the same time these 75,000 or more members are kept in good standing in the American Federation of Labor. Per capita tax is paid on them to the American Federation of Labor. We want to take care of them in every way we possibly can. When they come back we will see to it that they get employment.

Our General Executive Board went further than that. They decided, and so notified all our Local Unions, that the men of the trade in the armed services who are not members of our organization are to be admitted free of initiation fee when they come back. All they have to show is an honorable discharge. So we think we have done our duty toward them. We will continue to do our duty to them, and we will continue when they come back to see that their rights are taken care of.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair wishes to supplement the report of the committee and the statements made by Vice President Brown and Secretary Duffy, of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, by expressing our appreciation of the fine report which the committee has submitted and of the splendid statements made by Delegates Brown and Duffy. These two organizations represent highly skilled workers. The members of these two great Unions are men who have acquired skill and training through years of service, through apprenticeship training, and many of them possess an unusual degree of skill—a skill they have exercised and which is reflected in the buildings they have constructed, the shops and factories where airplanes, guns, tanks and ammunition have been produced.

These organizations are to be commended upon the high and lofty attitude they assume toward the veterans. They have contributed very largely to the welfare of the American Federation of Labor through this fine action which has been taken. Now I know a number of other National and International Unions have done the same, and I

am sure that many others will follow their example.

This constitutes a partial answer at least to those who, through propaganda, misrepresentation, falsehoods and other actions reprehensible in character have made every effort to create hatred and enmity and feeling on the part of service men toward the American Federation of Labor and toward organized labor. These propagandists have emphasized every short or long stoppage of work which has taken place locally. You never hear of one of them paying a compliment to labor because of the high standard of excellence in production which organized labor has set during this war. None of our virtues are emphasized, but all of the short stoppages that have occurred in localities and communities because men were moved by feeling have been broadcast among the troops overseas. It has been portrayed as a policy of organized labor in the United States. It is men who hate us, who have always opposed us, who are behind this vicious anti-labor legislation in the different States, it is they who are responsible for the circulation of these false statements among the veterans and our men serving in the armed forces of the nation.

But, my friends, the truth will prevail; if crushed to earth it will rise again, and I am of the opinion that when the veterans learn the truth and are able to analyze the wonderful productive record made by labor and the actions taken by labor towards them, such as we are taking here this morning, they will rise up and in their indignation denounce those men who misrepresented labor and who tried to poison those in the armed forces against the American Federation of Labor.

This organization will stand with the veterans, we will stand by them when they present veterans' legislation to the Congress of the United States and the different States. It will be the voice of the American Federation of Labor that will be heard in their behalf, and when some of these propagandists engage in further propaganda in opposition to veterans' legislation the American Federation of Labor will take the opposite side and stand with the veterans in support of their constructive social legislation. We want to secure the enactment of legislation for these men that will provide adequate security, that will provide protection and that will prevent the recurrence of what

happened following the close of World War I.

I want to announce publicly that it is the fixed determination and the unalterable purpose of the American Federation of Labor to do everything that lies within its power to support the veterans, the men serving in the armed forces, and keep a steady stream of the materials they need flowing across the miles of water that separate them from us, so that not a single soldier will suffer for one single thing he needs until victory is finally won.

I am pleased over this report. I am sure that the men of the armed forces and all their friends will demonstrate an equal appreciation of this official attitude which I know this American Federation of Labor will take.

DELEGATE STEVENSON, Molders: Mr. Chairman and Delegates, I want to say that I am very well pleased with the report of the committee. I would also like to report on what our organization has done which is practically the same thing as we did in World War I. First, I want to tell you that just as soon as Canada entered the war, and we have many local unions in Canada, I took it upon myself, as President of the organization, to send out a letter to our local unions telling them to instruct their members that were called into the armed forces to apply for what we call a military card. This military card exempts them from paying any dues whatsoever, and their membership is carried and we pay death benefits. We have paid thousands of dollars in death benefits to the survivors of our members who have been killed in this war. This action was endorsed by our convention, and of course, immediately upon the United States entering the war we did the same thing for our members here. We are very fortunate in being able to get to our members, in some way, our monthly publication, and I have received letters from different friends, from our members who receive our journal, and they tell me how these journals are distributed around. It has been very helpful in offsetting many of the things that have been said about labor organizations, particularly those in the armed forces who never belonged to any organization.

So I feel sure that with the action of the different International Unions, the action of this convention this morning will have

a good effect on future organization in all of the International Unions on those returning from the armed forces who never belonged to any union.

Thank you.

DELEGATE SWIFT, Refinery Workers Federal Labor Union No. 1919, East St. Louis: A year ago when I took office as President of this Union, I appointed a Veterans' Committee. Being a veteran of the last war and being the father of a son in this war, I knew it was necessary that such cooperation should be established. I advised every veteran we employed, and I urged them, when being interviewed, to join the American Legion or the Veterans of Foreign Wars. We have an agreement with our company that these men shall be put back regardless of where they were when they left our employ.

We had a boy who came to our Local for a job that was never employed by a Union before. We gave him a job. He couldn't stand the work and said to me, "I can't do this work, I am falling apart, my health is going to ruin, what shall I do?" We contacted the company and found him a job that paid higher wages that will give him a future and he is well pleased. He said, "I never did believe in labor organizations before, but now I do and I will advertise them in the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

That made me very happy and I know it will make you very happy, Mr. President.

I had another man coming back with a leg shot off and he said, "What will I do, Swift?" and I told him that we would get him a job. We put him in a school to learn a trade and the company has guaranteed him a job with a future—not a dead end job where he will die as a watchman or something else—but he will have a job such as he deserves. We will take care of these veterans regardless of whether they had been members of the Union before or not, and I am personally interested on that score. I thank you, Brother President.

DELEGATE MADSEN, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America: Since there seems to be an occasion for advertising our virtues, the Painters have taken action similar to these other organizations. We levied a special assessment on the membership to take care of those who come back from foreign countries and take care of those who want to go to school, and we will take care of those

qualified who want to enter our organization without payment of an initiation fee, because we all feel the boys who went to the front to sacrifice their lives for democracy deserve everything we can do for them.

DELEGATE WALTER, International Brotherhood Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America: In 1940, our Executive Council, prior to our convention, adopted an action that was approved at the 1941 convention which provided for continuous membership in our Brotherhood for all of our members in the armed forces. They also provided a guarantee to the membership that are in the service that their occupation which they left and their seniority would be intact when they return.

We have enrolled in the armed services and the Navy and Seabees, 52,000 members.

In addition to the protection extended these members we have adopted, at our last convention, and it is in operation at this time, a provision that provides for membership in our Brotherhood, not upon the payment of the customary initiation fee, but upon the payment of just one month's dues. I want this to go into the record inasmuch as we had this discussion on the subject.

DELEGATE BATES, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union: I desire to report to the convention that the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, at their convention in St. Louis in 1940, adopted a resolution assessing all active members of the organization 50 cents a month during the months of April, May and June of each year and same was to be used to pay the dues to the International Union of all members in the armed forces in our country.

Since that date every member of the organization in the armed forces is kept in good standing in the International Union and a very great majority of the Local Unions also keep the members in good standing with the benevolent features of the Local.

At the present time we have over 8,000 of our members in the armed forces. I am not prepared to tell you how many have been wounded, but 50 have lost their lives, and when members of our organization give their lives for the cause of democracy, full death benefits are paid to their families. Those who return enjoy all the rights and benefits of the Union and we supply them with a job in any section of the country that they care to work in.

DELEGATE SIMONS, International Typographical Union: There is no question that what-

ever we do for our veterans, we shall not be able to do enough, we shall not be able to show them just how fully we appreciate what they are doing for us.

Our organization, together with other great organizations of this body, has done many things for the veterans, but there is something a little different, I believe, that we do. In many of our shops where they employ four to five hundred members it is a regular practice for them to send a shop publication out to these soldiers on the war fronts, and it is really touching to read the letters of appreciation we get from our members. They are kept in touch with what is going on in their immediate shops. The letters we get from them are so appreciative that it is really touching to read them, and we think it would be a very good practice if it was carried out by all other organizations.

What these men lose when they are at the front is the personal touch and personal contact. If they are advised as to what is happening to Bill, John and Harry, they enjoy that very much and it helps them to endure better, perhaps, the hardships they are undergoing.

DELEGATE ERNST, Hotel and Restaurant Employees International: Mr. President, I want to report for the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International Union that we have about 25,000 members in the armed forces and they are all kept in good standing in the International with all their benefits intact and their seniority protected for them. Our Local Unions, in addition, are offering several other benefits which are also maintained for them. In some Locals, for instance, when men in service are home on leave, they are provided with jobs on Saturdays and Sundays to replenish their depleted pocketbooks, and no charge is made for that. We are also sending our monthly magazine to the boys and girls in service whose addresses we have, and when they return to our Locals, they will step in exactly where they left off.

DELEGATE SHOEMAKE, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees: I would like to report for our Brotherhood. The convention in 1940 took action that all members entering the armed services either of the United States or Canada, their membership would be kept intact and they would be entitled to return to service with full seniority rights and full membership rights as of the date they entered the service.

The Executive Board of our Brotherhood has also taken action that any veteran returning to civilian life or entering the service under the jurisdiction of our Brotherhood may join the organization without payment of initiation fees, and we are very glad to report that our Journal has also been sent to all United States camps, Y. M. C. A.'s and various other organizations, thus giving the soldiers an opportunity to read the Journal each month.

DELEGATE McCURDY, United Garment Workers of America; The United Garment Workers, by act of the convention during the first war, kept all of our members in good standing, protected their seniority rights and benefits; and by act of the General Executive Board all members of our organization in service during this war will receive that same full measure of protection.

DELEGATE JIMERSON, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America: I want to report that the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America at their recent convention voted to admit all veterans returning without the payment of initiation fees. Also every contract that has been negotiated since Pearl Harbor provides that veterans leaving their jobs must return to the same job. We also pay full death benefits on all members who suffer casualties in the service.

DELEGATE BURNS, American Federation of Government Employees: The American Federation of Government Employees has taken action similar to that of other organizations as to its members in the armed forces.

We are indeed happy that the committee has recommended the establishment of cooperation and friendly relations between organized labor and veterans of this war, and we trust the resolution will pass.

DELEGATE GOOGE, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America: We maintain all of our members in good standing and pay to the families of those who suffer casualties death benefits, and all who come back to our trade but who were never members of the trade before are admitted to membership without initiation fees.

DELEGATE GINGOLD, Ladies' Garment Workers Union: In May at our convention we passed a resolution providing that no initiation fee shall be collected from any veteran who desires to enter our Union. We also take care of our soldier boys—all of the men in the armed forces, by sending them cigarettes, gifts, and war bonds. We also take care of their

benefits, and we make absolutely certain that our veterans are taken care of as well as the members of their families.

DELEGATE WATSON, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters: I wish to report that our Association has gone along the same line as other organizations to protect our members while in service and intends to take care of them when they return home.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Any further remarks? All in favor of adoption of the committee's report please rise to your feet.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted amidst applause.

Canadian Discrimination Against United States Pilots

Resolution No. 162—By Delegate E. W. Higginbotham, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, The U. S. Pilots of the Great Lakes are now being unjustly discriminated against in practice of their occupation as pilots by the Government of the Dominion of Canada by the passage of Orders in Council by the Ministry of Marine establishing what is known as the St. Lawrence-Kingston-Ottawa Pilotage District and the regulations thereunder, and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Pilots, members of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, possesses Pilots' licenses to navigate the waters of the St. Lawrence River and Canals thereof from Cape Vincent, N. Y., to Montreal, P. Q., Canada, and

WHEREAS, In spite of possessing such licenses, issued by the United States Government the regulations and Orders in Council so promulgated by the Minister of Marine unjustly and discriminatorily deny the U. S. Pilots the right to earn their livelihood by piloting either United States or Canadian vessels in the Canadian Canal system to Montreal, and

WHEREAS, Such rules and Orders in Council require that the vessels in the Canadian Canal System be piloted solely by Canadian pilots under the rules and regulations of the St. Lawrence-Kingston-Ontario-Pilotage District, and

WHEREAS, Said Canal waters are entirely within the Dominion of Canada, upon information and belief under the terms of a Treaty between Canada and the United States entered into in 1909, these waters are considered International Waters, and

WHEREAS, Under the terms of the Treaty of 1909, the Canadian pilots are allowed to do piloting in United States waters (Lake Michigan) and only through a local Canadian law passed in 1934 and amended in 1936 but not enforced until September, 1943, the United States pilots

are not allowed to do piloting in Canadian waters which are "International Waters" under the Treaty, and

WHEREAS, The waterways involved are the subject of the proposed St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Development and we insist that United States citizens should have equal rights with Canadians over the route and a fair share of the employment involved and an understanding can be more easily obtained now than after the development is completed, and

WHEREAS, Canadian pilots are now operating on United States territorial waters of Lake Michigan and have the privileges accorded United States pilots in the use and navigation of the St. Mary's Falls Canal, the improved channels of the St. Mary's and Detroit Rivers and the New York State barge canal system, and

WHEREAS, This practice of the Minister of Marine of Canada where the same situation exists thus depriving United States citizens of equal rights of employment with the citizens of other countries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the State Department of the United States of America be requested to take such action as may be fit and proper to eliminate the unjust discrimination now being practiced against United States pilots in the Canadian Canal System, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That further recommendations be made to the State Department of the United States of America which will provide for such other relief in the premises as may seem just and proper.

Your Committee approves the purpose of the resolution and recommends its reference to the Executive Council for consideration.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Appreciation to New Orleans

Resolution No. 167—Submitted by the Convention Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, The trade union movement of the City of New Orleans has been untiring in its efforts to extend hospitality and provide for the comfort and pleasure of the delegates and guests of the 64th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The press and broadcasting stations of the city have been very cooperative in making their facilities available for the publicizing of information regarding our deliberations and activities during our stay in New Orleans; and

WHEREAS, the officers, delegates and guests of the 64th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor have been accorded great consideration by the city and state officials and representative groups of the city; and

WHEREAS, The delegates, officers and guests of the convention fully understand

the difficulties as a result of wartime restrictions which made doubly difficult the work of providing for our comfort and pleasure during our stay in New Orleans; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby expresses its appreciation and thanks to all who have contributed toward making this convention one of the most constructive and enjoyable in our history.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: This completes the work of your Committee on Resolutions, which is signed by the full committee as follows:

Matthew Woll, Chairman
John P. Frey, Secretary
J. A. Franklin
John M. Gillespie
William E. Maloney
P. J. Morrin
David Dubinsky
John B. Haggerty
L. P. Lindelof
R. G. Soderstrom
Thomas H. O'Donnell
John J. Mara
Fred Baer
J. L. Reilly
M. A. Hutcheson
Arnold S. Zander
John E. Rooney
Joseph P. Ryan
Frank Kasten
Richard F. Walsh
Herman Winter
Max Zaritsky
Hugo Ernst
George L. Berry
Woodruff Randolph
Committee on Resolutions

I move that the report be adopted as a whole.

The report was adopted as a whole by unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair thanks the committee for its most valuable service which has been rendered to this convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Vice President Woll, Secretary of the Committee on International Relations will now submit the report of that committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Vice President Woll, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

Re-establishment and Fortification of Labor Relations Between the American Federation of Labor and the Latin American Labor Movement

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is aware of the fact that labor in all Latin American countries needs its urgent cooperation and collaboration for the advancement of the toiling masses of said countries and to foster and support democracy and freedom among the people, and

WHEREAS, Investigations and reports submitted have proved to our satisfaction that the American Federation of Labor should take the leadership in carrying out some practical plan that would re-establish such relations as are necessary to be of service to the working people of these countries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED By this sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed to take such steps as might be deemed necessary by this body to start immediately a practical plan aimed at the purpose of re-establishing sound and constructive labor relations between the American Federation of Labor and the Latin American labor movements.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution and in so doing presents the following comments, observations and recommendations for consideration and approval:

Although no formal relationships have existed between the American Federation of Labor and the labor organizations of the Latin-American countries for some time past, exchange of fraternal communications, the increasing available information on labor developments and travel between the two Americas has enabled us to keep in touch with key persons. We have been increasingly aware of the concern of South America for the growth of free trade unions capable of serving the workers irrespective of political changes in their own countries and elsewhere in the world.

Our Latin-American fellow workers have been our comrades in the fight against dictatorships and despotic government. It is timely that the mutual respect and responsibility that have developed out of war-time

cooperation should be carried further into peace-time cooperation in establishing free and democratic trade unions in all countries as a citadel against the imposition of unconstitutional authority as well as the means of raising standards of living generally.

During the past year the American Federation of Labor has established a news service in Spanish entitled NOTICIARIO OBRERO NORTEAMERICANO to carry regularly labor news to Central and South American countries. Our purpose is to convey the feeling of Labor in the United States that our hopes and responsibilities in the future must be mutual; that progress anywhere brings courage everywhere; and that need and hunger anywhere are the concern of all others. We have found the use made of this service most encouraging.

Because of our common concern for free trade unionism, we regret that many union groups are without the facilities to protect their members against injustice and do not have a status that enables them to interpret Labors' need or desires to the community. We are apprehensive at the development of potential totalitarianism centers which may menace free institutions in the New World. We realize full well that unless constructive forces and remedial programs are put into action, these situations cannot be righted.

We are increasingly aware of the powerful economic organizations and forces that are welding together the business men of our two continents and that industrial commissions or organizations have been set up representative only of management. Unless our economics provide representation for all in decisions that affect them and advance the interests of consumers as well as management we cannot hope to maintain either political democracy or economic prosperity. The organization of workers in free trade unions is the pivotal force that must be introduced in these situations. In order to further union organization, to discuss mutual problems and mutual responsibilities, we recommend the E. C. be authorized to call a conference of representatives of trade unions of the Western Hemisphere to develop a program of joint interests and mutual responsibilities.

We need to prevent the development of difficulties in our New World and to plan for the maintenance of political and economic freedom and progress. It is important that

all countries share in technical progress that makes possible higher standards of living. In order to help workers of other countries to be prepared to operate new machines and techniques we propose that the labor movements of our various countries arrange for the exchange of apprentices; craftsmen to go from countries familiar with modern technical equipment to countries undertaking modernization, with workers from other countries coming to our country to learn under our craftsmen. We can look to the Labor Division of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs for technical assistance and aid in developing such relationships.

The Labor Division of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs has been most helpful in promoting opportunities for personal exchange of experience by workers of our various countries, in providing technical assistance such as translations and interpreters, and in providing continuously information on labor problems and activities necessary for mutual understanding among American workers. These services which supplement the official statistics and information available through the Labor Information Division of the Pan-American Union.

We need organization in free trade unions to get recognition and acceptance of the fact that Labor is a dynamic and functional force in the structure of every national life. Consequently any agency serving as a medium for coordinating Pan-American activity must consider the interests of wage earners without whom modern life could not function. A case in point is the Economic Conference called by the Pan-American Union for Washington, D. C., in March, 1948, to consider scientific and economic problems. The agency contains matters of vital concern to Labor. Pan-American free trade unions must make a concerted and sustained effort to see that union representatives are included in national delegations when matters concerning them are to be considered.

We repeat, the first step to all these ends is more general organization in trade unions and a coordinating body to develop a common program. To this end we urge the early calling of the Conference of Pan-American Trade Unions recommended above.

Vice President Woll moved the adoption of the report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE RIVERA, Puerto Rico Free

Federation of Working Men: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I am happy at this privilege and honor of standing to sustain the report of the committee. We are very glad indeed to hear the magnificent report of this committee in connection with the activities of labor relations between the American Federation of Labor and the Latin American Federation. I am going to read to you only three paragraphs of a tentative plan suggested to some members of the Executive Council which deals with the report of this committee:

"It would be healthful to analyze the causes that hampered the development and progress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, but it seems more practicable to trace new plans based on experience and in the light of present circumstances than taking into consideration the position of America in the post-war period.

"President William Green has advanced that it is the purpose of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to take such steps as it may find possible to establish a sound, constructive, cooperative labor relationship between our great movement and the movements in South America.

"To the best realization of that purpose the members of the American Federation of Labor are morally obliged to give a whole-hearted cooperation. 'If we in this country are to maintain our standards of living and keep on going and having better conditions,' said President Brown of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, we cannot forget the peoples that are oppressed.

"It is obvious that something has to be done and promptly. The leading position of the United States in America and in the world places the American Federation of Labor in a leading position, too, with responsibilities extending beyond national frontiers."

Mr. Chairman and Delegates, I stand to sustain this report of the committee, because it will be beneficial to labor relations between this America Federation of Labor and the Latin-American labor movement.

Thank you.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

REPORT ON TRIP TO ITALY BY LUIGI ANTONINI

(Pages 406-407, Fourth Day's Proceedings)

Commenting upon the report of Luigi Antonini regarding mission assigned to him by President Green to visit Italy, along with a representative of the British Trades Union Congress, your committee reports that it has examined the labor situation, as presented in the reports submitted by Brother Luigi Antonini, and from various other sources.

It is encouraging to observe the speed with which the labor elements throughout the liberated territories of Italy have rushed after the breakdown of fascism to form free labor unions and to renew the old democratic formations which were suppressed and outlawed for more than twenty years under the bloody regime of Mussolini and his henchmen. This resurgence of free labor organization attests better than anything else that despite terror and persecution the spirit of democracy never was permanently extinguished in Italy and that the Italian nation never accepted fascism as a pattern for existence.

But the labor movement in Italy at this moment cannot be viewed apart from the general economic, political and social situation of that country. These three factors are interwoven and interdependent. We must also bear in mind that not all Italy is free from Nazi occupation and that in most of the great industrial sections in North Italy where the factory workers predominate, the labor movement cannot as yet openly function and lend its full strength to free trade union organization. Above all, it is well to remember that even in the liberated provinces Italy is still under the military rule of Allied occupation forces and the processes of democratic life must of necessity be subordinated to military demands.

It is clear that our promise and undertaking to help the workers in Allied lands to revive their free labor unions, finds a wide field for immediate and urgent application in Italy. We can help our Italian fellow trade unionists in more than one way, and this help should be both material and moral.

1. The American Federation of Labor should give its full support to the democratic elements in the Italian labor move-

ment, to those elements which are opposed to totalitarian organization and domination. For, while it is being reported that at the moment a truce prevails between the democratic and totalitarian groups in the central labor body of Italian labor, it is certain that this truce may last only until the Communists find it opportune to make a bid for domination and the overpowering of all democratic opposition. By strengthening democracy in Italian labor today, we may make a substantial contribution toward the preservation of democracy throughout Italy.

2. Italy is economically ruined and its economy is at a low ebb. The Italian people are hungry, ill-clothed and despairing of the future. For months after the fall of fascism, the frantically anticipated relief from the Allied countries has been coming over only in dribblets. Lately, this help, especially from America, has increased. It is terribly urgent that this help be multiplied during the coming months. The splendid movement undertaken by the American Committee for Italian Relief, with the cooperation of the Italian-American Labor Council of New York, to collect clothing for the stricken Italian population, which has resulted in hundreds of thousands of garments already forwarded to Italy, deserves hearty commendation. Such help, however, meets only a small fraction of the vast needs. We call upon the agencies of our government charged with distribution of relief abroad to consider the tragic situation in Italy and to redouble their efforts in that direction without delay and procrastination.

3. Finally, we in America recognize that the conditions in Italy do not yet permit the complete withdrawal of military rule as long as Nazi armies still are fighting on Italian soil. Nevertheless, we must not fail to realize that the Italian people are eagerly awaiting the hour of restoration of their national sovereignty and that such a restoration is incompatible with the thought of protracted military occupation. Moreover, our policy towards Italy must be such that would make it clear to the Italian population of every political belief and economic group that America will not support either dismemberment of their country or the imposition of a form of government to which they are irrevocably opposed.

Such an open and declared policy will

strengthen immensely the elements of democracy throughout Italy and infuse hope and confidence among the democratic contingents in the trade unions. For, as Brother Antonini has succinctly stated in concluding his report: "Only in the atmosphere of a truly democratic country free of the perils of totalitarianism, is there hope for a truly democratic and free trade union organization to develop and prosper."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Palestine

Resolution No. 166—By Delegates Max Zaritsky, A. Mendelowitz, S. Hershkowitz, M. Goldman, Marx Lewis.

WHEREAS, The inhuman slaughter of European Jewry continues unabated, and the Nazis—intent upon completing their program to annihilate the Jewish people—are devising new and more horrible methods of mass murder. The documented reports of the unparalleled crimes committed in the death camps of Maidanek, Oswiecim and Treblinka, in the ghettos of Poland, in the market places of Roumania and Hungary, have outraged civilized humanity. To date, approximately 4,000,000 innocent Jewish men, women and children have suffered horrible death by shooting, asphyxiation, starvation, strangulation and fire, and

WHEREAS, We are determined that those Jews who have survived the holocaust shall be rescued and rehabilitated by the United Nations, and are equally determined that such rescue and rehabilitation shall conform to the particular needs and problems of uprooted European Jewry, and

WHEREAS, Decisions affecting the future of the homeless Jews of Europe are being made daily by international agencies, such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, agencies which derive their authority from the peoples of the United Nations, and

WHEREAS, The people of the United States have demonstrated their wholehearted sympathy with the plight of Europe's Jews and have expressed America's determination to bring about a just solution of this most pressing of human problems—a solution which will take into account the real needs and desires of the Jewish people. During the past year the American people have called for the fulfillment of the pledge contained in the Balfour Declaration. An overwhelming majority of our people desire the opening of Palestine's doors to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and the re-establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. These sentiments have been voiced through the forthright Palestine planks included in the platforms of both major political parties, and through the notable statements en-

dorsing Jewish aspirations in Palestine made by a large majority of the membership of both Houses of Congress, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, in a historic declaration made on October 15th, 1944, re-affirmed our country's traditional policy of support for the Jewish National Home in the following words: "I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization," and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has followed a policy of staunch and unwavering friendship for Jewish Palestine and has throughout the years supported the Jewish National Home and admired the magnificent accomplishment of Palestine Jewry, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always had deep respect for and a feeling of kinship with the Histadruth, the General Federation of Labor in Palestine, and has during the past year supported the program so admirably carried out by the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine, and

WHEREAS, Jewish Palestine has demonstrated its willingness and its ability to rehabilitate Europe's persecuted Jews and has, despite the Chamberlain White Paper of 1939 and other obstacles, fought the war against the common enemy with almost unparalleled devotion to democratic cause, and

WHEREAS, Resolutions, reflecting America's conviction that at long last justice must be done to the long suffering Jewish people, have been introduced into both Houses of Congress: These bi-partisan measures (HR 418-419 and SR 247) call for the free entry of Jews into Palestine and full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of War has recently announced that no military reasons stand in the way of action on the Palestine resolutions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urges the passage at the earliest possible moment of the pending Palestine resolutions, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls for the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth and urges upon the Government of the United States to take speedy and definite action on the Palestine question—action which will be in conformity with the historic, but as yet unfulfilled, pledges made to the Jewish people, and with the present needs of the persecuted Jews of Europe.

Your Committee, in reporting favorably upon this resolution and recommending its adoption, submits the following comments and observations:

While the armies of the United Nations are fighting their way into Germany, the butchery of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe continues with unabated ferocity. Eyewitness accounts which began to reach this country a number of years ago have now accumulated in sufficient quantity to prove beyond a shadow of a doubt the determination of the Hitlerite gangsters that, come what may, the Jewish people shall disappear from the face of the earth. Latest reports are that 4,000,000 Jews were executed in the ghastly death camps. The horrifying photographs from the Maidanek camp near Lublin provide visual proof of the systematic and coldly scientific methods by which Nazi officials use the ashes of Jews destroyed in the slaughter ovens to fertilize their fields. They sort the garments and toys of murdered Jewish infants and send these to the Reich.

The American Federation of Labor is determined that every effort shall be made to salvage the remnants of European Jewry, and that nothing shall stand in the way of the rescue and rehabilitation of a people which has suffered indescribable agony and torture at the hands of the enemy, a people which has been singled out for total annihilation by the godless Nazis.

In order to implement the firm resolve we have made that the Jews be saved through all means at the disposal of the United Nations we demand that the existing avenues of escape be utilized and those which have been closed be re-opened. We repeat our demand that immediate action be taken to realize the tremendous possibilities which Palestine, the internationally-sanctioned Jewish Homeland, offers for mass rescue and rehabilitation.

Day by day it becomes clearer that decisive action on Palestine must be taken if the homeless Jews are not to be consigned to a lifetime of wandering and discrimination.

The American Federation of Labor has time and again gone on record as demanding the withdrawal of the White Paper policy and its replacement by a program which will lead toward the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. It has done so because the plight of Europe's homeless and stateless Jews demands rehabilitation in a free, undivided, Palestine and it has done so because the nations of the world, including the United States of America, have

guaranteed the Jewish National Home in Palestine. The AFL has included in its recorded resolutions a tribute and testimony to its sister federation in Palestine, the Histadruth, which has done so much toward the realization of the hopes and aspirations of the Jewish people for the establishment of the Jewish Homeland, and toward raising the general standard of living in Palestine and in the neighboring countries.

In conformity with the pronounced declarations and policy of the AFL, President William Green stated in June 1944, that: "We intend to press with all our power and influence at the Peace Conference for the permanent establishment of Palestine as the Jewish National Homeland . . . We have appealed, we have expressed, we have petitioned, we have begged . . . Now the time has come when our Nation under the pressure of labor and its friends must say to Great Britain: 'You must now open the doors to Palestine, wide open—not for thirty days, for sixty or ninety days out of the year—but for 365 days'."

During the past year there has been a heartening indication that the position the American Federation of Labor has taken is supported by the people of the United States. The great majority of the members of Congress of the United States have, in public statements, expressed their approval of Jewish aspirations in Palestine. Strong pro-Palestine planks, calling for unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine and the rededication of that country as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth were incorporated into the 1944 platforms of both major political parties.

The Palestine Resolutions in Congress, H. R. 418-419 in the House, and S. R. 247 in the Senate, evoked nationwide approval at the time they were introduced. Because those vital measures, which were deferred last Spring at the request of the military authorities, may now be acted upon, and because the remnants of European Jewry are threatened with extinction, the American Federation of Labor urges immediate, definitive and decisive action on Palestine, action which will be consistent with the needs of the hour and the aspirations of the century.

In his statement in October 1944, President Roosevelt recognized the historic continuity and justice of the desires of the Jewish people, in these words: "I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked

and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim, and, if re-elected, I shall help bring about its realization."

Your Committee, therefore, urges that the Palestine Resolutions now pending in Congress be passed without delay. The problems of persecution, discrimination and homelessness which have plagued the Jewish people of the Old World for centuries must be solved in our time, else our expressions of sympathy and our solemn pledges shall have been in vain.

We further recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call upon the President of the United States to use his good offices to the end that the declaration made concerning the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth be implemented, the pledges made be fulfilled, and the Government of the United States assume its share of responsibility in the carrying out of the pledges and assurances given.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

International Federation of Trade Unions

(Page 274, Executive Council's Report)

Resolution No. 119—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Samuel Otto, Joseph Tuvim, Angela Bambace, David Gingold, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The labor organizations throughout the world have proved to be the natural allies and vanguard of democracy and have contributed decisively to the collective might of the United Nations in the titanic struggle against Fascism and Nazism, and

WHEREAS, We realize that the earliest re-establishment of free trade unions in all liberated lands is an immediate task for the free trade unions in the democratic lands, and

WHEREAS, We realize, furthermore, that the closest cooperation of the trade union movements of all countries can be attained most effectively through the rebuilding of the International Federation of Trade Unions which was so badly shattered through the current world catastrophe, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we call on the American Federation of Labor to take the required steps to aid in the task of reassembling and

strengthening the International Federation of Trade Unions as a central world labor organization after the war, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor initiate the raising of a substantial fund to help finance the rebuilding of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the trade unions in all countries affiliated with it.

Your Committee suggests reference of Resolution No. 119 to the Executive Council for such consideration and action as it may deem advisable upon further inquiry and in view of developments likely to take place within the near future.

In this connection your Committee also considered the Executive Council's report on this subject.

The report of the Executive Council indicates how difficult the work of the I. F. T. U. has been during the war years. The repression of union activities by dictators, arrests of leaders, loss of funds and resources have either paralyzed unions or forced them underground. The International Federation of Trade Unions at best cannot be more than a skeleton organization with only a few national organizations paying dues. Even under such handicaps the organization has prepared a plan of reorganization and a social and economic program. There are traditions and accumulated experience in this organization that should make it the rallying force for free trade unions the world over.

Free trade unions are independent organizations controlling their own terms and conditions of membership, deciding their own rules, and discipline of membership, able to make a contract with assurance of fulfillment. Free trade unions are not state controlled nor are the auxiliaries of the state, dominant party, or any employer or employers' organizations. Free trade unions are not subject to any political party nor do they serve as party tools. Power of deciding policies and the course of the organization is lodged with the union membership.

The free trade union grows by accepting into its membership duly qualified workers who believe in the purposes and methods of free trade unionism. It wields power through enabling workers to work out a unified program which all seek to promote.

On such a basis—free trade unions—we ask the workers of the world to unite. It is the only basis worthy of our terrible struggle to overthrow dictators and despotism over human lives

We want complete freedom to live as men should who are able to discriminate between the things which contribute to the comforts of living and life itself. We believe that the way to build a better world lies first in a united effort to revive and strengthen the free trade union movement of the world.

We urge this convention to issue this rallying call:

**FREE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES,
ENSURE YOUR FREEDOM BY UNITING
IN FREE TRADE UNIONS. FREE TRADE
UNIONS OF THE WORLD, UNITE TO
MAINTAIN LASTING PEACE WITH
FREEDOM.**

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

AN INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The free trade unions of the world have always been in the forefront of the struggle for liberty and democracy, and against totalitarianism, and

WHEREAS, The greatest testimony to this fact is that reactionaries and fascists the world over have first suppressed workers' organizations before being able to impose dictatorship, and

WHEREAS, The underground trade union movement of Europe has played and is still playing an integral role in the struggle for liberation—notably in Italy, France, Belgium, the Netherlands—by sabotage and slowdowns as well as by armed resistance, and

WHEREAS, The reconstruction of the free trade unions of the world is fundamental to the establishment of a free democratic system, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call a conference of charter organizations of the International Federation of Trade Unions to meet in the United States as soon as feasible for the purpose of planning the reconstruction of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

This resolution calls for a conference of the organizations affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions in the United States as soon as feasible.

The calling of such a conference is dealt with in the report of the Special Committee on International Labor Relations.

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor in urging the conference of

the I. F. T. U. suggest that the conference be held in the United States.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

International Labor Organization

(Page 270, Executive Council's Report)

The Committee recommends endorsement of the Report of the Executive Council referring to the International Labor Organization.

In particular, the Committee welcomes the Declarations of the aims and purposes of the International Labor Organization which was adopted at the Philadelphia conference of the I. L. O. We believe that this Declaration is of great importance to organized labor and that its adoption unanimously by the International Labor Conference in which over 40 governments were represented, including representatives of Labor and of employers constitutes a landmark in the social thinking of our time. The committee is particularly glad to note that the Declaration, in setting out the principles which should guide the organization and the policy of its member states, places in the forefront of those principles the statement that "Labor is not a commodity," and thus corrects the unfortunate wording of the Treaty of Versailles whereby this principle was weakened and distorted into a senseless piece of empty rhetoric against which the Federation protested at the time. The principle has now been stated in the form in which it was originally proposed for insertion in the Treaty of Peace by President Gompers and this is a matter of great satisfaction to all who revere his memory.

The committee has also noted that the Declaration, in setting forth a program of action aiming at full employment and a higher standard policy for workers everywhere, has broadened the scope of the field which the International Labor Office should have as its province. The Declaration provides also that it is a duty of the International Labor Organization to examine and consider the policies and measures followed or initiated by other international agencies, particularly those in the economic and financial fields, so as to see that they advance and not hinder the achievement of the social objectives which it laid down. This broadening of the scope of the activi-

ties of the Organization is in line with the report which was approved by the Sixty-third Convention of the Federation at Boston last year, in which the necessity for such a broader approach was advocated. The Federation in successive conventions has approved this organization which has shown that it can be an active and powerful instrument for furthering the cause of social justice and thereby strengthening the foundations of peace.

The Committee feels that the International Labor Organization should have every opportunity for establishing effective liaison with the other new international agencies which are being created by the United Nations. It is essential that they should all be inspired by the social objectives set out in the Declaration of Philadelphia and this can most effectively be done if the International Labor Organization is given an opportunity to follow their work and see that the social objective is kept constantly in mind.

We hope that our own government which has taken the initiative in convening the series of conferences of the United Nations entrusted with the task of planning these new international agencies will take the lead in this matter and will invite the I. L. O. to be represented at these various meetings. The I. L. O. has had a long and successful experience of international work and can certainly make a valuable contribution out of that experience to these new bodies, even in their initial stages.

It is particularly important, and indeed in the committee's view essential, that the I. L. O. should be given representation in the Conference which will adopt in final form the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which will lay down the general framework in which all the international agencies must work.

The tripartite composition of the I. L. O. providing for the representation of labor and employers with an equal status to that of governments, and its responsibility for the treatment of social and labor questions in the international field, make its association with the over-all scheme of international organization a matter of special importance.

The Committee considers that the regrettable incident at the last Peace Conference, to which it has drawn attention above, indicates how easily the I. L. O. might be

robbed of much of its possibilities of useful action if its place in the new international scheme is not worked out with a full knowledge of its characteristics and potentialities, and it therefore feels that that place should be defined in consultation with the authorized representatives of the I. L. O. itself. Here we urge upon our own government which appreciates the work of the I. L. O. to see that it is given full responsibilities of representation in these discussions which will presumably soon take place.

We do not think it necessary to comment in detail on the work performed by the I. L. O. during the past year which has received wide and favorable publicity. We do, however, wish to comment on the work of the Acting Director and his staff who faced successfully a gigantic task in organizing and preparing the work of the Philadelphia Conference at that meeting.

We wish to comment also on the able way in which Robert J. Watt, the representative of the Federation, performed his duties at the Philadelphia Conference and in the meetings of the Governing Body of the I. L. O. to which he was re-elected at Philadelphia. The Philadelphia meeting paid him the honor of electing him as the Workers' Vice President of the Conference.

We wish also to pay a tribute to the work of James A. Wilson who has acted as the I. L. O. liaison with the Federation. He has done an admirable job in making the work of the I. L. O. better known to the international unions and all the branches of the Federation and has been a welcome guest at many of their conventions. We feel that the rank and file of the movement should be kept informed of the work of the I. L. O. and its importance and we are grateful to James Wilson for his untiring efforts in this direction.

The International Labor Office has come through the war with a successful record of achievement. In the convulsion which the war has caused it has naturally to reduce its staff almost to skeleton dimensions. In our report last year we urged that it must be given greater financial resources in order that it might be able to pursue effectively the most heavy tasks which it must now assume. We have been glad to learn that the Governing Body has accepted the Acting Director's proposals to increase its annual budget for 1945 to approximately its pre-war figure.

This will mean, of course, an increase in the contribution from the Government of the United States and proportionate increases from the governments of other members. The increase was supported by the representative of our government in the Governing Body and we therefore recommend that Congress be urged to vote the necessary appropriation to assure the necessary funds properly to carry on the work so important to Labor everywhere.

We feel that the work of the I. L. O. is of the greatest importance, that it should be extended and developed in order to protect the interests of organized labor throughout the world. We are convinced that through the International Labor Organization the nations can weld a most valuable form of international collaboration which will make an essential contribution to a people's peace. It is for that reason that we urge that sufficient financial resources should be made available for an organization which has been proved and tested. And it is for that reason also that we recommend that the convention reaffirm its unqualified support.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously approved.

SPECIAL REPORT—INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

(Page 517—Sixth Days Proceedings)

Your special committee performed a real service in reporting to the convention immediate and urgent problems developing in the recent months.

We think the committee has pointed out issues in the Dumbarton Oaks Plan which must be given serious consideration—specifically the provisions essential to organize the Security Council so that all nations would be sure its acts would result in basic equality of rights and justice for all; provision to assure democratic decisions upon the use of military force and provisions to give the Social and Economic Council the representative basis that has materially contributed to the success of the I.L.O. Furthermore, we want assurances that the I.L.O. will be made an agency of the United Nations in line with the program proposed by the Philadelphia Conference.

We recommend that this Convention concur in the report of the Committee on Dumbarton Oaks and that the Special Committee energetically take steps to get the necessary changes in the over-all plan.

We recommend also concurrence in that part of the report dealing with slave labor and restoration of the free trade union movement in Germany and other parts of Europe. We commend the representatives of the Federation for their insistence upon the restoration of free trade unions as indispensable to the restoration of free representative institutions in lands regained from the Axis. The restoration of free trade unionism in all countries should follow relief from war-time regimentation as well as the overthrow of dictatorships.

We have already commented on the proposal that the American Federation of Labor call a world-wide conference of free trade unions at the earliest possible date and re-affirm our concurrence in this course.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously approved.

RECOMMENDATION BY THE COMMITTEE

It is evident that as a result of the present world conflict there will arise a new relationship amongst the nations of the world. It is likewise evident that science and invention have equally increased the interdependency among nations and peoples requiring an ever greater degree of collaboration and cooperation. This is true not only in the field of government, of science, industry and commerce, but applies with equal force to the activities of labor.

If we are to meet our full duties and responsibilities in all of these world developments, and if we are to fully safeguard the rights and interests of the workers everywhere, if we are to rally the forces of free labor in all lands to a fuller and better life, it then becomes imperative that we are constantly alert and active in all phases of the field of international labor relations.

Conscious of these duties and responsibilities, and in order that we may adequately fulfill our mission in this field of human endeavor, your committee recommends not only the continuance of the standing Committee on International Labor Relations, but that it be charged with the authority and duty of inviting and of attaining the cooperation of such groups whether of labor or otherwise in sympathy with our move-

ment and in accord with the policies and objectives as they may be defined from time to time by the American Federation of Labor in this field of human relationships throughout the world.

The statement of the committee was unanimously approved.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: That completes the report on International Labor Relations and it is signed by all members of the committee:

Matthew Woll, Chairman;
Wm. J. McSorley,
D. J. Tobin,
George L. Berry,
W. D. Mahon,
Wm. L. Hutcheson,
Wm. J. Bowen,
Albert Adamski,
Joseph V. Moreschi,
Joseph P. Ryan,
E. E. Milliman,
J. A. Franklin,
John P. Frey,
Christian M. Madsen,
Edward Flore,
Henry F. Schmal,
W. C. Birthright,
John B. Haggerty,
F. J. Morrin,
Felix H. Knight,
James Maloney,
Isidore Nagler,
Harold D. Ullrich,
Hugo Ernst,
Holt Ross.

Committee on International Relations.

VICE PRESIDENT WOLL: I move adoption of the report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair thanks the Committee on International Labor Relations for the excellent service rendered to the convention.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Weyler, Secretary of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor, for the report of the Committee on Industrial Relations.

Delegate Weyler reported as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

On behalf of Vice President Hutcheson, Chairman of the Committee on Industrial Relations, I wish to state that our committee has been available for service since its appointment to handle any matters referred to it.

However, as no resolutions were referred to it by the convention, the committee has no report to submit.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now recognizes Vice President Flore for the report of the Committee on Labels. I now take great pleasure in presenting to you the Chairman of the Committee on Labels, Vice President Flore.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN FLORE: The Secretary of the Committee will read the report.

Committee Secretary Merlino read the following report:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS

Your Committee on Union Labels has had referred to it the subject matter under the caption, "Union Label Trades Department," on page 181 of the Executive Council's report. We have reviewed the various subjects covered with unusual interest. We find that since the 63rd Annual Convention the work of the Union Label Trades Department has been expanded and that there have been many new and effective educational features added which are employed to acquaint the consuming public with the insignia of the affiliated unions, and, in addition, with the various kinds of merchandise that are available with the union label and with the many and varied kinds of services rendered under the shop card and service button.

We commend the Department for its news service features which embrace editorials, news releases and cartoons. We compliment the labor papers and labor journals for the generous amount of space used to display these features. We note the extraordinary cooperation of the editors of the American Federationist, the official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor and the A. F. of L. Weekly News Service. We are not unmindful of the great contribution made by the state federations of labor, central labor unions, union label leagues and women's auxiliaries through the annuals of these organizations.

We have reviewed with interest the employment of the radio by the Union Label Trades Department. We note the use of the national networks as well as the local independent radio stations. We find that the

radio is to be used more frequently during the coming year and that in addition to a message on the union labels, shop cards and service buttons, an entertainment feature will be added to the department's radio broadcast.

The Union Label Catalogue-Directory, which is published by the Union Label Trades Department, serves as a buyer's guide for members of our unions, their families and friends. Sufficient copies are printed for general distribution through the national and international unions, state federations of labor, central labor unions and women's auxiliaries.

A new and most important feature added to the general program is the union label exhibit which has been on display during the convention here. We compliment the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Union Label Trades Department for having designed and having had constructed such an elaborate exhibit booth which is to be used in exhibitions of all kinds and descriptions throughout the United States and Canada. The screen in the exhibit now used for the display of the insignia of the affiliated unions will be supplanted from time to time by special films of American Federation of Labor unions. The cost of this new exhibit, we discover, has been financed equally by the American Federation of Labor and the Union Label Trades Department.

The Union Label Trades Department, during 1944, conducted a contest known as the Victory Recipe-Menu Contest. There were no restrictions upon who could enter the contest. The public, generally, was invited to participate. Thousands of entries were submitted by persons in all walks of life. The judges in this contest were selected by officials of various agencies of the Federal Government. All recipe-menus submitted in the contest were referred to the judges for final decision.

We recommend that the delegates in attendance at this convention inform their membership that these recipe-menus, which rank among the very best yet prepared by any dietetic or nutrition group, are available in booklet form in quantities for distribution generally.

In collaboration with Dr. Mark Graubard of the Division of Labor Education, Nutrition Programs Branch, War Food Administration, we note that the department, through its

secretary-treasurer, has developed an exhibit which is displayed before educational and study groups in the high schools, universities and places of general public interest. In connection with this exhibit, we commend the Union Label Trades Department for the message on the union labels, shop cards and service buttons which accompanies the exhibit wherever it is displayed.

One of the most important subjects dealt with by the Union Label Trades Department is the continued expansion of women's auxiliaries. We note the influence of the women in the market place. We repeat, for the edification of the delegates, the fact that 90 per cent of the purchases for trade unionists' homes are made by the women. The American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor, which was organized by the Union Label Trades Department, has rendered effective service to the various agencies of the Federal Government in the prosecution of the war. In addition to the cooperation rendered by the women's auxiliaries in the furtherance of the union labels, shop cards and service buttons and the interest taken by the women in the war effort, we find a willingness on the part of the auxiliary members to cooperate wherever their services may be required to further the general labor movement. We urge the national and international unions to encourage the continued growth of the women's auxiliaries.

What appears to your Committee as a most excellent contribution in the building of good will is the campaign for free Union Label cigarettes for our overseas forces. Several hundred million union label cigarettes and playing cards have been purchased by unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor and dispatched to the armed forces on all of the fighting fronts of the world. Each package of these free cigarettes and playing cards contains a message from the donor. These service men and women have demonstrated their appreciation of the generosity of the American Federation of Labor unions by writing letters of thanks to the donating organizations. Your Committee strongly urges the continuation of this part of the general program of the Union Label Trades Department for the duration of the war.

The participation of the Union Label Trades Department on the Labor Policy Committee of the Office of Price Administration is recognized as a valuable contribu-

tion. Your committee appreciates the importance of the control of prices and the rationing of scarce commodities. We recommend the continued participation of the Union Label Trades Department in this connection.

In addition to the splendid progress made in unionizing the consumer goods industries, we find a vast increase in the use of the shop card and service button. We note the success the Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists International Union of America has met with recently in the union shop agreements entered into with the terminal barber shops in Detroit and Chicago, and with the Sleighman and Letz Company, who operate beauty salons in New York and Portland. For years, these companies operated non-union shops.

Your Committee recommends the buying of union label goods and the use of union services as the best post-war plan that has yet been suggested or devised. This would do more to maintain American standards than any other proposal that has come to our attention. It is the kind of a job that trade unionists know how to do and have been doing so conscientiously since the union label idea was first established. When trade unionists spend their union-earned money for union goods and union services, they are giving the best answer to anti-union propagandists and sweatshoppers who are trying to destroy the labor movement and at the same time the American standards of living.

DELEGATE ORNBURN: Mr. President, it is my purpose to support the report of the Committee and to place emphasis on two of the subjects dealt with. The first is the free union label cigarette campaign for men and women in our armed forces. As stated by your committee there have been several hundred million union label cigarettes purchased by American Federation of Labor Unions and dispatched to all fighting fronts. Those purchases are not keeping up with what we would like to see. There is one reason, primarily, for the letdown, and that is the general belief on the part of our unions that the war is near an end and therefore it is no longer necessary to keep these free union label cigarettes going to the fighting fronts. Now I urge you to step up those purchases until the last shot is fired.

Another explanation I think would be well at this time, and that is that out of the

hundreds of millions of cigarettes purchased by our Unions, there have been a few complaints registered with the Department that these cigarettes have been sold. Each one of those complaints have been checked carefully by the War Department and these are the findings of the War Department:

Some of the boys receiving these free cigarettes do not smoke, and consequently they make a deal with a pal and sell them to him at a very nominal price. There has been one other case on record where a non-commissioned officer actually re-sold these cigarettes, and that officer has been dealt with by the War Department.

Now your checks are forwarded to the union label manufacturer of these cigarettes. The check is acknowledged by the firm and the shipment is made direct to the Army officer in charge at the port of embarkation. He then sends the cigarettes to another Special Services officer at the fighting front, so the War Department is protecting these shipments to the very best of their ability.

Now another reason why we should keep up this free union label cigarette campaign is, and I am not permitted to state all of the information we have, because it is confidential information, but there are over 100 hospitals here in the United States that are caring for these boys that have been injured and being brought back to this country. Those boys are as anxious to get these cigarettes now in these rehabilitation hospitals as they were to receive them while in combat service, so let us not slow up in the purchase of these cigarettes just because we think we can see the end of the war.

The boys are very grateful for your contributions. Their letters will testify to that fact, and I urge you to continue your support of this program.

The second point I want to emphasize is the work of the Department in connection with the many features that we are utilizing to impress upon the consuming public the importance of demanding union label products. It is our job to create good will everywhere, and we have done everything we could to bring to the attention of the consuming public the importance of demanding union labels or shop cards.

An exhibit booth has been added, you will notice. It is not exactly what we want it to be because of the delay in

securing certain materials which required priorities. Those features of the exhibit that are not right and proper will be corrected. For example, where you see the insignia of the Departments represented on the labels that will be improved. This exhibit will be placed on display in the Grand Central Station in New York, Madison Square Garden and other large gathering places so that the American public can be informed what we stand for.

In addition to the slides showing the insignia of the Unions, we propose adding a motion picture, running from 15 to 20 minutes, of every Union in the American Federation of Labor that thinks it is important enough to have a film made of their Union and industry.

Another feature that must be corrected is the contest bowl on the right. Union labels will be placed in the container and circulated by power fans. The fan is in the bowl now but is not operating properly. That will be corrected.

In order that you might note just what we propose to do, we are permitting the delegates and visitors to guess the number of union labels in there. We will close that guessing contest on adjournment of the morning session, and announce at the opening of the afternoon session how many are in the bowl. Some of my friends have asked me to give them an idea how many are in there. I reserve that for the last moment and will tell you now how many stock cards and union labels are in there. The number is somewhere between 1 and 5000.

DELEGATE WALTER, Boilermakers: Is it possible for you to furnish the organizations with a list of the hospitals where cigarettes may be sent?

DELEGATE ORNBURN: Mr. President that is regarded as confidential information by the War Department, but they will make possible the distribution of any cigarettes the National and International Unions desire to make available.

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously approved.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MERLINO: That completes the report of the committee which has been signed by all members, as follows:

Edward Flore, Chairman,
Anthony Merlino, Secretary,

George Coughlin,
Joseph T. Belsky,
Samuel Herchkowitz,
Anne Peterson,
Toney Gallo,
Joseph Addy,
James A. Taylor,
John G. Warrington,
George Newbon,
John Zitello,
Anastasia Becker,
James McDonald,
Charles E. Rohler,
Harry Greenberg,
Robert Lester,
James A. Suffridge,
C. E. Earnhart,
J. L. Robertson,
Frank W. Anderson,
Harold H. Clark,
George Turry,

Committee on Labels.

The report of the committee as a whole was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair thanks the committee for their excellent service to the convention.

The Chair now recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for the submission of communications.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

New York, New York,
November 27, 1944.

President William Green,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

The 21st annual convention of the National Labor Committee for Palestine which includes representatives from American Federation of Labor organizations extends fraternal greetings and congratulations to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. Accept our sincerest thanks for your generous support to the Histadrut, Jewish Labor Federation in Palestine, and to the persecuted Jewish people generally. Your aid in promoting the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in the ancient land of the Jews is most encouraging. We take this occasion to express our gratitude to President Green for his kind cooperation.

ISAAC HAMLIN,
National Secretary.
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,
National Chairman.

LOCAL JOINT EXECUTIVE BOARD OF
CULINARY WORKERS, BARTENDERS AND
HOTEL SERVICE WORKERS
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

November 20, 1944.

American Federation of Labor Convention,
New Orleans, Louisiana.

The Local Joint Executive Board of Culinary Workers, Bartenders and Hotel Service Workers greets you:

This convention of organized labor representatives will be one of the most momentous conventions in the history of the movement in America. The convention will be faced with the many economic and social problems confronting the workers of America. They will not be easily solved—the solutions will require a calm, retrospect, sober deliberation commensurate with their vital importance and the effect your decisions will have on the lives, expectations and the hopes of the workers in the trying times ahead.

This organization desires to express to the officers and delegates of this convention its confidence in the ultimate beneficial results of the pattern you may lay down to follow and it also desires to express the hope that your deliberations will be blessed with a success that will reflect the past glorious achievements of the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN A. ST. PETER,
Executive Secretary.

Pressmen's Home, Tenn.,
November 30, 1944.

William Green,
New Orleans, La.

It is with great pleasure that I am permitted to advise you that in the election held yesterday in behalf of the employees of the R. B. Donnelly and Sons Company of Chicago we won by a substantial majority, and with us in this victory are the Photo Engravers, the Machinists and the probability of a Mailers' victory. Thus, for the first time since 1906, this very famous non-union printing concern is required to deal with the Printing Trades Unions. Kind regards.

GEORGE L. BERRY, President,
International Pressmen's Union.

Chicago, Ill.,
November 29, 1944.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
New Orleans, La.

Chicago Printing Trade Unions have scored smashing victory in five NLRB elections at R. B. Donnelly and Sons Company plant held Wednesday. Machinists, Photo Engravers, Pressmen and Lithographers have won by substantial margins. Outcome of Mailers Union election depends upon 42 challenged ballots which will be ruled upon in several days. We look forward to success in Mailer ultimate determination as well as success for all other A. F. of L. Unions engaged in this great campaign to establish industrial democracy in the Donnelly Plant. We appreciate deeply the splendid cooperation rendered to the Chicago Printing Trades Unions by A. F. of L. and all its affiliated unions.

NICHOLAS DEPIETRO,
Executive Secretary,
Organization Committee
Chicago Printing Trades
Unions.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We are all highly pleased by the messages advising us of this victory by our brother members in the Donnelly Company. We rejoice with them over the outcome of the election. It was a great victory.

Are there any further remarks?
The convention will recess until 2:30 p. m. this afternoon.

At 12:40 p. m. the convention recessed to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

EIGHTH DAY — THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

November 30, 1944

The convention was called to order by President Green at 3 o'clock.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for an announcement.

Messages to General MacArthur and General Eisenhower

SECRETARY MEANY: The following telegrams have been sent by President Green to General Douglas MacArthur in the Pacific and to General Dwight D. Eisenhower of the Allied Expeditionary Force.

New Orleans, Louisiana.
November 20, 1944.

General Douglas MacArthur,
AMGUFA

Those in attendance at convention of American Federation of Labor which is being held here in New Orleans voted to renew their no-strike pledge for duration of war. Vote was unanimous. The seven million members of American Federation of Labor will stand by you and our fighting forces everywhere setting new records and reaching new heights in production until victory is won. Count on our loyal support and our devoted service to the government.

WM. GREEN, President
American Federation of Labor.

New Orleans, Louisiana
November 30, 1944

General Dwight D. Eisenhower,
Supreme Commander,
Allied Expeditionary Force,
c/o War Department,
Washington, D. C.

American Federation of Labor convention reaffirmed its no-strike pledge for the duration of war. Vote was unanimous. This means that millions of members American Federation of Labor will continue to set new records of production and give continued enthusiastic support to our fighting forces. Accept our best wishes and solemn pledge of continued support.

WM. GREEN, President
American Federation of Labor.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The telegrams will be included in the proceedings of the convention.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Ornburn, of the Union Label Trades Department.

Winner of Union Label Contest

SECRETARY ORNBURN: Mr. President, just before we adjourned I announced that we would select the winner at the contest on the number of labels in the bowl in our exhibit. I told the delegates and visitors I was going to let them in on the number and I said the number of union labels, shop cards and service buttons was between 1 and 5,000.

A member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers employed here in the Municipal Auditorium guessed nearest to the number of labels there were in the bowl. His guess was 975 and there were 960, so I am going to ask Vincent J. Marino, a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to come up and get the Bond.

Mr. Marino, we expect you to keep this Bond until the war is over and then use the money to buy union label goods.

MR. MARINO: I promise you I will do that. I want to thank the committee and also Mr. Ornburn who presented me with the Bond. I will add this to the rest that I have.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now, in conformity with the decision of the convention we will proceed with the special order of business which was set for 3 o'clock this afternoon in order that we may do so in an appropriate and efficient way, I call President

Milliman, President of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, to come forward and preside.

DELEGATE ELMER MILLIMAN, President of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees in the Chair.

President

CHAIRMAN MILLIMAN: Nominations are now in order for the President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year. The Chair recognizes Delegate Duffy.

DELEGATE DUFFY, Brotherhood of Carpenters:

Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention, I consider I have a pleasant duty to perform; at least it is pleasant to me. For years I have taken upon myself the responsibility of nominating a candidate for President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term. I consider I have been successful in nominating that candidate, for in each case he was unanimously elected by the delegates to the convention.

I want to re-nominate him now. I think almost every delegate in this convention knows to whom I refer. I might as well give you his name now instead of referring to him as the candidate I have in mind. It is no less a personage than my dear, good friend, William Green. A few days ago he told me there were to be no nominating speeches. He said that a year ago. I tried to comply with his request, with the proviso that he should not make an acceptance speech, but he broke through the traces at that time, and now since he is not the Chairman of this session of the convention, I am a rebel. I won't comply with his order.

More than thirty years ago he was the General Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America with headquarters in Indianapolis, Indiana, and I was the General Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America with headquarters in the same city. We came to know one another well; we became great friends, and that friendship has continued down to the present time, and I hope it will continue as long as we live. He is rather shy when anybody praises him or says things to his advantage. He doesn't want you to do that. He doesn't want me to do that. The only way I can get Bill

Green in action is to fight with him and find fault with him and cuff him and kick him, and then you will see him in action. In 1913, thirty-one years ago, I was elected a Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor at a convention in Seattle and John P. White, the International President of the United Mine Workers of America was also elected a Vice-President. We were both to take office at the same time. John P. White declined at the election and there was then a vacancy as Eighth Vice-President on the Executive Council. That was the number of Vice-Presidents we had at that time. Bill Green was selected by the Executive Council—not elected, but selected—to fill the place of John White. He became Eighth Vice-President. I was the Seventh Vice-President, and so as members of the Council dropped off and each one advanced a step we went up numerically in the same order. When I was Fifth he was Sixth. When I became Fourth he became Fifth and when I became Second he became Third, and then he jumped ahead of me. He became President, selected President by the American Federation of Labor in 1924. He has filled that office ever since, twenty years. No wonder I want to nominate him. No wonder it is a pleasant duty to do that. No wonder I have nominated him for the last number of years. I expected to be called upon to do that. Seldom, if ever, has he asked me to do it. I have done it on my own accord, and I am here to nominate him again for President for the coming year.

You know he is a lover of democracy. You know he is a defender of the workers at all times. You know he is their champion and friend. You know and I know that the workers have confidence in him. Why, then, should we not re-elect him as President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming term?

Therefore, it gives me pleasure at this time to nominate the President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming year, my old friend, my good friend, my co-worker, and my co-officer for over 26 years, William Green.

CHAIRMAN MILLIMAN: Are there any other nominations?

It was moved, seconded and carried that nominations be closed.

DELEGATE WALTER, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and

Helpers of America: I move the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

CHAIRMAN MILLIMAN: In accordance with the action of the convention, and the ballot just cast by the Secretary, I hereby declare William Green elected President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

Mr. President, it gives me great personal satisfaction and a great deal of pleasure to say to you that you have observed for yourself the response to the nomination made, and I wish you Godspeed in your great work.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Brother Milliman, officers and delegates in attendance at this highly important convention: Experiences of this kind awaken tender memories—memories of friends made and friendships formed over a period of years. I gain inspiration and courage to carry on in behalf of the organized labor movement of our country when I silently reflect over experiences through which I have passed while serving as President of the American Federation of Labor.

It seems but yesterday when my colleagues along with me, members of the Executive Council, followed the remains of my distinguished predecessor to his final resting place at Sleepy Hollow near New York. And then everyone of us, bowed down with grief, made sad because of the loss of a great friend and a great leader, faced the future courageously, determined that the high and exalted principles which he had announced would be protected, preserved and carried on by us. That seemed but yesterday, and yet 20 years have passed since we passed through that very sad and trying experience.

Now I respond after service covering a long period of time to your renewed call to new duty and new service. I respond with the same devotion, but increasingly so, which I have always felt and given to the great cause of the American Federation of Labor. With the help of Divine Providence and with your cooperation and support, I shall face the future of this year, again giving all that I have to the service and the best that I can give you. In doing so I am conscious of my responsibilities and of the

trying experiences through which we will no doubt pass before the year is over.

Behold the picture now as we assemble in this historic convention. Much of the culture and artistic beauty of a refined civilization that has developed out of twenty-five hundred years has been practically destroyed. The barbarians have substituted savagery for civilization. In the devastated countries of Europe, we behold a picture of ruin and destruction such as the world has never seen. The cruel leaders of savagery in the darkest hour of our civilization, when savagery prevailed in the world, could not inflict such destruction as we find in Europe and in the Pacific.

We must face the reconstruction of a new world. We must clear away the debris and there, upon the sites of the devastated cities that mark the savagery of a savage race, rebuild the homes of the humble and the lowly as well as the high and the rich, and it is labor that must do so. Cities must be erected by those who are skilled, those who show genius, the same men who have built our cities here and have converted the forests of a primitive age into the beautiful and new cities of civilization. But in the old world those who are the direct sufferers of these savage attacks are penalized. How can they rebuild? How can they reconstruct? Who can answer that question? How shall they establish a credit that will enable them to buy the things they need or to rebuild their factories and their mills and their transportation lines so that their countries can be restored to their normal position and normal appearance?

Well, my friends, we must rely again upon America continuing as the arsenal of democracy and the flowing well from which springs the refreshing stream that will speed and sustain our armies abroad and help the suffering people who are the victims of savagery and brutality in foreign lands.

I shall be willing to lead our workers in America forward, facing the task of helping to rebuild and reconstruct the world, because we will find a way by which we can supply those who are suffering so much with the things they need in order to rebuild their world. And we must reach up toward the realization of objectives which we set at the beginning, some of which have never yet been reached.

We have dreamed about the things which we wish to enjoy—Social Security and all of its benefits. We must lead in the fight during

the coming year for the realization of all that. We must also fight here in our own beloved country for a united labor movement if we can. I am one of those who think that some who left us will be back with us when the next convention of the American Federation of Labor convenes, I shall do my best to bring it about.

Then we must fight to maintain decent standards of living, higher and higher standards of living, and we must never allow anyone to force us down to a lower level. We must endeavor to develop an international relationship and an international spirit among the working people of the world which will provide for establishment through our cooperation and demand, of a lasting peace, a peace that will guarantee security for all.

Oh I am thinking about many things as I face the responsibilities of the coming year. You are thinking with me, because I sense it now, and together we will mobilize all our thinking and all our thoughts, all our strength, all our ability in order to achieve and to lift the social, economic and industrial life of millions and millions of people to a high and still higher level.

I respond, as I previously stated, to your call for service with a feeling of genuine pleasure, and I assure you I deeply appreciate this twentieth unanimous call of the delegates attending a convention of the American Federation of Labor, to lead them and to serve them in all of the vicissitudes of life, and whatever we may meet during the unfolding year.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Vice Presidents of the American Federation of Labor, and the Chair recognizes my good old friend, Secretary Duffy, who just performed a very fine mission and discharged his duties nobly and well.

DELEGATE DUFFY, Brotherhood of Carpenters: Mr. Chairman, I appreciate that bouquet that you have thrown at Bill Green by electing him unanimously as President. I have one more pleasant duty to perform, and that is to nominate a candidate for First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor. After I do that I will surrender the floor to other delegates who want to nominate the other Vice Presidents.

We are now at an important time in this convention. It is not only the election of Vice Presidents but the election of an Executive Council, for the Vice Presidents, together with the President and the Secretary-

Treasurer, constitute the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and those we select now should be and must be men of standing, men of training and men of experience. We have had that sort of men in the past. I hope we will have them in the future.

The First Vice President whom I am pleased to nominate is an old trade unionist. He has forty-six years of membership to his credit. He has been a delegate to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for the last twenty-nine years. He has been placed on all sorts of commissions and committees of the American Federation of Labor and he gave satisfaction. At least I have never heard any complaint.

These Vice Presidents of the American Federation of Labor will have to take the responsibility upon their shoulders of transacting the business of the American Federation of Labor as we want them to, as we expect them to between now and the next convention. They do not agree at all times. I do not expect them to agree. I do not want them to agree on all questions that come before that body. I know whereof I speak. I served for twenty-six years as a Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, but when a question is settled, that finishes it. You don't hear any of the Vice Presidents of the American Federation of Labor or the President or the Secretary-Treasurer squawking and raising objections. When the majority of the Council says so, that settles it.

I was pleased with the report of the Executive Council to this convention. It was a unanimous report. If there were differences the members of the Council settled them among themselves. That is the way we want them to continue.

The man I have in mind is one of those fellows who will stick to the last for what he thinks is right. I know him well, perhaps better than any delegate in this convention. He happens to be the International President of the organization I have the honor to represent at this convention. I have conferences and business with him every day and every week in the year, so I should know him.

It is with a great deal of satisfaction and pleasure that I nominate for the office of First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming term my dear, good friend, the General President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, William L. Hutcheson.

DELEGATE McCURDY, United Garment

Workers: I rise to second the nomination of Brother William L. Hutcheson, that fine First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, with a motion that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for William L. Hutcheson for First Vice President.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any other nominations? If not the Chair declares nominations closed. The Chair will entertain the motion offered by Delegate McCurdy, that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for the election of Brother William L. Hutcheson as First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William L. Hutcheson for First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT GREEN: And in conformity with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare William L. Hutcheson elected First Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Second Vice President.

DELEGATE MALONEY: Glass Bottle Blowers: After listening to the splendid nominating speeches just made by Delegate Duffy, perhaps you prefer not to hear any more. However, I feel that I should offer a few words in placing before you the name of the officer who has served you so long and so faithfully as Second Vice President of the Federation.

I believe we have finished the practical work that we are gathered here to do—legislation, the laying of plans for the future, etc., so I am sure you will agree that the selection of your representatives, your officers is one of the most important functions of this afternoon's session. After all is said and done, whether we like it or not the general public passes its judgment and forms its opinion of any institution by the kind of representatives it has, and so it seems to me it is our duty here as delegates to select our best and most able men. As the previous speaker has so well said, that has always been done in the past without any question, during all the years of this Federation's existence.

The man whose name I am going to place in nomination in a moment or two, as you

all know, was a little immigrant boy who landed on the shores of this blessed land with nothing but good health, a courageous heart and great ambition, and in addition to that, great capacity for work. You have seen him function here in this convention. Most all of you are familiar with the work that he has done for the movement during all of the years he has served us so well and so faithfully.

And so, Mr. Chairman, I desire to place before this convention the name of the Vice President of the International Photo-Engravers Union of America, a sterling trade unionist and a great American, Mr. Matthew Woll.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Matthew Woll has been nominated for Second Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE MADSEN, Brotherhood of Painters: I move nominations close and that the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot of this convention for Matthew Woll for Second Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll for Second Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT GREEN: And in conformity with your decision and the announcement made by the Secretary-Treasurer, I officially declare Matthew Woll elected to serve as Second Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Third Vice President and recognizes Delegate Bagley, of the Musicians International Union.

DELEGATE BAGLEY, Musicians: Mr. Chairman and delegates, it is a privilege to nominate for Third Vice President the incumbent in that office, Joseph N. Weber.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there other nominations?

DELEGATE CASTRONOVO, Musicians: I move the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for the election of Joseph N. Weber as Third Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with the instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Joseph N. Weber as Third Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In accordance with your instructions and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Joseph N. Weber elected Third Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fourth Vice President and recognizes Delegate Paulsen, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

DELEGATE PAULSEN, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman, it is indeed a pleasure and an honor to nominate Brother G. M. Bugniazet for Fourth Vice President.

DELEGATE REGAN, Worcester, Massachusetts Central Labor Union: It gives me great pleasure to second the nomination of Brother G. M. Bugniazet and to move that the Secretary cast one ballot, making it unanimous.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for G. M. Bugniazet for Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare G. M. Bugniazet elected Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fifth Vice President, and recognizes Delegate Fljozdal, of the Maintenance of Way Employees.

DELEGATE FLJOZDAL: Mr. Chairman it gives me great pleasure to place in nomination Brother George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks for re-election to his present position as Fifth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there other nominations?

DELEGATE MANION, Telegraphers: I desire to second the nomination of Brother Harrison and to move that the nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the entire delegation for Brother Harrison.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George M. Harrison for Fifth Vice President of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare George M. Harrison elected Fifth Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair calls for nominations for Sixth Vice President—Delegate Gillespie.

DELEGATE GILLESPIE, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman, I desire to place in nomination for Sixth Vice President the General President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers for re-election—Daniel J. Tobin.

DELEGATE LESTER, Teamsters: I desire to second the nomination of Daniel J. Tobin as Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor and move that the nominations be closed and the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention.

DELEGATE ADAMSKI, United Garment Workers: I wish to second the nomination of Daniel J. Tobin, your friend, my friend and the friend of the workers, for Sixth Vice President.

The motion offered by Delegate Lester was carried unanimously.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin as Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary I officially declare Daniel J. Tobin elected Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Seventh Vice President.

DELEGATE MORAN, Bricklayers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to place in nomination for the position of Seventh Vice President a man who has been President of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union for more than ten years, Harry C. Bates.

DELEGATE WALTER, Boilmakers: I desire at this time to second the nomination of Brother Bates and call to the attention of the delegates and the general public that the men elected upon the Council so far and including the nominee that I am seconding, have devoted their time to all of the different boards and functions of government and labor in the interests, not only of their own members, but in the interests of all labor in general. I take a great deal of pleasure in seconding the nomination of Harry Bates.

DELEGATE FREEMAN, Boilermakers: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for the election of Harry C. Bates for Seventh Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Harry C. Bates for Seventh Vice President.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In accordance with the decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I hereby officially declare Brother Harry C. Bates elected Seventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Now the Chair calls for nominations for Eighth Vice President.

DELEGATE ARNOTT, Street and Electric Railway Employees: It gives me great pleasure to place in nomination for Eighth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor our International President who has been a friend of labor for over fifty years, not only here in the United States but throughout the breadth of Canada, and I take much pleasure, Mr. Chairman, in nominating W. D. Mahon for Eighth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE NELSON, Street and Electric Railway Employees: Mr. President, I wish to second the nomination and also move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for the election of Brother Mahon for Eighth Vice President.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for W. D. Mahon as Eighth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Brother W. D. Mahon elected as Eighth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

The Chair calls for nominations for Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE BYRON, Sheetmetal Workers: I desire to place in nomination the name of Felix H. Knight, General President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America for Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE VAILLANCOURT, Railway Carmen: On behalf of our membership, I am pleased and honored to second the nomination of Brother Knight as Ninth Vice President and I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for the election of Brother Knight as our Ninth Vice President.

DELEGATE SINGER, Musicians: I just want to rise and second the nomination of Brother Knight for Ninth Vice President.

DELEGATE PAULSEN, Electrical Workers: I move the nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Vice President Knight.

The motion was carried by unanimous vote.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Felix H. Knight as Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In accordance with instructions and the announcement of the Secretary, the Chair declares Brother Felix H. Knight elected as Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Tenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE ERNST, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. Chairman and delegates, it is again my pleasure and privilege to nominate for Tenth Vice President the General President of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers and Bartenders International League, Brother Edward Flore.

DELEGATE McDONOUGH, Marine County Central Labor Union: I wish to second the nomination of Brother Flore and move nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Brother Flore.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this Convention for Edward Flore as Tenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In accordance with your decision, and the announcement just made by the Secretary, the Chair officially declares Brother Edward Flore elected as Tenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

The Chair now calls for nominations for Eleventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE EDGAR, Machinists: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I wish to place in nomination for the position of Eleventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, the President of the International Association of Machinists, Harvey W. Brown.

DELEGATE MADSEN, Painters: I second the nomination and move the nominations be closed, and Secretary Meany be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for the election of Brother Harvey W. Brown.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Harvey W. Brown as Eleventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In accordance with your decision and the announcement just made by the Secretary, the Chair officially declares Brother Harvey W. Brown elected Eleventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Now the Chair calls for nominations for Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE STEVENSON, Molders and Foundry Workers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to nominate a brother that we all come in contact with, even our families, even our children. The only thing is at different times we are always waiting to hear those three words, "You are next." So it therefore gives me great pleasure to nominate Brother William C. Birthright.

DELEGATE MALONEY, Glass Bottle Blowers: I would like to second the nomination of William Birthright. He has an exceptionally well equipped mind. Since he has been President of his International he has placed it on a sound financial basis and has introduced an educational program throughout this land among his own Unions and his own people, and it gives me pleasure to second the nomination of William Birthright. Now I move you that nominations be closed and Secretary Meany be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for the election of Brother Birthright as Twelfth Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William C. Birthright as Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In accordance with your decision and the announcement just made by the Secretary, I hereby officially declare Brother William C. Birthright elected as Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE BURNS, Government Employees: Mr. President, as the President of and delegate from an organization consisting entirely of employees of the United States Government, I desire to place in nomination for the position of Thirteenth Vice President the present capable incumbent, the President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Mr. William C. Doherty.

DELEGATE HORLBECK, Letter Carriers: I rise to second the nomination of Brother William Doherty.

DELEGATE REILLY, Railway Mail Association: I desire to concur in the nomination of William C. Doherty as Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, and I now move that nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Brother William C. Doherty as Thirteenth Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William C. Doherty as Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In accordance with your decision and the announcement just made by the Secretary, the Chair officially declares Brother William C. Doherty elected as the Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE DURKIN, Plumbers: Mr. President, I rise to nominate a member of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters, and I might say that he is the son of a son of an immigrant. I might also relate to you his experiences and the fine work he has done as business agent of his Union and as President of the New York Federation of Labor; but I do not need to do that because the delegates know the fine work he has accomplished as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and also the fine work that he has done as a member of the War Labor Board in behalf of each and every organization that ever had a case before it. We also know that whenever called upon by President Green he has always given his full cooperation.

Therefore I wish to place in nomination George Meany as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE MULLANEY, Asbestos Workers: I desire to second the nomination of Brother George Meany for the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE KIRKPATRICK, Typographical Union: I wish to express the sentiments of the Typographical Union in seconding the nomination of the man who replaced one of our members who served more than forty years, and we want the convention to know the Typographical Union is honored in seconding the nomination of George Meany.

DELEGATE PAULSEN, Electrical Workers: I move that nominations be closed and that the unanimous ballot of this convention be cast for George Meany as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In conformity with your decision and in accordance with your instructions, I hereby officially cast the unanimous vote of the convention in favor of George Meany as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, and I hereby declare him officially elected.

SECRETARY MEANY: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention: I appreciate the action taken here this afternoon very much. I look forward to the coming year with some anticipation and perhaps with some misgivings. However, when we see the problems that we are facing, anyone who reads the record of this convention, observing the vexing problems we have to face during the coming year, will realize the job ahead.

There is one point, however, on which I

think we can all agree; that is that the American Federation of Labor, in facing this vital job, will do so as a united organization, come what may, and that we do the job together; and perhaps what is even more important, we face the job as a thoroughly consistent, sound, American institution.

I thank you.

Fraternal Delegates

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now comes the question of election of Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

DELEGATE DUFFY, Brotherhood of Carpenters: Mr. Chairman, I move that the election of delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress be left to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE PAULSEN, Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to second that motion.

The motion was carried by unanimous vote.

Convention City—1945

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now comes the question of selection of the convention city next year. The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany.

SECRETARY MEANY: Mr. Chairman, we have received invitation from the Central Labor groups in various cities to hold the 1945 convention of the American Federation of Labor in their cities: Minneapolis, Louisville and Chicago.

In addition an invitation has been received from the City of Detroit, communications from the Mayor and the Convention and Tourist Bureau of that city. We have also received invitations from the City of Columbus, Ohio, through the Convention Bureau of that city.

I would like to call attention to the fact these last two invitations are not invitations from labor bodies, but from the civic authorities. May I suggest that in order to conserve the time of the convention I be permitted to read a list of the communications received from the various organizations in behalf of their cities, and then print the communications in the record of today's proceedings.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any objections to that procedure being followed? Hearing none it is so ordered.

The communications are as follows:

WHEREAS, The Organized Labor Movement of Minneapolis is now recognized as one of the most progressive Labor Movements in the United States of America and

WHEREAS, The convention of the American Federation of Labor has not been held in the City of Minneapolis since November, 1906, and

WHEREAS, We, the Educational and Legislative Committee of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union feel that the holding of a convention of this kind in the City of Minneapolis would be extremely beneficial to the members and officers of organized labor in Minneapolis and in Minnesota,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the Delegate to the Minneapolis Central Labor Union to the convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in New Orleans, Louisiana, in November, 1944, be instructed to do all in his power to prevail upon the convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to designate the City of Minneapolis as the Convention City for 1945.

Educational and Legislative Committee, Minneapolis Central Labor Union,

James Mooney
Nakonla Ramswick
Rubin Latz
George C. Prouty
Lucy Eaton Haddas
Alvin Labey

Hotel Nicollett, Minneapolis,
November 24, 1944

Mr. George Phillips,
St. Charles Hotel,
New Orleans, Louisiana.

Dear George:

I was happy to learn that there is a possibility of the A. F. of L. holdings its convention in the City of Minneapolis in October, 1945.

It would be a privilege indeed to have the Hotel Nicollett designated headquarters for the convention, if it were awarded to the City of Minneapolis. I assure you that I would be very happy to work with the local and national groups toward making this one of the most successful conventions ever held by the A. F. of L. in recent years.

I understand that you would need about 600 rooms and I have been advised by the local C and C, as well as by our hotel association, that that number of rooms would be available, if the reservations were made far enough in advance.

Hoping to receive your favorable reply, and with kindest personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,

NEIL R. MESSICK,
General Manager

Minneapolis Civic & Commerce Association,
Second Floor—Builders Exchange
November 24, 1944

Mr. George Phillips,
St. Charles Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Phillips:

I have just learned that there is a possibility that Minneapolis might be in the running for the next meeting of the American Federation of Labor in October, 1945.

Therefore, in behalf of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association I wish to extend a cordial invitation to the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor to hold their next meeting in Minneapolis.

I am sure that we can meet the requirements of this group and you have already been assured of the cooperation of the Minneapolis hotels.

Cordially yours,
C. H. CHADBURN,
Vice President

Mayor's Office, Minneapolis, Minn.
November 24, 1944

Mr. George Phillips,
St. Charles Hotel
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear George:

I am writing to ask you to be kind enough to invite the American Federation of Labor to hold its next meeting in Minneapolis.

We would be honored indeed, to have this great organization in our midst, and would do everything in our power to insure that its meeting was successful and entertaining.

All of the facilities of the city would be at the command of the delegates and guests.

With kindest personal regards,

Yours very truly,
MARVIN L. KLINE, Mayor.

CENTRAL LABOR UNION
Louisville, Ky
June 30, 1944

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

For sometime, the sentiment in the Labor Movement in Kentucky, in general and Louisville in particular, has been that it would be advantageous to the Labor Movement to hold an American Federation of Labor Convention in Louisville, Kentucky.

We feel that in view of the fact that the 1945 Convention will be one in which the American Federation of Labor should strive to get the maximum number of delegates in attendance and that that Convention will probably form post-war policies of the A. F. of L., that the selection of Louisville, as a Convention site would be of great help toward reaching this goal.

It is centrally located and easily accessible to a great number of organizations who cannot or will not send delegates to the usual far-flung location of our convention.

Therefore, this Central Labor Body requests that you and your Executive Board consider the advisability of selecting Louisville as the location for the 1945 American Federation of Labor Convention.

Thanking you for past cooperation,

I remain,

Fraternally yours,
R. A. DuVALL,
Secretary.

Frankfort, Kentucky,
November 22, 1944

Hon. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
New Orleans, La.

On behalf of our citizens and the commonwealth of Kentucky, I wish to extend a cordial invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1945 Convention in Louisville, Kentucky.

SIMEON WILLIS, Governor.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

647

Louisville, Kentucky,
November 18, 1944

Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

Have just heard that the American Federation of Labor is contemplating bringing its 1945 Annual Convention to Louisville Kentucky. As Mayor of Louisville, I extend to you a most cordial and enthusiastic invitation.

WILSON W. WYATT, Mayor,
City of Louisville.

Washington, D. C.,
November 20, 1944

Hon. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

You will recall that some months ago I communicated with you regarding the possibility of having the next Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor meet in Louisville, Kentucky. I hope that you will give every possible consideration to the selection of Louisville for the Annual Convention of 1945. The people of Kentucky and of Louisville will make every effort to cooperate in making your Convention a great success. Thanking you for your consideration of this matter, I am

Cordially yours,
ALBEN W. BARKLEY,

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.,
September 2, 1944.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Green:

It is my understanding that Louisville, Ky., is much interested in securing the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor for Louisville in 1945. It is needless to say that Louisville and the entire State of Kentucky would be complimented by its selection, and would endeavor to offer its hospitality in the most cordial way.

No doubt Louisville's ability to house the delegates and visitors will be explained explicitly to you. I recall my service as a member of the executive committee that handled the Legion Convention, and I am confident that the success of that convention demonstrates that Louisville is able to take care of the situation in a manner which will be agreeable to your organization.

Thanking you for your consideration of Louisville's invitation, and with regards, I am

Sincerely yours,
EMMET O'NEAL.

Frankfort, Kentucky.
November 21, 1944.

William Green, President,
A. F. of L. Convention,
New Orleans, La.

On behalf of the State of Kentucky, I urge you to use your influence to have the

1945 convention of the Federation brought to our state.

L. C. WILLIS, Commissioner,
Industrial Relations,
Louisville, Kentucky
November 21, 1944

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
New Orleans, La.

As president of Kentucky Merchants' Association I would like to extend a cordial invitation to the A. F. of L. to hold its 1945 annual convention at Louisville, Kentucky. All of us would be most happy to have your great organization and to provide a warm and cordial background for your deliberations.

HARRY W. SCACTER

Louisville, Kentucky,
November 20, 1944

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

We know the delegates assembled will rise to the great opportunities that are theirs at this most critical period. Organized labor of Louisville, Kentucky, extends the great American Federation of Labor a cordial invitation to make Louisville their 1945 convention city.

N. C. BLAIR, Secretary
Allied Printing Trades Council

Louisville, Kentucky
November 20, 1944

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

We are requesting that you use your influence in trying to secure the 1945 convention for Louisville, Kentucky. We are in a position to accommodate the convention and are sure that we can make it interesting and enjoyable for all concerned.

M. L. BURKE, Business Representative
Falls Cities Carpenters' District Council

Louisville, Kentucky,
November 20, 1944

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Care Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

This council earnestly urges you to carefully consider Louisville, Kentucky in making selection for convention city for the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Louisville Bldg., & Construction Trades
Council

P. H. REARDON, Secretary

Ashland, Kentucky,
November 18, 1944

Wm. Green,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

Dear Sir and Brother: Greetings to you and members of the American Federation of Labor in convention. The Ashland Central Labor Council in conjunction with all other American Federation of Labor Organizations throughout the State of Kentucky wish to submit to the assembled convention an invitation to consider Louisville, Ken-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

tucky, for the American Federation of Labor convention to be held in 1945. Wish all success to the present convention. I am fraternally yours.

C. D. MULVANEY, Secretary,
Ashland Central Labor Council.

Owensboro, Kentucky,
November 18, 1944.

Honorable Wm. Green,
American Federation of Labor Conference,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

Dear Sir and Brother: Urging you to consider holding the A. F. of L. convention of 1945 in Louisville, Kentucky. Having the A. F. of L. Convention in Louisville in 1945 will indeed enhance, greatly further the efforts of the labor movement as a whole in Kentucky and will bestow upon it prestige and honor. Thanking you in advance and with best regards, I am fraternally yours,

JAMES J. JOHNSON, President,
Central Labor Union.
Lexington, Kentucky,
November 18, 1944.

Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

We, the members of the Lexington Central Labor Union do hereby request that the 1945 convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in Louisville, Kentucky. It will further the efforts of the labor movement as a whole in Kentucky. Urging you to give every consideration to this issue.

LONNIE WEBSTER, President,
Lexington Central Labor Union,
428 Lafayette Avenue.

Somerset, Kentucky,
November 17, 1944.

Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
New Orleans, La.
Roosevelt Hotel,

Dear Sir and Brother: Labor throughout Kentucky is looking forward to having the American Federation of Labor convention in Louisville in 1945 and are urging you to give every consideration to this issue. We know American Federation of Labor Convention in Kentucky would increase the interests of the labor movement.

E. L. PHILLIPS, Secretary,
Central Labor Union.
Paducah, Kentucky,
November 17, 1944.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

Louisville wants the 1945 convention. All Kentucky labor joins in extending an invitation. We urge your consideration.

Paducah Central Labor Union,
J. E. LOVVO, Secretary.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor,
218 1/2-215 Tyler Building,

Louisville, Kentucky,
September 20, 1944.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,

A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Sir and Brother:

During our convention a resolution was adopted calling upon the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1945 annual convention in the City of Louisville, Kentucky. Such facts as follow were pointed out: That we have not enjoyed an A. F. of L. convention since 1900; that the Louisville hotels have promised 600 rooms and an adequate meeting hall; that Louisville, Kentucky, offers as much or more attraction and entertainment than any other city in the country, for instance, the Fall Races, trip to Mammoth Cave or Old Kentucky Home, etc.

Therefore, in behalf of and for the Kentucky State Federation of Labor, may I urge that you use your good office and influence toward bringing the 1945 convention to the City of Louisville, Kentucky.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am,

Fraternally yours,
EDWARD H. WEYLER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Washington, D. C.,
November 24, 1944.

George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
c/o Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

The Chicago Federation of Labor would like to be host to the American Federation of Labor at their annual convention in 1945. It is centrally located, have hotel accommodations and can well provide the necessities of the delegates.

JOSEPH D. KEENAN, Secretary,
Chicago Federation of Labor.
Chicago, Ill.,
November 28, 1944.

George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

I earnestly hope that the next convention of the American Federation of Labor will be held in Chicago. You will receive a most hearty welcome from the trade unionists of the city and state as well as from the citizens in general. The whole Middle West will appreciate your presence here in the very center of the great heart of America.

VICTOR A. OLANDER, Secretary,
Illinois Federation of Labor.

Chicago, Ill.,
November 27, 1944.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor In Convention
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

To those assembled for the American Federation of Labor Convention in New Orleans, I send cordial good wishes and extend through you an invitation to the Federation to hold its 1945 meeting in Chicago. Because of its large representation in the Federation Chicago's advantages as a convention city are well known to your members, and I pledge the full cooperation of this office in making your meeting a success. Shall appreciate it if you will give your personal support to this invitation and urge your members to come to Chicago in 1945 to re-

ceive the hearty welcome that will await them. EDWARD J. KELLY, Mayor.

Detroit, Mich.,
November 28, 1944.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
New Orleans, La.

Detroit would be honored to be host to the American Federation of Labor Convention (next year). Hotel facilities and meeting room accommodations unexcelled. Visit Detroit. The Arsenal of Democracy. And see what industry is doing for victory of our armed forces.

DETROIT CONVENTION AND TOURIST BUREAU.

Detroit, Mich.,
November 28, 1944.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
New Orleans, La.

Practically every news item carries the story of the function of Detroit's industry in winning the war. By holding the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor here you can absorb some of the inspiration of our citizenry and leave with us the benefits of your deliberations.

MAYOR EDWARD J. JEFFRIES, JR.

Detroit, Mich.,
November 28, 1944.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
New Orleans, La.

Cordially invite you to make Detroit headquarters next Annual Convention.

ANDREW C. BAIRD,
Sheriff of Wayne County.

COLUMBUS CONVENTION BUREAU
Columbus, Ohio,
July 21, 1944.

Hon. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Re: American Federation of Labor.
Dear Mr. Green:

With your 1944 Convention scheduled for New Orleans November 20-December 2, 1944, it occurs to us that it might be timely to consider Ohio's Capital City for your 1945 Convention.

Ohio has been honored with your Presidency through the years and with Columbus the birthplace of your grand organization, it occurs to us that there is sentiment attached to our invitation which doubtless would appeal to members throughout the nation.

Under present restricted travel conditions, which no doubt will continue for another year, we feel that an invitation at this time would be welcomed by all of your members.

We pledge you the full cooperation of our Convention Bureau, assured hotel accommodations and a generous welcome such as Ohio and its Capital City will offer. With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,
JOSEPH E. CROSS, Manager.

DELEGATE PAULSEN, Electrical Workers: If I am in order I would suggest the selection of the convention city be left in the hands of the Executive Council.

DELEGATE WEYLER, Kentucky State Federation of Labor: Mr. President, at the last convention of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor in September in Louisville, a resolution was unanimously adopted requesting that its Secretary, myself, proceed to this convention with the hope we might get this great convention for the State of Kentucky and City of Louisville. I have come down and talked with many of the delegates. In the passing of the resolution one of the fellows made a remark that I would like to repeat: "We have not had the convention in Louisville since 'Hec' was a pup, and 'Hec's' getting pretty old, and if we don't get one pretty soon, 'Hec' will die."

However, after being here for two weeks associating with this fine group of people and having some experience with hotels, I believe it is quite wise that this be left in the hands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and even though I might have to have some asbestos pants when I get back to Louisville, I wish to second the motion that the selection of the convention city be left in the hands of the Executive Council.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: I want to bring to the attention of the delegates of this convention an important point, and that is this. In the selection of the city for the next convention, I hope you will select one where the colored delegation to the convention will enjoy all of the facilities and conveniences and accommodations that are at the disposal of any other delegate in the convention. Unfortunately, here in New Orleans, the colored delegates have not been so happy. I was ill for a week when I came here, and therefore, I didn't get around very much. Some of the delegates tell me that when they went to the Roosevelt and St. Charles Hotels, they were told that they had to go up on the service elevators. Of course, that is certainly out of order. I can't imagine anybody who has any degree of respect for the dignity or the personality and rights of a delegate to this convention telling him when he goes to any place on matters pertaining to the convention that he must go up on the service elevator. I wouldn't go up on the service elevator. I would have refused, but some of the colored delegates told me that they did go up on the service elevator. I told them they should not have done so.

One delegate from Cleveland by the name of Frank Evans indicated that he left New Orleans because of the fact that he was the victim of mental torture, humiliation and insult visited upon him by some of the arrogant, ignorant, petty and cheap little men that seemed to have a little power in some of these hotels. It is unfortunate that that condition obtains, and I hope this convention will go to a city whose civilization and culture and progress is high enough to recognize that a delegate to this convention, regardless of his color, his race, his nationality or his religion is entitled to the same respect that every other delegate is. For that reason, I certainly would be in favor of Chicago or Minneapolis or Columbus.

The Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor in the future ought to be instructed by President Green to advise the city to which these conventions go that there are colored delegates in attendance, and they are not to be insulted by anybody, that they are to have all of the privileges and enjoy all of the rights, facilities and the accommodations that any other delegate enjoys. I am sorry to have to bring this matter to the delegates of this convention; but I think you ought to know it because of the fact that these men are sound, solid, loyal, devoted, double-fisted, courageous trade unionists and they ought to get the respect of every other trade unionist.

Thank You.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am inspired to ask the delegates in attendance at this convention if it would not be far better and if it would not create a better feeling of satisfaction if the delegates in attendance here would select one of the cities that have extended invitations to us to hold a convention next year rather than to leave it in an uncertain state. If you select a convention city here now you can then proceed immediately to make arrangements for attending the convention next year.

DELEGATE ADAMSKI, United Garment Workers: I move you, Mr. Chairman, that the City of Chicago be chosen for the next convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We will have to dispose of the motion offered by Delegate Paulsen first. He moved that the matter be left in the hands of the Executive Council.

DELEGATE PAULSEN, Electrical Workers: I don't want to be bobbing up and down

on the floor, but I will be only too glad to withdraw the motion I previously made.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any objections to the withdrawal of the motion? No objections are offered, and it is so ordered.

DELEGATE ADAMSKI, Garment Workers: I again move that the convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in the city of Chicago in 1945.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Nominations are open for cities in which to hold the next convention, and Brother Adamski nominates Chicago. Are there further nominations?

DELEGATE WEYLER, Kentucky State Federation: Mr. Chairman, we have ample hotel facilities in the City of Louisville, Kentucky. Following the action of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor, we called upon the management of our two largest hotels in the City of Louisville, the Brown and the Kentucky, and they promised us 600 rooms. We have five other hotels from which to draw. We have seven railroad lines into Louisville and three airlines. We have good food and I think hospitality equal to that of any city in the country.

I might say, Mr. Chairman, that the labor movement in Kentucky, particularly Louisville and myself, Brother Randolph, as a champion of your people, have not as yet been able to break down some of the racial prejudice to the extent that we might have wished. Therefore, we could not assure fully that which was requested just a few minutes ago.

We would be more than highly honored to have this convention in our city. We believe it would do the labor movement in Kentucky a tremendous amount of good. We are located in a very peculiar position. We are neither the doorway to the North or the South. We have been somewhat of an orphan child so far as many of the National and International Unions are concerned. We haven't had the support of many of the National and International Unions to the extent that we thought we deserved it, and we haven't made the progress we might have made, even though we have trebled the membership in Kentucky in the past few years.

However, we have experienced unusual conditions in the past few years, due to a tremendous transportation of people to our city, and in order to assure that you are well taken care of at your next convention and with the hope that at some future date perhaps this great Federation will see its way

clear to come down and visit Kentucky and see that we are not all the type of back-woodsmen that some of the newspapers would make you believe, in the stories they write occasionally, and see that we of Kentucky are real people like the rest of the people of this country and see that we do need your support like the larger cities, many of them having twice the membership in one city that we have in the whole State—for all these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I rise to second the nomination of Chicago.

DELEGATE JOHANNSEN, Chicago Federation of Labor: I desire to second the nomination of Chicago and I would like to call the attention of the delegates in this convention to the fact that it is reasonable to assume that by the time the American Federation of Labor meets in 1945 you will have passed the 10,000,000 mark. Having that in mind it is well to consider carefully the selection of a city that has ample hotel accommodations and ample transportation, such as Chicago has. We have good hotel accommodations and we are the largest railroad center in the world.

But what is of probably greater importance, the American Federation of Labor trade unionists in the city of Chicago own and operate the only broadcasting station owned and controlled by labor in the world, and I am sure that at your convention there will be many momentous questions and decisions, and you will be at liberty to utilize the advantages of the broadcasting station, WCFL, so that your messages of importance not only to our people but to the world in general will have a greater distribution than they would have in any other city.

I hope the delegates will also bear in mind that it is just 49 years ago since we had a convention of the American Federation of Labor in Chicago—in 1893. We have newspapers of all kinds, some of them not altogether friendly all the time, but we have a good membership and an active organization, both in the Chicago Federation of Labor and in the Illinois State Federation of Labor. It is a membership that hews strictly to the line of policy laid down by the American Federation of Labor. So I trust that the delegates to this convention will favor Chicago for the coming convention city.

Therefore, I am very happy to second the nomination of Chicago, a great metropolitan city, the greatest railroad center in the Uni-

ted States and with all the hotel facilities you will need. We will see to it that you are well treated and that every accommodation will be provided. We will also see to it that your message will be heard by millions of listeners every day over radio station WCFL.

DELEGATE MADSEN, Brotherhood of Painters: Chicago is the center of the United States. No matter where you come from or where you go you have to pass through the city of Chicago. Why not stay there for once and hold your convention there? Chicago has made a great contribution to the labor movement. You can look over the roster of men prominent in the American Federation of Labor and you will find most of these men received their early training in the city of Chicago. I am not going to mention their names, just merely to say that their early training there qualified them for the high position they now hold in the American Federation of Labor.

I am a delegate from the Brotherhood of Painters. I also happen to be the Treasurer of the Chicago Federation of Labor. I cannot promise you the treasury of the Chicago Federation. That requires another signature besides mine, but I think I can promise you that if you come to Chicago we will do our very best to take care of you.

DELEGATE LAWSON, Boot and Shoe Workers: By authority of Delegate Phillips, President of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, I announce that Minneapolis is withdrawing its application for the convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Chicago is nominated. Are there any other cities to be placed in nomination? If not, the Chair will officially declare nominations closed on the city of Chicago. Nominations are closed.

DELEGATE MADSEN, Brotherhood of Painters: I make a motion that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Chicago for the 1945 convention city.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with your instructions I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for the city of Chicago as the city in which to hold the 1945 convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN: And in accordance with your decision I hereby officially declare Chicago selected as the 1945 convention city.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for a report.

RESOLUTIONS RECEIVED FROM FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECRETARY MEANY: This is a report of the action of the Executive Council on resolutions received from Federal Labor Unions, which resolutions are, under the Constitution, referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition.

Resolution from Federal Labor Union No. 22254, "Better Housing."

This resolution has been approved and referred to the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution from Federal Labor Union No. 22254, "A. F. of L. No-Strike Pledge."

The convention has acted upon this matter, therefore, no action is necessary.

Resolution from Federal Labor Union No. 22254, "Social Security."

This resolution is referred to the A. F. of L. Social Security Committee.

Resolution from Federal Labor Union No. 22254, "Six-Hour Work Day."

The convention has acted on this subject on resolutions presented. Therefore no action is necessary on this resolution.

Resolution from Federal Labor Union No. 22631, "International Labor Congress." This matter has been fully covered and acted upon by the convention. Therefore, no further action is necessary.

Resolution from Federal Labor Union No. 18780, "Discrimination in Cut-Backs in Aluminum Production in Favor of Canadian Aluminum Workers and Against American Aluminum Workers."

This resolution has been offered to the A. F. of L. Director of Organization for investigation and report to the Executive Council.

Resolution from Federal Labor Union No. 22254, "Unemployment Compensation in Kilgore Bill."

Action has already been taken on this subject matter by the convention. Therefore, no further action is necessary.

PRESIDENT GREEN: No action is necessary upon these resolutions, merely a report of the decision of the Executive Council in conformity with the laws of the Federation.

PRESIDENT GREEN'S CLOSING ADDRESS

Now it seems that the proceedings of the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor have been

completed. All of the committees have made their reports. The convention has acted upon the report of each committee. The Chair announces the discharge of all the convention committees, with the thanks of the convention.

It seems appropriate for me to point out that this historic convention has measured up to the high standards which were set in previous conventions. It has indeed been an open forum of debate. Every resolution has been thoroughly considered. The report of the Executive Council was analyzed and reported upon to the convention, and then in the open forum of debate in democratic fashion and in accordance with democratic principles and democratic policy, every delegate who wished to speak on any question submitted to the convention was accorded the widest and most unlimited opportunity to do so. There was no alarm signal sounded calling upon him to stop. All were allowed to cover the subject in their own way as fully and as completely as they wished.

The Chair wishes to thank the delegates for their cooperation in the conduct of the affairs of the convention. You have helped me in a wonderful way to preside over the deliberations of the convention, and I hope and trust that you will go to your homes feeling satisfied with the proceedings of the convention and that you will be pleased over the fact that you were permitted to participate in this convention as a sovereign delegate.

We wish all of you a safe return to your homes and that you will carry back to your firesides and your communities fondest memories of a delightful visit at the convention.

Now before I officially pronounce the convention adjourned sine die I call upon Brother Roy W. Singer, of the Musicians, to come to the platform and lead us in the singing of "God Bless America."

Delegate Singer led in the singing of "God Bless America," as requested.

PRESIDENT GREEN: And now, delegates and visitors, I declare the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

At 4:40 o'clock, P. M. Thursday, November 30, 1944, the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

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